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XENOPHON'S ANABASIS,

AND THE

MEMORABILIA OF SOCRATES,

TRANSLATED LITERALLY.

P. & Lo. C. Lane

THE ANABASIS,

Apr. 1871

OR

San Francisco

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS,

AND THE

MEMORABILIA OF SOCRATES.

LITERALLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

OF

XENOPHON.

BY THE

REV. J. S. WATSON, M.A. M.R.S.L.

WITH

A GEOGRAPHICAL COMMENTARY,

BY W. F. AINSWORTH, ESQ.

F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S.

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PREFACE.

Of the two works of Xenophon, contained in the present volume, English translations have already appeared.

The only version of the Anabasis, on which the public could look with any favor, was Spelman's, which certainly has spirit, and is in general not unfaithful, but is not sufficiently close for the scholar or student. Spelman has some knowledge of Greek, but was deficient, as is proved by his notes, in that intimate acquaintance with the language which is necessary to the production of an exact version.

The best previous translation of the Memorabilia was that by Sarah Fielding, the sister of the novelist; a performance, however, extremely verbose and licentious. Its authoress had not sufficient knowledge of Greek to justify her in undertaking it. Harris of Salisbury gave her some help, as she says in a note near the commencement, but assuredly not much. She had been preceded by Bysshe, the author of the

Art of Poetry, a free translator, many of whose phrases she adopted.

The present translator has endeavored to preserve the sense and spirit of the original, in language which may satisfy both the English reader and the scholar.

In the Anabasis, the text of Dindorf has been followed ; in the Memorabilia, that of Kühner.

The Geographical Commentary, by Mr. Ainsworth, author of "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks," has been added at the wish of the publisher, and will, without doubt, be regarded as an acceptable illustration of the Anabasis.

J. S. W.

REMARKS

ON

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ANABASIS.

A BIOGRAPHICAL Notice of Xenophon will be prefixed to another volume. Some remarks are here offered on the authorship of the "Anabasis."

A passage of the "Hellenica," in which it is said that a narrative of the Expedition of Cyrus was written by Themistogenes of Syracuse, has given rise to the question[1] whether the account of that expedition which we now have is that of Xenophon or that of Themistogenes.

When Xenophon, in the course of his narrative of events relating to Greece, comes to the time at which the expedition of Cyrus took place, he says,[2] "How Cyrus collected an army, how he marched up the country with it against his brother, how the battle was fought, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks afterward effected a safe retreat to the sea, has been written by Themistogenes the Syracusan."

Suidas[3] also says that "Themistogenes, a Syracusan historian, wrote the Anabasis of Cyrus, *ἥτις ἐν τοῖς Ξενοφῶντος Ἑλληνικοῖς φέρεται*, and some other things concerning his own country." What sense is to be given to the word *φέρεται* in this passage, has

[1] Morus in Dissert. Hellenicis præmiss. c. 6. Kühner Prolegom. in Anab. p. xviii.

[2] Hellen. iii. 1, 2.

[3] v. Θεμιστογενης.

been a subject of much doubt. If the phrase containing it be translated, with Morus, *quæ nominatur aut laudatur in Historiâ Græcâ*, a sense is given to the verb for which there is no authority; and if it be rendered, with most interpreters, *quæ inserta legitur historiis Græcis*, that is said which is not true. Kuster[1] and Dindorf,[2] therefore, suggest that the word Ἑλληνικοῖς, which is not found in the Paris manuscripts, should be struck out. The sense will then be, "which is inserted among the writings of Xenophon."

Suidas being thus interpreted, the two passages will concur in showing that a narrative of the "Anabasis" was written by Themistogenes. The next point to be considered is, whether that narrative which we now have is, or is not, the work of Themistogenes.

Plutarch, in his *Considerations whether the Athenians were more renowned in Arms or in Letters*,[3] observes, in alluding to the historians, that "Xenophon was a subject of history for himself, for he wrote an account of the military matters which he successfully conducted, but represents that the account was written by Themistogenes the Syracusan, in order that he might have more credit if he spoke of himself as another person, giving to another the reputation of the work." The passage is somewhat obscure, for there is a word, such as λέγει, wanting; I translate it in the sense in which it is taken by Leunclavius and Wyttenbach.

In agreement with this passage of Plutarch, Tzetzes, in his Chiliads,[4] after observing that Phidias made two statues for a young man of whom he was fond, and for whose workmanship, it appears, they were to pass, says that "Xenophon did the same with regard to the Anabasis of Cyrus; for he set a certain name to the work to please one whom he loved; * * * it is the book of Themistogenes the Syracusan, and afterward came to be commonly called the work of Xenophon; so Plato the philosopher wrote his Dialogues under the names of his friends; and other writers have composed innumerable things in a similar way." When he says that "it is the book of Themistogenes," τὸ βιβλίον

[1] Ad Suidam, v. Θεμιστογενης. [2] Præf. in Anab. p. vii. ed. 1825.
[3] c. i. [4] vii. 930.

Θεμιστογένους ἐστι, he can have no other meaning but that it was given to the world by Xenophon under the name of Themistogenes. A Scholium, which is appended to the passage by an unknown author, states the matter more briefly and clearly: "Xenophon inscribed the Anabasis of Cyrus with the name of Themistogenes, yet it came to be commonly called afterward the work of Xenophon."

From these writers, then, Plutarch, Tzetzes, and his Scholiast, it would appear that the "Anabasis," or account of the expedition of Cyrus, was written by Xenophon, and published as the work of Themistogenes. But from the passage of Xenophon, to which we ought to attribute more authority than to any other, as also from that of Suidas, we may rather conceive, as Dindorf suggests, that there were *two Anabases*, the one written by Themistogenes, before Xenophon wrote the third book of the Hellenica, and to which Xenophon was then content to refer, and the other written by Xenophon himself subsequently to that time. Under this supposition, indeed, we must believe that Xenophon published the Anabasis at a very advanced period of life, while the composition seems to be that of a man in the full vigor of his faculties; but Sophocles, as Kühner[1] observes, wrote with great spirit after he was eighty years of age; and the Anabasis might have been written some years before Xenophon sent it out of his hands. If there were two, that of Themistogenes, from what Xenophon says of it, may have brought the Greeks only to the sea, or to Trebisond; that of Xenophon is continued to their junction with Thibron. If there were but one, Xenophon may have published the first four books, at an earlier period, under the name of Themistogenes, and have afterward added the three other books, and signified that the whole was his own.

One object of the author of the work which we have, observes Mitford,[2] was to apologize for the conduct of Xenophon; in the latter part the narrative is constantly accompanied with a studied defense of his proceedings; the circumstances that produced his banishment from Athens, and whatever might excite jealousy against him at Lacedæmon, have been carefully con-

[1] Prolegom. in Anab. p. xix. [2] Hist. of Greece, vol. v. p. 333.

sidered; if, therefore, Themistogenes wrote it, he may have written under the direction of Xenophon; if Xenophon wrote it, there may have been good reasons why, at the time of its publication, he should have wished it to pass under another person's name.

If there were two Anabases, we may suppose that Xenophon's superseded that of Themistogenes, and caused it to be lost. The name of Themistogenes, as an author, is mentioned by no writer besides those whom we have noticed; while that of Xenophon, as the author of the Anabasis, is specified, as Mitford and Krüger[1] observe, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, Cicero, Diogenes Laertius, Lucian, Ælian, and Athenæus, besides the grammarians and lexicographers, Hesychius, Pollux, Harpocration, and Ammonius.

But no decisive opinion can be pronounced. The statement of Plutarch, which he gives, not as a conjecture of his own, but as a matter of general belief in his day, and which is supported by Tzetzes and his Scholiast, may induce many readers, if not the majority, to suppose, with Weiske[2] and Kühner, that there was probably but one Anabasis, that which we now have, and which, though the work of Xenophon, was, for whatever reasons on the part of the author, sent into the world as the composition of Themistogenes. The attractions of the subject, as Dr. Smith[3] observes, might have induced more than one or two persons to write upon it.

Of the other work translated in this volume, no doubt has been expressed that Xenophon was the author. It shows what were the habits and conversation of him who taught that

> To know
> That which before us lies in daily life
> Is the prime wisdom;

who brought philosophy down from heaven to dwell with men; and who was pronounced the wisest of men by the Delphic

[1] De Authent. Anab. p. 18.
[2] Tractat. de æstimandâ Cyri Exped. p. xvii. *seqq.*
[3] Note on Xen. Hellen. iii. 1.

oracle, "because he judiciously made choice of human nature for the object of his thoughts, an inquiry into which as much exceeds all other learning as it is of more consequence to adjust the true nature and measures of right and wrong than to settle the distances of the planets, and compute the time of their circumvolutions."[1] His doctrine was,

Ταῦτ' εἰδώς, σοφὸς ἴσθι μάτην δ' Ἐπίκουρον ἔασον
Ποῦ τὸ κενὸν ζητεῖν, καὶ τίνες αἱ μονάδες.[2]

On life, on morals, be thy thoughts employed;
Leaye to the schools their Atoms and their Void.

He gave, indeed, it may be thought, too little encouragement to investigations in physical science. How far he recommended that mathematical studies should be pursued, may be seen in B. iv. c. 7. The best specimen of Socratic reasoning in the *Memorabilia* is the philosopher's conversation with Euthydemus in B. iv. c. 2.

[1] Spectator, No. 408.
[2] Automedon. Anthol. Gr. Rambler, No. 180.

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XENOPHON'S

ANABASIS,

OR

EXPEDITION OF CYRUS.

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

Parentage of Cyrus the Younger. After the death of his father he is accused of plotting against his brother Artaxerxes, who imprisons him, but releases him on the intercession of his mother, and sends him back to his province, where he secretly collects forces, of which a large proportion are from Greece, to make war on his brother.

1. Of Darius[1] and Parysatis were born two sons,[2] the elder Artaxerxes,[3] and the younger Cyrus. After Darius had fallen sick, and suspected that the end of his life was approaching, he was desirious that both of his sons should attend him. 2. The elder then happened to be present; Cyrus he sent for from the province of which he had made him satrap. He had also appointed him commander of all the forces that muster in the plain of Castolus.[4]

[1] Darius II., surnamed Nothus, who reigned from B.C. 423 to B.C. 404, the year in which Cyrus went up to Babylon.

[2] Several children of his are mentioned by Plutarch, Life of Artax. c. i. 27.

[3] Afterward Artaxerxes II., surnamed Mnemon; he began his reign B.C. 405.

[4] Εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον.] In each of the provinces of the Persian empire, certain open places, plains or commons, were appointed for the assembly and review of troops. See i. 2. 11; 9. 7; Hellen. i. 43. Heeren, *Ideen*, vol. ii. p. 486. Castolus is mentioned as a city of Lydia by Stephanus of Byzantium. *Kühner*.

Cyrus accordingly went up, taking with him Tissaphernes as a friend, and having also with him three hundred heavy-armed Greeks,[1] and Xenias of Parrhasia,[2] their captain.

3. But when Darius was dead, and Artaxerxes was placed upon the throne, Tissaphernes brought an accusation against Cyrus before his brother, saying that he was plotting against him. Artaxerxes was induced to give credit to it, and had Cyrus arrested with the intention of putting him to death; but his mother, having begged his life, sent him back to his province.

4. When Cyrus had departed, after being thus in danger and disgrace, he began to consider by what means he might cease to be subject to his brother, and make himself king, if he could, in his stead. Parysatis, their mother, was well disposed toward Cyrus,[3] as she loved him better than Artaxerxes, who was on the throne. 5. Whatever messengers from the king[4] came to visit him, he let none of them go till he had inclined them to be friends to himself, rather than the monarch.[5] He also paid such attention to the barbarians[6] that were with him, that they were in a condition to take the field, and well inclined toward himself. 6. His Greek force he collected as secretly as he could, that he might surprise the king as little prepared as possible.

He collected troops in the following manner. Whatever garrisons he had in his towns, he sent orders to the commanders of them to procure respectively as many Peloponnesians as they could, of the best class of soldiers, on pretense that Tissaphernes was forming designs upon those towns.

[1] *Τῶν Ἑλλήνων—ὁπλίτας—τριακοσίους.*] Three hundred of the Greeks that were in his pay, or of such as he could then procure.

[2] A city and district in the south-western part of Arcadia.

[3] *Ὑπῆρχε τῷ Κύρῳ.*] "Partibus et consiliis ejus [Cyri] favebat." *Schneider.* "Cyro addicta et adjumento erat." *Kühner.* Compare v. 6. 23; Hellen. vii. 5. 5.

[4] *Ὅστις—τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως.*] We must understand those who are called *ἔφοδοι*, Cyrop. viii. 6. 16: compare Œcon. iv. 6. *Zeune.* They were officers appointed to visit the satrapies annually, and make a report respecting the state of them to the king.

[5] *Οὕτω διατιθεὶς ἀπεπέμπετο, κ. τ. λ.*] "He sent them all away (after) so disposing them, that they were friends rather to himself than the king."

[6] By this term are meant chiefly the Asiatics that were about Cyrus. The Greeks called all people Barbarians that were not of their own nation.

For the cities of Ionia had formerly been under the government of Tissaphernes, having been assigned to him by the king, but had at this time all revolted to Cyrus except Miletus. 7. Tissaphernes, discovering that the people of Miletus were forming a similar design, [to go over to Cyrus,[1]] put some of them to death, and sent others into banishment. Cyrus, receiving the exiles under his protection, and assembling an army, laid siege to Miletus by land and sea, and used every exertion to restore these exiles; and he had thus another pretext for augmenting the number of his forces. 8. He then sent to the king, and requested that, as he was his brother, these cities should be given to him rather than that Tissaphernes should govern them; and in this application his mother supported him. Thus the king had no suspicion of the plot against him, but supposed that Cyrus from being at war with Tissaphernes was spending the money upon troops; so that he was not at all concerned at the strife between them, especially as Cyrus remitted to him the tribute arising from the cities which Tissaphernes had had.

9. Another army was collected for him in the Chersonesus opposite Abydos, in the following method. Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian, happened to be in exile. Cyrus, having met with him, was struck with admiration for him, and made him a present of ten thousand darics.[2] Clearchus, on receiving the gold, raised by means of it a body of troops, and making excursions out of the Chersonesus, made war upon the Thracians that are situated above the Hellespont, and was of assistance to the Greeks; so that the towns on the Hellespont willingly contributed money for the support of his men. This too was a force thus secretly maintained for Cyrus.

10. Aristippus, also, a Thessalian, happened to be a guest-friend[3] of Cyrus, and, being pressed by an adverse faction at

[1] Ἀποστῆναι πρὸς Κῦρον.] These words are regarded as spurious by Schneider, on the suggestion of Wolf and Wyttenbach. Krüger and Kühner retain them, as added *explicationis causâ*.

[2] The daric was a Persian gold coin, generally supposed to have derived its name from Darius I.; but others think this doubtful. From c. vii. 18, it appears that three hundred darics were equal to a talent. If the talent be estimated therefore, as in Mr. Hussey's *Essay on Anc. Weights and Money*, ch. iii. sect. 12, at £243 15*s.*, the value of the daric will be 16*s.* 3*d.* The sum given to Clearchus will then be £8125.

[3] Ξένος.] I have translated this word by *guest-friend*, a conven-

home, came to him, and asked him for two thousand mercenary troops, and three months' pay for them, representing that he would thus be enabled to overpower his enemies. Cyrus granted him four thousand, and six months' pay, desiring him not to terminate the strife until he should consult him. Thus another body of troops was clandestinely supported for him in Thessaly.

11. He then requested Proxenus a Bœotian, who was also his guest-friend, to join him with as many men as he could procure, stating that he intended to make war on the Pisidians, as they molested his territories. He also desired Sophænetus of Stymphalus,[1] and Socrates, an Achæan, both of them his guest-friends, to come to him, and bring as many men as possible, pretending that he was going to war with Tissaphernes on behalf of the Milesian exiles; and they acted as he wished.

CHAPTER II.

Cyrus begins his march, proceeding from Sardis through Lydia into Phrygia, where he is joined by new forces. The city of Celænæ; the plain of Caystrus, where the soldiers demand their arrears of pay, which Cyrus discharges with money received from the queen of Cilicia. The town of Thymbrium; the fountain of Midas. Cyrus enters Cilicia, and is met at Tarsus by Syennesis, the king of the country.

1. When it seemed to him time to march up into the country, he made it his pretext for doing so that he wished to expel the Pisidians entirely from the territory, and mustered, as if for the purpose of attacking them, the whole of the troops, as well barbarian as Greek, that were on the spot.[2] He also

ient term, which made its appearance in our language some time ago. The *ξένοι* were bound by a league of friendship and hospitality, by which each engaged to entertain the other, when he visited him.

[1] A town of Arcadia, on the borders of Achaia.

[2] *Τό τε βαρβαρικὸν καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τὸ ἐνταῦθα στράτευμα.*] There has been much dispute about the exact signification of *ἐνταῦθα* in this place. Zeune would have it mean "illuc, in illum locum ubi sunt Pisidæ;" and Krüger thinks that "toward Sardis" is intended. But this is to do violence to the word; I have followed Weiske and Kühner, who give it its ordinary signification. "Barbarorum et Græcorum

sent word to Clearchus to join him, bringing whatever force was at his command; and to Aristippus, as soon as he had come to terms with the party at home, to send him back the troops that he had. He also desired Xenias the Arcadian, who commanded for him the mercenaries in the several towns, to bring him all his men except such as would be required to garrison the citadels. 2. He summoned, too, the army that was besieging Miletus, and invited the exiles to accompany him on his expedition; promising them that if he successfully accomplished the objects for which he undertook it, he would never rest till he had re-established them in their country. They cheerfully consented, as they had confidence in him, and, taking their arms, joined him at Sardis.

3. To Sardis also came Xenias, bringing with him the troops from the several towns, to the number of four thousand heavy-armed men. Thither came also Proxenus, with heavy-armed men to the number of fifteen hundred, and five hundred light-armed; Sophænetus the Stymphalian with a thousand heavy-armed; Socrates the Achæan with five hundred; and Pasion of Megara with three hundred heavy-armed, and the same number of peltasts.[1] Both Pasion and Socrates were among those serving in the army at Miletus.

4. These joined him at Sardis. Tissaphernes, observing these proceedings, and considering the force to be greater than was necessary to attack the Pisidians, set out, with all possible speed, to give notice of the matter to the king, taking with him about five hundred cavalry; 5. and the king, as soon as he heard from Tissaphernes of the preparation of Cyrus, made arrangements to oppose him.

Cyrus, at the head of the force which I have stated, commenced his journey from Sardis,[2] and proceeded through

[exercitum], says Kühner, "quem Cyrus ibi, ubi versabatur, collectum habebat." The τὸ before ἐνταῦθα is an addition of Dindorf's, which Kühner pronounces unnecessary.

[1] The πελτασταὶ were troops armed with a light shield, called πέλτη, holding a middle place between the ὁπλῖται and ψιλοί. They were first made an efficient part of the Greek forces by Iphicrates: see his Life in Corn. Nep.; and Xen. Hellen. iv. 4. 16; 3. 12.

[2] Xenophon begins his account of the expedition from Sardis, because he there joined the army, but afterward constantly computes from Ephesus, the sea-port from whence he began his journey. *Stanford.*

Lydia, three days' march,[1] a distance of twenty-two parasangs,[2] as far as the river Mæander. The breadth of this river is two plethra,[3] and a bridge was thrown over it, constructed of seven boats. 6. Having crossed the stream, he went forward through Phrygia, one day's march, eight parasangs, till he reached Colossæ, a populous city, wealthy, and of considerable magnitude. Here he halted seven days; when Menon the Thessalian joined him with a thousand heavy-armed troops and five hundred peltasts, consisting of Dolopians, Ænianes, and Olynthians.

7. Hence he proceeded in three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Celænæ, a populous, large, and rich city of Phrygia. Here Cyrus had a palace, and an extensive park full of wild beasts, which he was accustomed to hunt on horseback whenever he wished to give himself and his horses exercise. Through the middle of this park flows the river Mæander; its springs issue from the palace itself; and it runs also through the city of Celænæ. 8. There is also at Celænæ a palace of the Great King,[4] situated near the source of the river Marsyas, under the citadel. This river too runs through the city, and falls into the Mæander. The breadth of the Marsyas is twenty-five feet. Here Apollo is said to have flayed Marsyas, after conquering him in a trial of musical skill, and to have hung up his skin in the cave, where the source of the stream rises: and on this account the river is called the Marsyas. 9. Xerxes is said to have

1 Σταθμοός.] The word σταθμός means properly a *station* or *halting-place* at the end of a day's march, of which the length varied, but was generally about five parasangs.

2 The parasang in Xenophon is equal to thirty stadia; see ii. 2. 6. So Herodotus, ii. 6; v. 53. Mr. Ainsworth, following Mr. Hamilton and Colonel Leake, makes the parasang equal to 3 English miles, 180 yards, or 3 geographical miles of 1822 yards each. *Travels in the Track*, pref. p. xii. Thus five parasangs would be a long day's march; these marches were more than seven; and the next day's was eight. But Rennell thinks the parasang not more than 2.78 English miles. Mr. Hussey, *Anc. Weights*, etc., Append. sect. 12, makes it 3 miles, 787½ yards.

3 The *plethrum* was 100 Greek or 101.125 English feet. See Hussey, Append. sect. 10, p. 232.

4 The king of Persia was called the Great King by the Greek writers, on account of the great extent of his dominions, or of the number of kings subject to him; a title similar to that of the successors of Mohammed, Grand Signior.

built both this palace and the citadel of Celænæ, when he was returning from Greece after his discomfiture in battle.

Cyrus remained here thirty days; during which time Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian exile, joined him with a thousand heavy-armed men, eight hundred Thracian peltasts, and two hundred Cretan archers. At the same time Sosis[1] of Syracuse arrived with three hundred heavy-armed men, and Sophænetus, an Arcadian, with a thousand. Here Cyrus held a review of the Greeks in the park, and took their number; and they were in all eleven thousand heavy-armed troops, and about two thousand peltasts.[2] 10. Hence he proceeded two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to Peltæ, a well-peopled city, where he halted three days, during which Xenias the Arcadian celebrated the sacred rites of Lycæan Jove,[3] and held public games on the occasion; in which the prizes were golden strigiles.[4] Cyrus was present at the games as a spectator. Thence he proceeded, two days' march, twelve parasangs, to Ceramon Agora, a populous city, the last on the side of Mysia.

11. Hence he proceeded, in three days' march, the distance of thirty parasangs, to the Plain of Caystrus, a populous city. Here he halted five days; and at this time more than three months' pay was due to the troops, which they frequently went to his tent to demand. Cyrus put them off, giving them

[1] This is the reading of the name adopted by Dindorf and Kühner; most other editors have *Socrates*, which occurs in four manuscripts; two have *Sosias*, and one *Sostes*.

[2] The word is here used, as Spelman observes, in a more general sense than ordinary, to signify all that were not heavy-armed.

[3] Τὰ Λύκαια.] The festival of Lycæan Jove is mentioned by Pausanias, viii. 2, 1, and the gymnastic contests held in it by Pindar, Ol. ix. 145; xiii. 153; Nem. x. 89. *Schneider*.—Mount Lycæum was sacred to both Jupiter and Pan. *Kühner*.

[4] Στλεγγίδες.] Generally supposed to be the same as the Latin *strigilis*, a flesh-scraper; an instrument used in the bath for cleansing the skin. To this interpretation the preference seems to be given by Kühner and Bornemann, to whom I adhere. Schneider, whom Krüger follows, would have it a head-band or fillet, such as was worn by women, and by persons that went to consult oracles. Poppo observes that the latter sort of prizes would be less acceptable to soldiers than the former. There were, however, women in the Grecian camp, as will afterward be seen, to whom the soldiers that gained the prizes might have presented them. The sense of the word must, therefore, be left doubtful. The sense of *strigilis* is supported by Suidas; see Sturz's Lex. s. v.

hopes, but was evidently distressed; for it was no part of his character not to pay when he had the means. 12. But while he was there, Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis king of the Cilicians, paid him a visit, and was said to have presented him with a large sum of money. He in consequence gave the troops pay for four months. The Cilician queen had with her a body-guard of Cilicians and Aspendians; and it was reported that Cyrus had connection with her.

13. Hence he proceeded two days' march, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, a populous city. Here, by the road-side, was a fountain, called the fountain of Midas, king of Phrygia; at which Midas is said to have captured the Satyr,[1] by mixing wine with the water.

14. Hence he proceeded, two days' march, ten parasangs, to Tyriæum, a well-peopled city, where he staid three days. The Cilician queen is said to have requested Cyrus to show her his army. With the desire therefore of exhibiting it to her, he reviewed his troops, as well Greek as Barbarian, in the plain. 15. He ordered the Greeks to be marshaled, and to take their places, as they were accustomed to do for battle, each captain arranging his own men. They were accordingly drawn up four deep; Menon and his troops took the right wing; Clearchus and his men the left; and the other captains occupied the center. 16. First of all, then, Cyrus reviewed the Barbarians, who marched past him, drawn up in troops and companies;[2] and afterward the Greeks, riding by them in his chariot, with the Cilician queen in her car.[3] They had all brazen helmets, scarlet tunics, greaves, and polished shields. 17. When he had ridden past them all, he stopped his chariot in front of their phalanx, and sent Pigres the interpreter to the Greek officers, with orders for them to present arms,[4] and to advance with their whole phalanx. The officers communicated these orders to

[1] Τὸν Σάτυρον.] Silenus. See Servius ad Virg. Ecl. vi. 13.

[2] Κατὰ ἴλας καὶ κατὰ τάξεις.] Ἴλη signifies properly a troop of horse, consisting of 64 men; and τάξις, a company of foot, which Xenophon, in the Cyropædia, makes to consist of 100 men.

[3] Ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης.] The *harmamaxa* was a Persian carriage, probably covered, for women and children. See Q. Curt. iii. 3, 23; Wesseling ad Herod. vii. 41.

[4] Προβάλεσθαι τὰ ὅπλα.] "To hold out the shield and the spear, the one to defend the person, and the other to repel or attack an adversary." *Kühner.*

their soldiers; and, when the trumpeter gave the signal, they presented arms and advanced. Then, as they proceeded with a quicker pace and loud shouts, the soldiers of their own accord took to running, bearing down upon the tents of the Persians. 18. Upon this, there arose great terror among the rest of the Barbarians; the Cilician queen fled from her car; and the people in the market deserted their goods and took to their heels; while the Greeks marched up to the tents with laughter. The Cilician queen, on beholding the splendor and discipline of the army, was struck with admiration; and Cyrus was delighted when he saw the terror with which the Greeks inspired the Barbarians.

19. Hence he advanced, three days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to Iconium, the last town of Phrygia; where he halted three days. He then went forward through Lycaonia, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs; and this country, as being that of an enemy, he permitted the Greeks to ravage.

20. From hence Cyrus dispatched the Cilician queen, by the shortest road, into Cilicia; and sent with her the troops which Menon had, and Menon himself. Cyrus, with the rest of the army, proceeded through Cappadocia, four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Dana, a populous, large, and wealthy city. Here he staid three days; in the course of which he put to death a Persian, named Megaphernes, a wearer of the royal purple,[1] and a certain other person in power, one of the provincial governors having accused them of conspiring against him.

21. They then made an attempt to enter Cilicia; but the sole entrance was a road broad enough only for a single carriage, very steep, and impracticable for an army to pass, if any one opposed them. Syennesis, besides, was said to be stationed on the heights, guarding the defile; on which account Cyrus halted for a day in the plain. The next day, a

[1] *Φοινικιστὴν βασίλειον.*] Æmilius Portus, on the authority of Zonaras, Lex. p. 1818, interprets this "dyer of the king's purple;" an interpretation repugnant to what follows. Morus makes it *purpuratus*; Larcher, *vexillarius*, because in Diod. Sic. xiv. 26, a standard is called *φοινικίς*: Brodæus gives 'unus è regiis familiaribus, puniceâ veste indutus, non purpureâ.' Without doubt he was one of the highest Persian nobles, as he is joined with the *ὕπαρχοι δυνάσται*." *Kühner*.

messenger came to inform him that Syennesis had quitted the heights, on receiving information that Menon's army was already in Cilicia within the mountains, and hearing that Tamos had a number of galleys, belonging to the Lacedæmonians and Cyrus himself, sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia. 22. Cyrus accordingly ascended the mountains without any opposition, and saw[1] the tents in which the Cilicians kept guard. Hence he descended into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and abounding with all kinds of trees, as well as vines. It also produced great quantities of sesamum, panic, millet,[2] wheat, and barley. A chain of hills, strong and high, encompasses it on all sides from sea to sea. 23. Descending through this plain, he proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty-five parasangs, to Tarsus, a large and opulent city of Cilicia. Here was the palace of Syennesis, the king of the Cilicians; and through the midst of the city runs a river, called the Cydnus, the breadth of which is two plethra. 24. This city the inhabitants, with Syennesis, had deserted for a stronghold upon the mountains, except those who kept shops.[3] Those also remained behind, who lived near the sea at Soli and at Issi.

25. Epyaxa, the wife of Syennesis, had arrived at Tarsus five days before Cyrus. But in passing over the mountains which skirt the plain, two companies of Menon's troops had perished; some said that they had been cut to pieces by the Cilicians, while committing some depredations; others, that being left

[1] Εἶδε.] This seems to be the reading of all the manuscripts, and is retained by Poppo, Bornemann, Dindorf, and Kühner. But Schneider and Weiske read εἷλε, "took possession of," on the suggestion of Muretus, Var. Lect. xv. 10, who thought it superfluous for Xenophon to say that Cyrus merely *saw* the tents. Lion, however, not unreasonably supposes this verb to be intended to mark the distance at which Cyrus passed from the tents, that is, that he passed within sight of them, the Cilicians having retired only a short space to the rear.

[2] *Σήσαμον καὶ μελίνην καὶ κέγχρον.*] *Sesamum* is a leguminous plant, well known in the East; the seeds of it resemble hemp-seed, and are boiled and eaten like rice. *Μελίνη*, *panicum*, is a plant resembling millet. *Κέγχρος*, *milium*, millet, is far the best known of the three to Europeans. Panic bears its grain in ears; millet, in bunches.

[3] *Καπηλεῖα.*] *Καπηλεῖον* is often used in the sense of *a tavern;* sometimes in a more general sense, as *any kind of shop.* We may suppose that all those remained behind who had any thing to sell, with the hope of getting profit.

behind, and unable to find the rest of the army or their road, they had been destroyed while wandering about. They amounted to a hundred heavy-armed men. 26. When the rest of Menon's troops came up, full of resentment at the fate of their comrades, they plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace in it. Cyrus, on entering the city, sent for Syennesis to come to him; but Syennesis answered, that he had never yet put himself in the power of one stronger than himself; nor would he then consent to go to Cyrus, until his wife prevailed upon him, and he received solemn assurances of safety. 27. Afterward, when they had met, Syennesis gave Cyrus a large sum of money for the support of his army, and Cyrus in return presented him with such gifts as are held in estimation by a king, a horse with a golden bit, a golden chain and bracelets, and a golden cimiter and Persian robe. He also engaged that his country should no more be plundered, and that he should receive back the captured slaves, if they any where met with them.

CHAPTER III.

Cyrus is forced to stay twenty days at Tarsus by a mutiny of the Greek soldiers, who, suspecting that they were led against the king, refuse to go further, and offer violence to Clearchus, who endeavors to force them to proceed. But being told by Cyrus that the expedition is directed against Abrocomas, and promised an increase of pay, they agree to continue their march.

1. Here Cyrus and the army remained twenty days; for the soldiers refused to proceed further, as they now began to suspect that they were marching against the king, and said that they had not been hired for this purpose. Clearchus, first of all, endeavored to compel his soldiers to proceed; but, as soon as he began to advance, they pelted him and his baggage-cattle with stones. 2. Clearchus, indeed, on this occasion, had a narrow escape of being stoned to death. At length, when he saw that he should not be able to proceed by force, he called a meeting of his soldiers; and at first, standing before them, he continued for some time to shed tears, while they, looking on, were struck with wonder, and remained silent. He then addressed them to this effect:

3. "Wonder not, soldiers, that I feel distressed at the present occurrences; for Cyrus engaged himself to me by ties of hospitality, and honored me, when I was an exile from my country, both with other marks of esteem, and by presenting me with ten thousand darics. On receiving this money, I did not treasure it up for my own use, or squander it in luxury, but spent it upon you. 4. First of all, I made war upon the Thracians, and, in the cause of Greece, and with your assistance, took vengeance upon them by expelling them from the Chersonesus, when they would have taken the country from its Grecian colonists. When Cyrus summoned me, I set out to join him, taking you with me, that if he had need of my aid, I might do him service in return for the benefits that I had received from him. 5. But since you are unwilling to accompany him on this expedition, I am under the obligation, either, by deserting you, to preserve the friendship of Cyrus, or, by proving false to him, to adhere to you. Whether I shall do right, I do not know; but I shall give you the preference, and will undergo with you whatever may be necessary. Nor shall any one ever say that, after leading Greeks into a country of Barbarians, I deserted the Greeks, and adopted, in preference, the friendship of the Barbarians.

6. "Since, however, you decline to obey me, or to follow me, I will go with you, and submit to whatever may be destined for us. For I look upon you to be at once my country, my friends, and my fellow-soldiers, and consider that with you I shall be respected, wherever I may be: but that, if separated from you, I shall be unable either to afford assistance to a friend, or to avenge myself upon an enemy. Feel assured, therefore, that I am resolved to accompany you wherever you go."

7. Thus he spoke; and the soldiers, as well those under his own command as the others, on hearing these assurances, applauded him for saying that he would not march against the king; and more than two thousand of the troops of Xenias and Pasion, taking with them their arms and baggage, went and encamped under Clearchus.

8. Cyrus, perplexed and grieved at these occurrences, sent for Clearchus; who, however, would not go, but sending a messenger to Cyrus without the knowledge of the soldiers, bade him be of good courage, as these matters would be ar-

ranged to his satisfaction. He also desired Cyrus to send for him again, but, when Cyrus had done so, he again declined to go.[1] 9. Afterward, having assembled his own soldiers, and those who had recently gone over to him, and any of the rest that wished to be present, he spoke to the following effect:

"It is evident, soldiers, that the situation of Cyrus with regard to us is the same as ours with regard to him; for we are no longer his soldiers, since we refuse to follow him, nor is he any longer our paymaster. 10. That he considers himself wronged by us, however, I am well aware; so that, even when he sends for me, I am unwilling to go to him, principally from feeling shame, because I am conscious of having been in all respects false to him; and in addition, from being afraid that, when he has me in his power, he may take vengeance on me for the matters in which he conceives that he has been injured. 11. This therefore, seems to me to be no time for us to sleep, or to neglect our own safety; but, on the contrary, to consider what we must do under these circumstances.[2] As long as we remain here, it seems necessary to consider how we may best remain with safety; or, if we determine upon going at once, how we may depart with the greatest security, and how we may obtain provisions; for without these, the general and the private soldier are alike inefficient.[3] 12. Cyrus is indeed a most valuable friend to those to whom he is a friend, but a most violent enemy to those to whom he is an enemy. He has forces, too, both infantry and cavalry, as well as a naval power, as we all alike see and know; for we seem to me to be encamped at no great distance from him. It is therfore full time to say whatever any one thinks to be best." Having spoken thus, he made a pause.

13. Upon this, several rose to speak; some, of their own accord, to express what they thought; others, previously instructed by Clearchus, to point out what difficulty there would be either in remaining or departing, without the consent of

[1] He himself, the very person who had desired Cyrus to send for him, refused to go; this refusal being given for the sake of keeping up appearances.

[2] Ἐκ τούτων.] "Ex his, secundum hæc, h. e. in hac rerum conditione." *Kühner*. Bornemann interprets simply *post hæc*.

[3] Οὔτε στρατηγοῦ οὔτε ἰδιώτου ὄφελος οὐδέν.] "No profit (or use) either of a general or private soldier."

Cyrus. 14. One of these, pretending to be eager to proceed with all possible haste to Greece, proposed that they should choose other commanders without delay, if Clearchus were unwilling to conduct them back; that they should purchase provisions, as there was a market in the Barbarian camp, and pack up their baggage; that they should go to Cyrus, and ask him to furnish them with ships, in which they might sail home; and, if he should not grant them, that they should beg of him a guide, to conduct them back through such parts of the country as were friendly toward them.[1] But if he would not even allow them a guide, that they should, without delay, form themseves in warlike order, and send a detachment to take possession of the heights, in order that neither Cyrus nor the Cilicians ("of whom," said he, "we have many prisoners, and much money that we have taken") may be the first to occupy them. Such were the suggestions that he offered; but after him Clearchus spoke as follows:

15. "Let no one of you mention me, as likely to undertake this command; for I see many reasons why I ought not to do so; but be assured, that whatever person you may elect, I shall pay the greatest possible deference to him, that you may see that I know how to obey as well as any other man."

16. After him another arose, who pointed out the folly of him who advised them to ask for ships, just as if Cyrus were not about to sail back,[2] and who showed, too, how foolish it would be to request a guide of the very person "whose plans," said he, "we are frustrating. And," he added, "if we should trust the guide that Cyrus might assign us, what will hinder Cyrus from giving orders to occupy the heights before we reach them? 17. For my own part I should be reluctant

[1] *Διὰ φιλίας τῆς χώρας.*] The earlier editions have *ὡς* before *διὰ*, of which, as being useless, Schneider first suggested the omission; and which has accordingly been rejected by subsequent editors. The guide was to conduct them only through regions that were friendly to Cyrus, or where he could procure them a friendly reception.

[2] *Ὥσπερ πάλιν τὸν στόλον Κύρου μὴ ποιουμένου.*] About the meaning of these words there has been much dispute. The translation which I have given is that of Bornemann, "quasi retro Cyrus navigaturus non esset," which is adopted by Kühner. "The speaker assumes," says Bornemann, "that Cyrus is directing his march against the Pisidians or some other rebellious people, and that, when he has reduced them, he will return to his province."

to embark in any vessel that he might grant us, lest he should send us and the galleys to the bottom together; I should also be afraid to follow any guide that he may appoint, lest he should conduct us into places from whence there would be no means of escape; and I had rather, if I depart without the consent of Cyrus, depart without his knowledge; but this is impossible. 18. I say then that such proposals are absurdities; and my advice is, that certain persons, such as are fit for the task, should accompany Clearchus to Cyrus, and ask him in what service he wishes to employ us; and if the undertaking be similar to that in which he before employed foreign troops,[1] that we too should follow him, and not appear more cowardly than those who previously went up with him. 19. But if the present design seem greater and more difficult and more perilous than the former, that that they should ask, in that case, either to induce us to accompany him by persuasion, or, yielding himself to our persuasions, to give us a passage to a friendly country; for thus, if we accompany him, we shall accompany him as friends and zealous supporters, and if we leave him, we shall depart in safety; that they then report to us what answer he makes to this application; and that we, having heard his reply, take measures in accordance with it."

20. These suggestions were approved; and, having chosen certain persons, they sent them with Clearchus to ask Cyrus the questions agreed upon by the army. Cyrus answered that he had heard that Abrocomas, an enemy of his, was on the banks of the Euphrates, twelve days' march distant; and it was against him, he said, that he wished to march; and if Abrocomas should be there, he said that he longed to take due vengeance on him; but if he should retreat, "we will consider there," he added, "how to proceed."

21. The delegates, having heard this answer, reported it to the soldiers, who had still a suspicion that he was leading them against the king, but nevertheless resolved to accompany him. They then asked for an increase of pay, and Cyrus promised to give them all half as much again as they received before, that is to say, instead of a daric, three half-darics a month for every

[1] The reference is to the three hundred Greeks that went up with Cyrus to Babylon under the command of Xenias the Parrhasian, i 1, 2.

soldier. But no one heard there, at least publicly, that he was leading them against the king.

CHAPTER IV.

The army reaches Issi, the last city in Cilicia, at which the fleet then arrives. Cyrus proceeds into Syria, where two of the Greek captains, Xenias and Pasion, desert the expedition; the good feeling of Cyrus, in forbearing to pursue them, renders the other Greeks more willing to accompany him. He arrives at Thapsacus, on the Euphrates, where he discloses the real object of his expedition to the Greek troops, who express discontent, but are induced by fresh promises, and the example of Menon, to cross the river.

1. Hence he proceeded, two days' march, a distance of ten parasangs, to the river Psarus, the breadth of which was three plethra. He then went forward, one days' march, five parasangs, to the river Pyramus, the breadth of which is a stadium. Hence he advanced in two days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to Issi, the last city in Cilicia, situate upon the sea-coast, a populous, large, and rich place.

2. Here Cyrus remained three days, in which time the ships from Peloponnesus, thiry-five in number, arrived, Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian being their commander. But Tamos, an Egyptian, had conducted the fleet from Ephesus, who had also with him five-and-twenty other ships, belonging to Cyrus, with which he had blockaded Miletus when it was in the interest of Tissaphernes, and had fought against him on behalf of Cyrus. 3. In these vessels came also Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, who had been sent for by Cyrus, and who had with him seven hundred heavy-armed troops, which he commanded as part of the army of Cyrus. The ships were moored opposite Cyrus's tent. Here, too, the Greek mercenaries, who were in the pay of Abrocomas, four hundred heavy-armed men, deserted him and came over to Cyrus, and joined in the expedition against the king.

4. Hence he proceeded, one day's march, five parasangs, to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. These were two fortresses;[1]

[1] Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη.] As the fem. πύλαι precedes, and as the *gates* were not properly the τείχη, but the space between them, Weiske

of the part within them, toward Cilicia, Syennesis and a guard of Cilicians had the charge; the part without, toward Syria, a garrison of the king's soldiers was reported to occupy. Between the two runs a river, called Carsus, a plethrum in breadth. The whole space between the fortresses was three stadia; and it was impossible to pass it by force; for the passage was very narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. At each of the fortresses were gates. 5. It was on account of this passage that Cyrus had sent for the fleet, that he might disembark heavy-armed troops within and without the gates,[1] who might force a passage through the enemy, if they still kept guard at the Syrian gates; a post which he expected Abrocomas would hold, as he had under his command a numerous army. Abrocomas however did not attempt this; but, when he heard that Cyrus was in Cilicia, retreated out of Phœnicia, and proceeded to join the king, having with him, as was said, three hundred thousand men.

6. Hence he proceeded through Syria, one day's march, five parasangs, to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by Phœnicians: this place was a public mart, and many merchant-vessels lay at anchor there. 7. Here they remained seven days; and here Xenias the Arcadian captain, and Pasion the Megarean, embarking in a vessel, and putting on board their most valuable effects, sailed away; being actuated, as most thought, by motives of jealousy, because Cyrus had allowed Clearchus to retain under his command their soldiers, who had seceded to Clearchus in the expectation of returning to Greece, and not of marching against the king. Upon their disappearance, a rumor pervaded the army that

conjectures *ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα, κ. τ. λ.*, which Kühner and others approve, but have not admitted into the text. Kühner interprets *τείχη* "castella," and I have followed him. When Xenophon speaks, a little below, of *τείχη εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθήκοντα*, he seems to mean *walls* attached to the fortress nearest to the sea. So when he says that *at each of the fortresses, ἐπὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἀμφοτέροις, were gates*, he appears to signify that there were gates in the walls attached to each of the fortresses. "At a distance of about six hundred yards, corresponding with the three stadia of Xenophon, are the ruins of a wall, which can be traced amid a dense shrubbery, from the mountains down to the sea-shore, where it terminates in a round tower." *Ainsworth*, p. 59.

[1] "That is, within the two fortresses and beyond them, viz., in Syria." *Kühner*.

Cyrus would pursue them with ships of war; and some wished that they might be taken, as having acted perfidiously; while others pitied their fate, if they should be caught.

8. But Cyrus, calling together the captains, said to them, "Xenias and Pasion have left us: but let them be well assured that they have not fled clandestinely; for I know which way they are gone; nor have they escaped beyond my reach; for I have triremes that would overtake their vessel. But, by the gods, I shall certainly not pursue them; nor shall any one say that as long as a man remains with me, I make use of his services, but that, when he desires to leave me, I seize and ill-treat his person, and despoil him of his property. But let them go, with the consciousness that they have acted a worse part toward us than we toward them. I have, indeed, their children and wives under guard at Tralles; but not even of them shall they be deprived, but shall receive them back in consideration of their former service to me." 9. Thus Cyrus spoke; and the Greeks, even such as had been previously disinclined to the expedition, when they heard of the noble conduct of Cyrus, accompanied him with greater pleasure and alacrity.

After these occurrences, Cyrus proceeded four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Chalus, which is a plethrum in breadth, and full of large tame fish, which the Syrians looked upon as gods, allowed no one to hurt either them or the pigeons. The villages, in which they fixed their quarters, belonged to Parysatis, having been given her for her girdle.[1]

10. Thence he advanced, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs, to the source of the river Dardes, which is a plethrum in breadth. Here was the palace of Belesys, the governor of Syria, and a very large and beautiful garden, containing all that the seasons produce. But Cyrus laid it waste, and burned the palace.

[1] Εἰς ξώνην.] Nominally to furnish her with girdles, or to supply ornaments for her girdle, it being the custom with the Persian kings to bestow places on their queens and other favorites, ostensibly for the purpose of furnishing them with articles of dress, food, or other conveniences. See Herod. ii. 98; Plato, Alcib. I. c. 40; Cic. in Verr. iii. 23; Corn. Nepos, Life of Themistocles, c. 10.

11. Hence he proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, which is there four stadia in breadth, and on which is situated a large and rich city, named Thapsacus. The army remained there five days; and Cyrus sent for the Greek captains, and told them, that his march was directed to Babylon, against the Great King; and he desired them to make this announcement to the soldiers, and to persuade them to accompany him.

12. The leaders, assembling their troops, communicated this information to them; and the soldiers expressed themselves much displeased with their officers, and said that they had long known this, but concealed it; and they refused to go, unless such a donative was granted them as had been given to those who had before gone up with Cyrus to his father, and that, too, when they did not go to fight, but merely attended Cyrus when his father summoned him. 13. This state of things the generals reported to Cyrus; who in consequence promised to give every man five minæ of silver,[1] when they should arrive at Babylon, and their full pay besides, until he should bring back the Greeks to Ionia again. The greatest part of the Grecian force was thus prevailed upon to accompany him. But before it was certain what the other soldiers would do, whether they would accompany Cyrus or not, Menon assembled his own troops apart from the rest, and spoke as follows:

14. "If you will follow my advice, soldiers, you will, without incurring either danger or toil, make yourselves honored by Cyrus beyond the rest of the army. What, then, would I have you do? Cyrus is at this moment urgent with the Greeks to accompany him against the king; I therefore suggest that, before it is known how the other Greeks will answer Cyrus, you should cross over the river Euphrates. 15. For if they should determine upon accompanying him, you will appear to have been the cause of it, by being the first to pass the river; and to you, as being most forward with your services, Cyrus will feel and repay the obligation, as no one knows how to do better than himself. But if the others should determine not to go with him, we shall all of us return back again; but you, as having alone complied with his wishes,

[1] Reckoning the talent at £243 15*s.*, the mina (60 = a talent), will be £4 1*s.* 3*d.*, and five minæ £20 6*s.* 3*d.*

and as being most worthy of his confidence, he will employ in garrison duty and posts of authority; and whatever else you may ask of him, I feel assured that, as the friends of Cyrus, you will obtain it."

16. On hearing these proposals, they at once complied with them, and crossed the river before the others had given their answer. And when Cyrus perceived that they had crossed, he was much pleased, and dispatched Glus to Menon's troops with this message: "I applaud your conduct, my friends; and it shall be my care that you may applaud me; or think me no longer Cyrus." 17. The soldiers, in consequence, being filled with great expectations, prayed that he might succeed; and to Menon Cyrus was said to have sent most magnificent presents. After these transactions, he passed the river, and all the rest of the army followed him; and, in crossing the stream, no one was wetted by its waters above the breast. 18. The people of Thapsacus said, that this river had never, except on that occasion, been passable on foot, but only by means of boats; which Abrocomas, going before, had burned, that Cyrus might not be able to cross. It seemed, therefore, that this had happened by divine interposition, and that the river had plainly made way for Cyrus as the future king.

19. Hence he advanced through Syria, nine days' march, a distance of fifty parasangs, and arrived at the river Araxes, where were a number of villages, stored with corn and wine. Here the army remained three days, and collected provisions.

CHAPTER V.

The army proceeds through Arabia, having the Euphrates on the right. They suffer from want of provisions, and many of the beasts of burden perish; but supplies are procured from the opposite bank of the Euphrates. A dispute occurs between Clearchus and Menon, which is quelled by Cyrus.

1. Cyrus now advanced through Arabia, having the Euphrates on his right, five days' march through the desert, a distance of thirty-five parasangs. In this region the ground was entirely a plain, level as the sea. It was covered with

wormwood, and whatever other kinds of shrub or reed grew on it, were all odoriferous as perfumes. But there were no trees. 2. There were wild animals, however, of various kinds; the most numerous were wild asses; there were also many ostriches, as well as bustards and antelopes; and these animals the horsemen of the army sometimes hunted. The wild asses, when any one pursued them, would start forward a considerable distance, and then stand still; (for they ran much more swiftly than the horse;) and again, when the horse approached, they did the same; and it was impossible to catch them, unless the horsemen, stationing themselves at intervals, kept up the pursuit with a succession of horses. The flesh of those that were taken resembled venison, but was more tender. 3. An ostrich no one succeeded in catching; and those horsemen who hunted that bird, soon desisted from the pursuit; for it far outstripped[1] them in its flight, using its feet for running, and its wings, raising them like a sail.[2] The bustards might be taken, if a person started them suddenly; for they fly but a short distance, like partridges, and soon tire. Their flesh is very delicious.

4. Marching through this region, they came to the river Mascas, the breadth of which is a plethrum. Here was a large deserted city, of which the name was Corsote, and which was entirely surrounded by the Mascas. Here they staid three days, and furnished themselves with provisions.

5. Thence he proceeded, thirteen days' march through the desert, a distance of ninety parasangs, still keeping the Euphrates on the right, and arrived at a place called the Gates.[3] In this march many of the beasts of burden perished of hunger; for there was neither grass, nor any sort of tree,

[1] 'Απεσπᾶτο.] "Drew itself away from" its pursuers. There are various readings of this word. Kühner adopts *ἀπεσπα*, in the sense of "drew off his pursuers from the rest of the huntsmen." Bornemann reads *ἀπέπτατο.*

[2] It would be needless to repeat all that has been said as to the construction of this passage; I have adopted the explication of Kühner.

[3] Επὶ Πύλας.] A strait or defile through which the road lay from Mesopotamia into Babylonia; hence called the *Pylæ Babyloniæ*. It is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus *sub voce Χαρμάνδη*. Ainsworth, p. 80, places it fourteen miles north of Felújah, and a hundred and eight miles north of Babylon.

but the whole country was completely bare. The inhabitants, who quarried and fashioned millstones near the river, took them to Babylon, and sold them, and lived upon corn which they bought with the money. 6. Corn, too, failed the army, and it was not possible to buy any, except in the Lydian market among Cyrus's Barbarian troops, where they purchased a capithe[1] of wheat-flour or barley-meal for four sigli. The siglus is equivalent to seven Attic oboli and a half,[2] and the capithe contains two Attic chœnices. The soldiers therefore lived entirely upon flesh.

7. There were some of these marches which he made extremely long, whenever he wished to get to water or forage. On one occasion, when a narrow and muddy road presented itself, almost impassable for the wagons, Cyrus halted on the spot with the most distinguished and wealthy of his train, and ordered Glus and Pigres, with a detachment of the Barbarian forces, to assist in extricating the wagons. 8. But as they appeared to him to do this too tardily, he ordered, as if in anger, the noblest Persians of his suite to assist in expediting the carriages. Then might be seen a specimen of their ready obedience; for, throwing off their purple cloaks, in the place where each happened to be standing, they rushed forward, as one would run in a race for victory, down an extremely steep declivity, having on those rich vests which they wear, and embroidered trowsers, some too with chains about their necks and bracelets on their wrists, and, leaping with these equipments straight into the mud, brought the wagons up quicker than any one would have imagined.

9. On the whole, Cyrus evidently used the greatest speed throughout the march, and made no delay, except where he halted in order to obtain a supply of provisions, or for some other necessary purpose; thinking that the quicker he went, the more unprepared he should find the king when he engaged him, and that the more slowly he proceeded,

[1] Καπίθη.] A measure, as is said below, equal to two Attic *chœnices*. The Attic chœnix is valued by Mr. Hussey, Essay on Ancient Weights, etc., ch. 13, sec. 4, at 1.8467 pint.

[2] The *siglus* is regarded by some as the same with the Hebrew shekel, but erroneously, as the siglus was of less value than the shekel. The obolus is valued by Mr. Hussey at something more than three half-pence; seven oboli and a half would therefore be about a shilling.

the more numerous would be the force collected by the king. And an attentive observer might see that the empire of the king was strong indeed in extent of territory and number of inhabitants, but weak through the length of the roads, and the dispersion of its forces, if an enemy invaded it with rapid movements.

10. On the other side of the Euphrates, over against their course through the desert, was an opulent and extensive city, called Charmande; from this place the soldiers purchased provisions, crossing the river on rafts in the following manner. They filled the skins, which they had for the coverings of their tents,[1] with dry hay, and then closed and stitched them together, so that the water could not touch the hay. Upon these they went across, and procured necessaries, such as wine made of the fruit of the palm-tree, and panic[2] corn; for this was most plentiful in those parts. 11. Here the soldiers of Menon and those of Clearchus falling into a dispute about something, Clearchus, judging a soldier of Menon's to be in the wrong, inflicted stripes upon him, and the man, coming to the quarters of his own troops, told his comrades what had occurred, who, when they heard it, showed great displeasure and resentment toward Clearchus. 12. On the same day, Clearchus, after going to the place where the river was crossed, and inspecting the market there, was returning on horseback to his tent through Menon's camp, with a few attendants. Cyrus had not yet arrived, but was still on his way thither. One of Menon's soldiers, who was employed in cleaving wood, when he saw Clearchus riding through the camp, threw his ax at him, but missed his aim; another then threw a stone at him, and another, and afterward several, a great uproar ensuing. 13. Clearchus sought refuge in his own camp, and immediately called his men to arms, ordering his heavy-armed troops to remain on the spot, resting their shields against their knees, while he himself, with the Thracians, and the horse-

[1] *Σκεπάσματα* is the reading of Dindorf, but it ought rather to be *στεγάσματα*, if the distinction of Krüger and Kühner, who adopt the latter, be right; viz. that *σκέπασμα* signifies a covering to wrap round the body, and *στέγασμα* a shelter against sun or rain. See Arrian, iii. 29. This mode of crossing rivers, we learn from Dr. Layard, is still practiced in Armenia both by men and women.

[2] See note on i. 2, 22.

men that were in his camp, to the number of more than forty, (and most of these were Thracians), bore down toward the troops of Menon, so that they and Menon himself were struck with terror, and made a general rush to their arms; while some stood still, not knowing how to act under the circumstances. 14. Proxenus happened then to be coming up behind the rest, with a body of heavy-armed men following him, and immediately led his troops into the middle space between them both, and drew them up under arms, begging Clearchus to desist from what he was doing. But Clearchus was indignant, because, when he had narrowly escaped stoning, Proxenus spoke mildly of the treatment that he had received; he accordingly desired him to stand out from between them.

15. At this juncture Cyrus came up, and inquired into the affair. He then instantly took his javelins in his hand, and rode, with such of his confidential officers as were with him, into the midst of the Greeks, and addressed them thus: 16. "Clearchus and Proxenus, and you other Greeks who are here present, you know not what you are doing. For if you engage in any contention with one another, be assured, that this very day I shall be cut off, and you also not long after me; since, if our affairs go ill, all these Barbarians, whom you see before you, will prove more dangerous enemies to us than even those who are with the king." 17. Clearchus, on hearing these remonstrances, recovered his self-possession; and both parties, desisting from the strife, deposited their arms in their respective encampments.

CHAPTER VI.

Traces of the king's troops are perceived. Orontes, a Persian nobleman, a relation of Cyrus, offers to go forward with a body of cavalry, and lay an ambush for the king's army. Before he sets out, however, he is found to be in correspondence with the king, and is put to death.

1. As they advanced from this place, the footsteps and dung of horses were observed, and the track was conjectured to be that of about two thousand cavalry. These, as they went before, had burned all the fodder, and whatever else might have been of use to Cyrus. And here Orontes, a Persian, by birth

connected with the king, and reckoned one of the ablest of the Persians in the field, turned traitor to Cyrus; with whom, indeed, he had previously been at strife but had been reconciled to him. 2. He now told Cyrus, that if he would give him a thousand horse, he would either cut off, by lying in ambush, the body of cavalry that were burning all before them, or would take the greater number of them prisoners, and hinder them from consuming every thing in their way, and prevent them from ever informing the king that they had seen the army of Cyrus. Cyrus, when he heard his proposal, thought it advantageous; and desired him to take a certain number of men from each of the different commanders.

3. Orontes, thinking that he had secured the cavalry, wrote a letter to the king, saying that he would come to him with as many horse as he could obtain; and he desired him to give directions to his own cavalry to receive him as a friend. There were also in the letter expressions reminding the king of his former friendship and fidelity to him. This letter he gave to a man, upon whom, as he believed, he could depend, but who, when he received it, carried it to Cyrus. 4. Cyrus, after reading the letter, caused Orontes to be arrested, and summoned to his own tent seven of the most distinguished Persians of his staff, and desired the Greek generals to bring up a body of heavy-armed men, who should arrange themselves under arms around his tent. They did as he desired, and brought with them about three thousand heavy-armed soldiers. 5. Clearchus he called in to assist at the council, as that officer appeared, both to himself and to the rest, to be held most in honor among the Greeks. Afterward, when Clearchus left the council, he related to his friends how the trial of Orontes was conducted; for there was no injunction of secrecy. He said, that Cyrus just opened the proceedings:

6. "I have solicited your attendance, my friends, in order that, on consulting with you, I may do, with regard to Orontes here before you, whatever may be thought just before gods and men. In the first place, then, my father appointed him to be subject to me. And when afterward, by the command, as he himself states, of my brother, he engaged in war against me, having possession of the citadel of Sardis, I, too, took up arms against him, and made him resolve to desist from

war with me; and then I received from him, and gave him in return, the right-hand of friendship. 7. And since that occurrence," he continued, "is there anything in which I have wronged you?" Orontes replied that there was not. Cyrus again asked him, "And did you not then subsequently, when, as you own yourself, you had received no injury from me, go over to the Mysians, and do all the mischief in your power to my territories?" Orontes answered in the affirmative. "And did you not then," continued Cyrus, "when you had thus again proved your strength, come to the altar of Diana, and say that you repented, and, prevailing upon me by entreaties, give me, and receive from me in return, pledges of mutual faith?" This, too, Orontes acknowledged. 8. "What injury, then," continued Cyrus, "have you received from me, that you are now, for the third time, discovered in traitorous designs against me?" Orontes saying that he had received no injury from him, Cyrus asked him, "You confess, then, that you have acted unjustly toward me?" "I am necessitated to confess it," replied Orontes. Cyrus then again inquired, "And would you yet become an enemy to my brother, and a faithful friend to me?" Orontes answered, "Though I should become so, O Cyrus, I should no longer appear so to you." 9. On this Cyrus said to those present, "Such are this man's deeds, and such his confessions. And now, do you first, O Clearchus, declare your opinion, whatever seems right to you." Clearchus spoke thus: "I advise, that this man be put out of the way with all dispatch; that so it may be no longer necessary to be on our guard against him, but that we may have leisure as far as he is concerned, to benefit those who are willing to be our friends." 10. In this opinion, Clearchus said, the rest concurred. Afterward, by the direction of Cyrus, all of them, even those related to the prisoner, rising from their seats, took Orontes by the girdle,[1] in token that he was to suffer death; when those to whom directions had been given, led him away. And when these saw him pass, who had previously been used to bow before him, they bowed before him as usual, though they knew that he was being led to execution.

[1] This was a custom among the Persians on such occasions, as is expressly signified by Diodorus Siculus, xvii. 30, in his account of the condemnation of Charidemus, at the command of Darius.

11. After he had been conducted into the tent of Artapatas, the most confidential of Cyrus's scepter-bearers,[1] no one from that time ever beheld Orontes either living or dead, nor could any one say, from certain knowledge, in what manner he died. Various conjectures were made; but no burial-place of him was ever seen.

CHAPTER VII.

Cyrus enters Babylonia, and reviews his troops; he addresses the Greeks, and promises them great rewards in case of victory. He advances in order of battle, but afterward, supposing that his brother had no immediate intention to engage, proceeds with less caution.

1. Hence Cyrus proceeded through Babylonia, three days' march, a distance of twelve parasangs: and at the end of the third day's march, he reviewed his army, both Greeks and Barbarians, in the plain, about midnight; for he expected that with the ensuing dawn the king would come up with his army to offer him battle. He desired Clearchus to take command of the right wing, and Menon the Thessalian that of the left, while he himself drew up his own troops.

2. After the review, at the dawn of day, some deserters from the Great King came and gave Cyrus information respecting the royal army. Cyrus, assembling the generals and captains of the Greeks, consulted with them how he should conduct the engagement, and then encouraged them with the following exhortations: 3. "It is not, O Greeks, from any want of Barbarian forces, that I take you with me as auxiliaries; but it is because I think you more efficient and valuable than a multitude of Barbarians, that I have engaged you in my service. See, then, that you prove yourselves worthy of the liberty of which you are possessed, and for which I esteem you fortunate; for be well assured, that I should prefer that freedom to all that I possess, and to other possessions many times as great.

4. But that you may know to what sort of encounter you are advancing, I, from my own experience, will inform you. The

[1] Σκηπτούχων.] "Eunuchs, who, by the institution of Cyrus the elder, formed the king's body-guard. See Cyrop. vii. 5, §8." *Zeune.*

enemy's numbers are immense, and they make their onset with a loud shout; but if you are firm against this, I feel ashamed to think what sort of men, in other respects, you will find those in the country to be. But if you are true men, and prove yourselves stout-hearted, I will enable those of you who may wish to go home, to return thither the envy of their fellow-countrymen; but I think that I shall induce most of you to prefer the advantages of remaining with me to those in your own country."

5. Upon this, Gaulites, an exile from Samos, a man in the confidence of Cyrus, being present, said, "Yet some say, O Cyrus, that you make many promises now because you are in such a situation of approaching danger; but that if things should turn out well, you will not remember them;[1] and some, too, say, that even if you have both the memory and the will, you will not have the power of bestowing all that you promise." 6. Hearing this, Cyrus said, "We have before us, my friends, the empire that was my father's, extending, on the south to the parts where men can not live for heat; and on the north, to the parts where they can not live for cold; and over all that lies between these extremes, the friends of my brother are now satraps. 7. But if we conquer, it will be proper for us to make our own friends masters of these regions. So that it is not this that I fear, that I shall not have enough to give to each of my friends, if things turn out successfully, but that I shall not have friends enough to whom I may give it. And to each of you Greeks, I will also give a golden crown.

8. The Greeks who were present, when they heard these assurances, were much encouraged, and reported what he had said to the rest. The captains, too, and some others of the Greeks, went into his tent, desiring to know for certain what would be their reward if they should be victorious; and he did not let them go without satisfying the minds of all.

9. But all who conversed with him, urged him not to engage in the battle personally, but take his station behind their line. About this time, also, Clearchus put a question to Cyrus to this effect: "And do you think, Cyrus, that your brother

[1] Οὐ μεμνῆσθαι.] This is the reading in all the books and manuscripts. But a future seems to be wanted rather than a perfect. Hutchinson and others render it "te non fore memorem." Should we read μεμνήσεσθαι?

will come to battle with you?" "By Jupiter," replied Cyrus, "if he be indeed the son of Darius and Parysatis, and my brother, I shall not gain possession of these dominions without a struggle."

10. In mustering the Greeks under arms, their numbers were found to be ten thousand four hundred heavy-armed men, and two thousand four hundred peltasts; of Barbarian troops under Cyrus, there were one hundred thousand, with about twenty chariots armed with scythes.

11. Of the enemy the number was said to be one million two hundred thousand, with two hundred scythed chariots. There were, besides, six thousand cavalry, of whom Artagerses had the command; these were drawn up in front of the king himself. 12. Of the royal army there were four commanders, or generals, or leaders,[1] over each three hundred thousand men; that is to say, Abrocomas, Tissaphernes, Gobryas, and Arbaces. But of this number only nine hundred thousand were present at the battle, and one hundred and fifty scythed chariots; for Abrocomas, who was marching from Phœnicia, did not arrive till five days after the battle.

13. This information was brought to Cyrus by some of the enemy who deserted from the Great King before the battle; and such of the enemy as were taken prisoners after the battle gave the same account.

14. Hence Cyrus proceeded one day's march, a distance of three parasangs, with all his forces, as well Greek as Barbarian, drawn up in order of battle: for he expected that on this day the king would give him battle; as about the middle of the day's march, there was a deep trench dug; the breadth of it was five fathoms,[2] and the depth three. 15. This ditch extended up through the plain, to the distance of twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media.[3] Here are the canals which are sup-

[1] Ἦσαν *ἄρχοντες καὶ στράτηγοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες τέτταρες*.] Weiske considers the words *καὶ στράτηγοι καὶ ἡγεμόνες* spurious; and Schneider and some others are of his opinion. Kühner thinks that they are genuine, and explicative of the more general term *ἄρχοντες*.

[2] Ὀργυιαί.] The *ὀργυιά* was equal to 6.0675 English feet. See Hussey on Ancient Weights, etc., Append. sect. 10.

[3] Τοῦ Μηδίας *τείχους*.] As many of the best manuscripts have Μηδείας, in this passage as well as in ii. 4, 12; ii. 4, 27, and vii. 8, 25, Kühner adopts that reading, under the notion that the wall was named

plied from the river Tigris;[1] there are four of them, each a plethrum in beadth, and very deep; boats employed in conveying corn sail along them. They discharge themselves into the Euphrates, are distant from each other one parasang, and there are bridges over them. Near the Euphrates was a narrow passage between the river and the trench, about twenty feet in breadth. 16. This trench the Great King had made to serve as a defense, when he heard that Cyrus was marching against him. By this passage Cyrus and his army made their way, and got within the trench.

17. On this day the king did not come to an engagement, but there were to be seen many traces of men and horses in retreat.

18. Cyrus sent for Silanus, the Ambracian soothsayer, and gave him three thousand darics,[2] because on the eleventh day previous, while sacrificing, he had told Cyrus that the king would not fight for ten days; when Cyrus exclaimed, "He will not then fight at all, if he does not fight within that time; but if you shall prove to have spoken truly, I promise to give you ten talents." This money, therefore, he now paid him, the ten days having elapsed.

19. As the king made no attempt at the trench, to prevent the passage of Cyrus's army, it was thought both by Cyrus and the rest that he had given up the intention of fighting; so that on the day following Cyrus proceeded on his march with less caution. 20. On the day succeeding that, he pur-

from Medea, the wife of the last king of the Medes, whom the Persians conquered and despoiled of his dominions. "Those who defend the reading Μηδίας," continues Kühner, "suppose the name to be derived from the country of Media, and believe, with Mannert (Geog. i. p. 330), that it is the same wall which Semiramis built to defend her kingdom on the side of Media; but this opinion rests on very weak arguments." Ainsworth, p. 180, thinks that it extended from the Tigris to the Euphrates, and that the site of it is indicated by the ruins now called *Sidd Nimrud*, or "the Wall of Nimrod."

[1] "These canals, however, flowed, not from the Tigris into the Euphrates, but from the Euphrates into the Tigris, as is shown not only by Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny, Ammianus, but by later writers." *Kühner*. But "the difference in the level of the rivers is so slight that—it is probable that by merely altering the diagonal direction of a canal, the waters could be made to flow either way; certainly so at certain seasons." *Ainsworth*, p. 89.

[2] See note on i. 1. 9.

sued his journey seated in his chariot, and having but a small body of troops in line before him; while the far greater part of the army observed no order on their march, and many of the soldiers' arms were carried on the wagons and beasts of burden.

CHAPTER VIII.

The enemy are seen advancing in order of battle, and the army of Cyrus hastily prepare for action. The Greeks, in the right wing, put to flight the troops opposed to them, and pursue them some distance. Cyrus, in the center, directs his attack against the king, and is killed.

1. It was now about the time of full market,[1] and the station, where he intended to halt, was not far off, when Pategyas, a Persian, one of Cyrus's confidential adherents, made his appearance, riding at his utmost speed, with his horse in a sweat, and straightway called out to all whom he met, both in Persian and Greek, "that the king was approaching with a vast army, prepared as for battle." 2. Immediately great confusion ensued; for the Greeks and all the rest imagined that he would fall upon them suddenly, before they could form their ranks; 3. and Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his breast-plate, and, mounting his horse, took his javelin in his hand, and gave orders for all the rest to arm themselves, and to take their stations each in his own place. 4. They accordingly formed with all expedition; Clearchus occupying the extremity of the right wing close to the Euphrates, Proxenus being next to him, and after him the other captains in succession. Menon and his troops occupied the left wing of the Greeks.

5. Of the Barbarian forces, about one thousand Paphlagonian cavalry were stationed near Clearchus, and the Grecian peltasts on the right; and on the left was Ariæus, Cyrus's lieutenant, with the rest of the Barbarian troops. 6. In the center[2] was Cyrus, and with him about six hundred cavalry, the

[1] Ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν.] The time from the tenth hour till noon. The whole day was divided by the Greeks into four parts, πρωΐ, ἀμφὶ ἀγορὰν πλήθουσαν, μεσημβρία, δείλη. *Kühner.*

[2] The words κατὰ τὸ μέσον, which were introduced into the text by Leunclavius, as if absolutely necessary, and from a comparison of

men all armed with breast-plates, defenses for the thighs, and helmets, except Cyrus alone; for Cyrus presented himself for battle with his head unprotected. [It is said, too, that the other Persians expose themselves in battle with their heads uncovered.][1]

7. All the horses of the cavalry, that were with Cyrus, had defensive armor on the forehead and breast; and the horsemen had also Grecian swords

8. It was now mid-day, and the enemy was not yet in sight. But when it was afternoon,[2] there appeared a dust, like a white cloud, and not long after, a sort of blackness, extending to a great distance over the plain. Presently, as they approached nearer, brazen armor began to flash, and the spears and ranks became visible. 9. There was a body of cavalry, in white armor, on the left of the enemy's line; (Tissaphernes was said to have the command of them;) close by these were troops with wicker shields; and next to them, heavy-armed soldiers with long wooden shields reaching to their feet; (these were said to be Egyptians;) then other cavalry and bowmen. These all marched according to their nations, each nation separately in a solid oblong.[3] 10. In front of their line, at considerable intervals from each other, were stationed the chariots called scythed chariots; they had scythes projecting obliquely from the axletree, and others un-

Diod. Siculus, xiv. 2, Bornemann and others have omitted. I have thought it well to express them in the translation. Compare sect. 22, 23.

1 The words in brackets, as being at variance with what is said immediately before, that the Persians had helmets on their heads, Wyttenbach, Weiske, and most other critics have condemned as an interpolation of some copyist. Kühner defends them on the ground that they do not interfere with what precedes, but merely express a general custom of the Persians. Jacobs for ἄλλους conjectures παλαιούς, which Lion has received into his text; but παλαιούς does not suit well with the present διακινδυνεύειν. For my own part, I would rather see the words out of the text than in it, if for no other reason than that they break the current of the narrative. Dindorf very judiciously leaves them in brackets.

2 Δείλη.] See note on sect. 1. of this chap. "This division of the day was also distinguished into two parts, δείλη πρωΐα, and δείλη οψία, the early part of the afternoon (which is here meant), and the evening." *Kühner.*

3 Ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων.] "In an oblong full of men," *i. e.* the men being close together.

der the driver's seat, pointing to the earth, for the purpose of cutting through whatever came in their way; and the design of them was to penetrate and divide the ranks of the Greeks.

11. As to what Cyrus had said, however, when, on calling together the Greeks, he exhorted them to sustain unmoved the shout of the Barbarians, he was in this respect deceived; for they now approached, not with a shout, but with all possible silence, and quietly, with an even and slow step. 12. Cyrus in the mean time, riding by with Pigres the interpreter, and three or four others, called out to Clearchus to lead his troops against the enemy's center, for that there was the king; "and if," said he, "we are victorious in that quarter, our object is fully accomplished." 13. But though Clearchus saw that close collection of troops in the center of the enemy's line, and heard from Cyrus that the king was beyond the left of the Greeks (for so much the superior was the king in numbers, that, while occupying the middle of his own line, he was still beyond Cyrus's left), nevertheless he was unwilling to draw off his right wing from the river, fearing lest he should be hemmed in on both sides; and in answer to Cyrus he said, "that he would take care that all should go well."

14. During this time the Barbarian army advanced with a uniform pace: and the Grecian line, still remaining in the same place, was gradually forming from those who came up from time to time. Cyrus, riding by at a moderate distance from his army,[1] surveyed from thence both the lines, looking as well toward the enemy as to his own men. 15. Xenophon, an Athenian, perceiving him from the Grecian line, rode up to meet him, and inquired whether he had any commands; when Cyrus stopped his horse, and told him, and desired him to tell every body, that the sacrifices and the appearances of the victims were favorable.[2] 16. As he was saying this, he heard a murmur passing through the ranks, and asked what

[1] *Οὐ πάνυ πρός αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι.*] "Satis longinquo à suis intervallo." *Weiske.*

[2] Τὰ *ἱερὰ—καὶ τὰ σφάγια καλά.*] The *ἱερά* are omens from the entrails of the victims; the *σφάγια* were omens taken from the appearance and motions of the animals when led to sacrifice. This is the explanation given by Sturz in the Lexicon Xenophonteum, and adopted by Kühner. Compare ii. 1. 9.

noise that was. He answered,[1] "that it was the watchword, passing now for the second time."[2] At which Cyrus wondered who had given it, and asked what the word was. He replied that it was, "JUPITER THE PRESERVER and VICTORY." 17. When Cyrus heard it, "I accept it as a good omen," said he, "and let it be so." Saying this, he rode away to his own station; and the two armies were now not more than three or four stadia distant from each other, when the Greeks sang the pæan, and began to march forward to meet the enemy. 18. And as, while they proceeded, some part of their body fluctuated out of line,[3] those who were thus left behind began to run: and at the same time, they all raised just such a shout as they usually raise to Mars, and the whole of them took to a running pace. Some say, that they made a noise with their spears against their shields, to strike terror into the horses. 19. But the Barbarians, before an arrow could reach them, gave way, and took to flight. The Greeks then pursued them with all their force, calling out to each other, not to run, but to follow in order. 20. The chariots, abandoned by their drivers, were hurried, some through the midst of the enemies themselves, and others through the midst of the Greeks. The

[1] Dindorf has ὁ δὲ Κλέαρχος εἶπεν, which is the reading of some manuscripts; others have Ξενοφῶν instead of Κλέαρχος. Dindorf prefers the former, assuming that Clearchus had probably ridden up to Cyrus on that occasion; but this is an assumption which he had no right to make, as nothing can be gathered from the text in favor of it. Bornemann and Kühner think it better to consider both names equally interpolations, and to read simply ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Xenophon of course being understood.

[2] Δεύτερον.] The watchword seems to have been passed from the extremity of one wing (the right I should suppose), to the extremity of the other, and then back again, that the soldiers, by repeating it twice, might be less likely to forget it. But as it would thus be passed only twice, not oftener, it would appear that we should read τὸ δεύτερον. *Krüger* de Authen. Anab. p. 83. Kühner observes that the article is not absolutely necessary. I have translated "*the* second time," as the sense seems to require. Some have imagined that the word δεύτερον implies that *a second watchword*, another given out for the occasion, was passing round; but for this supposition there seems no ground. As there is no answer to the inquiry, τίς παραγγέλλει, Krüger thinks that some words have dropped out of the text.

[3] Ἐξεκύμαινε.] This metaphor, from the swelling and heaving of a wave, is imitated by Arrian, Anab. ii. 10. 4, and praised in the treatise de Eloc. 84, attributed to Demetrius Phalereus.

Greeks, when they saw them coming, opened their ranks to let them pass; some few, however, were startled and caught by them, as might happen in a race-course; but these, they said, suffered no material injury; nor did any other of the Greeks receive any hurt in this battle, except that on the left of their army, a man was said to have been shot with an arrow.

21. Cyrus, though he saw the Greeks victorious, and pursuing those of the enemies who were opposed to them, and though he felt great pleasure at the sight, and was already saluted as king by those about him, was not, however, led away to join in the pursuit; but keeping the band of six hundred cavalry, that were with him, drew up in a close order around him, he attentively watched how the king would proceed; for he well knew that he occupied the center of the Persian army. 22. All the commanders of the Barbarians, indeed, lead[1] their troops to battle occupying the center of their own men; thinking that they will thus be most secure, if they have the strength of their force on either side of them, and that if they have occasion to issue orders, their army will receive them in half the time. 23. On the present occasion, the king, though he occupied the center of his own army, was nevertheless beyond Cyrus's left wing. But as no enemy attacked him in front, or the troops that were drawn up before him, he began to wheel round, as if to inclose his adversaries. 24. Cyrus, in consequence, fearing that he might take the Greeks in the rear, and cut them in pieces, moved directly upon him, and charging with his six hundred horse, routed the troops that were stationed in front of the king, and put the guard of six thousand to flight, and is said to have killed with his own hand Artagerses, their commander.

25. When this flight of the enemy took place, Cyrus's six hundred became dispersed in the eagerness of pursuit; only a very few remaining with him, chiefly those who were called "partakers of his table."

26. While accompanied by these, he perceived the king and the close guard around him; when he immediately lost his self-command, and exclaiming, "I see the man," rushed upon

[1] Ἡγοῦνται.] Schneider, Kühner, and some other editors have ἡγοῦντο, but Poppo and Dindorf seem to be right in adopting the present, notwithstanding the following optative.

him, struck him on the breast, and wounded him through the breast-plate, as Ctesias, the physician, relates, stating that he himself dressed the wound. 27. As Cyrus was in the act of striking, some one hit him violently with a javelin under the eye; and how many of those about the king were killed, (while they thus fought, the king, and Cyrus, and their respective followers in defense of each), Ctesias relates; for he was with him; on the other side, Cyrus himself was killed and eight of his principal officers lay dead upon his body. 28. Artapates, the most faithful servant to him of all his scepter-bearers,[1] when he saw Cyrus fall, is said to have leaped from his horse, and thrown himself upon the body of his master; 29. and some say, that the king ordered some one to kill him on the body of Cyrus; but others relate, that he drew his cimeter, and killed himself upon the body; for he had a golden cimeter by his side, and also wore a chain and bracelets, and other ornaments, like the noblest of the Persians; since he was honored by Cyrus for his attachment and fidelity to him.

CHAPTER IX.

The character of Cyrus. All his personal friends are killed, except Ariæus, who takes to flight.

1. Thus then died Cyrus; a man who, of all the Persians since Cyrus the elder, was the most princely and most worthy of empire, as is agreed by all who appear to have had personal knowledge of him. 2. In the first place, while he was yet a boy, and when he was receiving his education with his brother and the other youths, he was thought to surpass them all in every thing. 3. For all the sons of the Persian nobles are educated at the gates of the king;[2] where they may learn

[1] See c. 6, sec. 11.

[2] Ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις.] For "at the king's palace. "The king's palace was styled among the ancient Persians, as in the modern Constantinople, *the Porte*. Agreeably to the customs of other despots of the East, the kings of Persia resided in the interior of their palaces; seldom appearing in public, and guarding all means of access to their persons. The number of courtiers, masters of ceremonies, guards, and

many a lesson of virtuous conduct, but can see or hear nothing disgraceful. 4. Here the boys see some honored by the king, and others disgraced, and hear of them; so that in their very childhood they learn to govern and to obey.

5. Here Cyrus, first of all, showed himself most remarkable for modesty among those of his own age, and for paying more ready obedience to his elders than even those who were inferior to him in station; and next, he was noticed for his fondness for horses, and for managing them in a superior manner. They found him, too, very desirous of learning, and most assiduous in practicing the warlike exercises of archery, and hurling the javelin. 6. When it suited his age, he grew extremely fond of the chase, and of braving dangers in encounters with wild beasts. On one occasion, he did not shrink from a she-bear that attacked him, but, in grappling with her, was dragged from off his horse, and received some wounds, the scars of which were visible on his body, but at last killed her. The person who first came to his assistance he made a happy man in the eyes of many.

7. When he was sent down by his father, as satrap of Lydia and Great Phrygia and Cappadocia, and was also appointed commander of all the troops whose duty it is to muster in the plain of Castolus, he soon showed that if he made a league or compact with any one, or gave a promise, he deemed it of the utmost importance not to break his word. 8. Accordingly the states that were committed to his charge, as well as individuals, had the greatest confidence in him; and if any one had been his enemy, he felt secure that if Cyrus entered into a treaty with him, he should suffer no infraction of the stipulations. 9. When, therefore, he waged war against Tissaphernes, all the cities, of their own accord, chose to adhere to Cyrus in preference to Tissaphernes, except the Milesians; but they feared him, because he would not abandon the cause of the exiles; 10. for he both showed by his deeds, and declared in words, that he would never desert them, since he had once become a friend to them, not even though they should grow still fewer in number, and be in a worse condition than they were.

others, was endless. It was through them alone that access could be obtained to the monarch." *Heeren, Researches*, etc., vol. i. p. 403. See Cyrop. i. 3. 2; 2. 3, *seqq.* Corn. Nep. Life of Conon, c. 3.

11. Whenever any one did him a kindness or an injury, he showed himself anxious to go beyond him in those respects; and some used to mention a wish of his, that "he desired to live long enough to outdo both those who had done him good, and those who had done him ill, in the requital that he should make." 12. Accordingly to him alone of the men of our days were so great a number of people desirous of committing the disposal of their property, their cities, and their own persons.

13. Yet no one could with truth say this of him, that he suffered the criminal or unjust to deride his authority; for he of all men inflicted punishment most unsparingly; and there were often to be seen, along the most frequented roads, men deprived of their feet, or hands, or eyes; so that in Cyrus's dominions, it was possible for any one, Greek or Barbarian, who did no wrong, to travel without fear whithersoever he pleased, and having with him whatever might suit his convenience.

14. To those who showed ability for war, it is acknowledged that he paid distinguished honor. His first war was with the Pisidians and Mysians; and, marching in person into these countries, he made those, whom he saw voluntarily hazarding their lives in his service, governors over the territory that he subdued, and distinguished them with rewards in other ways. 15. So that the brave appeared to be the most fortunate of men, while the cowardly were deemed fit[1] only to be their slaves. There were, therefore, great numbers of persons who voluntarily exposed themselves to danger, wherever they thought that Cyrus would become aware of their exertions.

16. With regard to justice, if any appeared to him inclined to display that virtue, he made a point of making such men richer than those who sought to profit by injustice. 17. Accordingly, while in many other respects his affairs were administered judiciously, he likewise possessed an army worthy of the name. For it was not for money that generals and captains came from foreign lands to enter into his service, but because they were persuaded that to serve Cyrus well, would be more profitable than any amount of monthly pay.

[1] Ἀξιοῦσθαι.] Lion, Poppo, Kühner, and some other editors, read ἀξιοῦν, but the passive suits better with the preceding φαίνεσθαι.

18. Besides, if any one executed his orders in a superior manner, he never suffered his diligence to go unrewarded; consequently, in every undertaking, the best qualified officers were said to be ready to assist him.

19. If he noticed any one that was a skillful manager, with strict regard to justice, stocking the land of which he had the direction, and securing income from it, he would never take any thing from such a person, but was ever ready to give him something in addition; so that men labored with cheerfulness, acquired property with confidence, and made no concealment from Cyrus of what each possessed; for he did not appear to envy those who amassed riches openly, but to endeavor to bring into use the wealth of those who concealed it.

20. Whatever friends he made, and felt to be well-disposed to him, and considered to be capable of assisting him in any thing that he might wish to accomplish, he is acknowledged by all to have been most successful in attaching them to him. 21. For, on the very same account on which he thought that he himself had need of friends, namely, that he might have co-operators in his undertakings, did he endeavor to prove an efficient assistant to his friends in whatever he perceived any of them desirous of effecting.

22. He received, for many reasons, more presents than perhaps any other single individual; and these he outdid every one else in distributing among his friends, having a view to the character of each, and to what he perceived each most needed. 23. Whatever presents any one sent him of articles of personal ornament, whether for warlike accouterment, or merely for dress, concerning these, they said, he used to remark, that he could not decorate his own person with them all, but that he thought friends well equipped were the greatest ornament a man could have. 24. That he should outdo his friends, indeed, in conferring great benefits, is not at all wonderful, since he was so much more able; but, that he should surpass his friends in kind attentions, and anxious desire to oblige, appears to me far more worthy of admiration. 25. Frequently, when he had wine served him of a peculiarly fine flavor, he would send half-emptied flagons of it to some of his friends, with a message to this effect: "Cyrus has not for some time met with pleasanter wine than this; and he

has therefore sent some of it to you, and begs you will drink it to-day, with those whom you love best." 26. He would often, too, send geese partly eaten, and the halves of loaves, and other such things, desiring the bearer to say, in presenting them, "Cyrus has been delighted with these, and therefore wishes you also to taste of them."

27. Wherever provender was scarce, but he himself, from having many attendants, and from the care which he took, was able to procure some, he would send it about, and desire his friends to give that provender to the horses that carried them, so that hungry steeds might not carry his friends. 28. Whenever he rode out, and many were likely to see him, he would call to him his friends, and hold earnest conversation with them, that he might show whom he held in honor; so that, from what I have heard, I should think that no one was ever beloved by a greater number of persons, either Greeks or Barbarians. 29. Of this fact the following is a proof; that no one deserted to the king from Cyrus, though only a subject (except that Orontes attempted to do so; but he soon found the person whom he believed faithful to him, more a friend to Cyrus than to himself), while many came over to Cyrus from the king, after they became enemies to each other; and these, too, men who were greatly beloved by the king; for they felt persuaded that if they proved themselves brave soldiers under Cyrus, they would obtain from him more adequate rewards for their services than from the king.

30. What occurred also at the time of his death, is a great proof, as well that he himself was a man of merit, as that he could accurately distinguish such as were trust-worthy, well disposed, and constant in their attachment. 31. For when he was killed, all his friends, and the partakers of his table, who were with him, fell fighting in his defense, except Ariæus, who had been posted in command of the cavalry, on the left; and, when he learned that Cyrus had fallen in the battle, he took to flight, with all the troops which he had under his command.

CHAPTER X.

The head and right-hand of Cyrus cut off. Artaxerxes pursues Ariæus, plunders the camp of Cyrus, and then returns to attack the victorious Greeks, who put him to flight, recover what he had seized, and returned to their camp.

1. The head and right-hand of Cyrus were then cut off. The king, and the troops that were with him, engaging in pursuit, fell upon the camp of Cyrus; when the soldiers of Ariæus no longer stood their ground, but fled through their camp to the station whence they had last started; which was said to be four parasangs distant. 2. The king and his followers seized upon many other things, and also captured the Phocæan woman, the mistress of Cyrus, who was said to be both accomplished and beautiful. 3. His younger mistress, a native of Miletus, being taken by some of the king's soldiers, fled for refuge, without her outer garment, to the party of Greeks,[1] who were stationed under arms to guard the baggage, and who, drawing themselves up for defense, killed several of the pillagers; and some of their own number also fell; yet they did not flee, but saved not only the woman, but all the rest of the property and people that were in their quarters.

4. The king and the main body of Greeks were now distant from each other about thirty stadia, the Greeks pursuing those that had been opposed to them, as if they had conquered all; the Persians engaged in plundering, as if they were wholly victorious. 5. But when the Greeks found that the king with his troops was among their baggage; and the king, on the other hand, heard from Tissaphernes, that the Greeks had routed that part of his line which had been opposed to them, and were gone forward in pursuit, the king,

[1] *Πρὸς τῶν* Ἑλλήνων.] "These words," says Kühner, "have wonderfully exercised the abilities of commentators." The simplest mode of interpretation, he then observes, is to take *πρὸς* in the sense of *versus*, "toward," comparing iv. 3, 26; ii. 2, 4; but he inclines, on the whole, to make the genitive Ελλήνων depend on *τούτους* understood: *ἐκφεύγει τῶν* Ἑλλήνων *πρὸς (τούτους) οἱ ἔτυχον, κ. τ. λ.*, though he acknowledges that this construction is extremely forced, and that he can nowhere find any thing similar to it. Brodæus suggested *πρὸς τὸ τῶν* Ἑλλήνων, scil. *στρατόπεδον*, and Weiske and Schneider would read *πρὸς τὸ τῶν* Ελλήνων *στρατόπεδον*. Other conjectures it is unnecessary to notice.

on his part, collected his forces, and formed them in line again; while Clearchus, on the other side, calling to him Proxenus, who happened to be nearest to him, consulted with him whether they should send a detachment to the camp, or proceed, all of them together to relieve it. 6. In the mean time, the king was observed again approaching them, as it seemed, in their rear. The Greeks, wheeling round, prepared to receive him, in the belief that he would attack them on that quarter; the king, however, did not lead his troops that way, but led them off by the same route by which he had before passed on the outside of their left wing; taking with him both those who had deserted to the Greeks during the engagement, and Tissaphernes with the troops under his command.

7. Tissaphernes had not fled at the commencement of the engagement, but had charged through the Greek peltasts, close to the banks of the river. In breaking through, however, he killed not a single man, for the Greeks, opening their ranks struck his men with their swords, and hurled their javelins at them. Episthenes of Amphipolis had the command of the peltasts, and was said to have proved himself an able captain. 8. Tissaphernes, therefore, when he thus came off with disadvantage, did not turn back again, but, proceeding onward to the Grecian camp, met the king there; and thence they now returned together with their forces united in battle-array. 9. When they were opposite the left wing of the Greeks, the Greeks feared lest they should attack them on that wing, and, inclosing them on both sides, should cut them off; they therefore thought it advisable to draw back this wing,[1] and to put the river in their rear. 10. While they were planning this maneuver, the king, having passed beyond them, presented his force opposite to them, in the same form in which he had at first come to battle; and when

[1] Ἀναπτύσσειν.] Literally "to fold back." Whether we are to understand that one part of the wing was drawn behind the other, is not very clear. The commentators are not at all agreed as to the exact sense that the word ought to bear. Some would interpret it by *explicare*, "to open out," or "extend," and this indeed seems more applicable to περιπτύξαντες which precedes; for the Greeks might lengthen out their line that the king's troops might not surround them. But on the whole, the other interpretation seems to have most voices in favor of it.

the Greeks saw their enemies close at hand, and drawn up for fight, they again sang the pæan, and advanced upon them with much greater spirit than before. 11. The Barbarians, on the other hand, did not await their onset, but fled sooner[1] than at first; and the Greeks pursued them as far as a certain village,[2] where they halted; 12. for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight, and though there were no longer any infantry[3] there, the height was filled with cavalry; so that the Greeks could not tell what was doing. They said that they saw the royal standard, a golden eagle upon a spear,[4] with expanded wings.[5]

13. But as the Greeks were on the point of proceeding thither, the cavalry too left the hill; not indeed in a body, but some in one direction and some in another; and thus the hill was gradually thinned of cavalry, till at last they were all gone. 14. Clearchus, however, did not march up the hill, but, stationing his force at its foot, sent Lycius the Syracusan and another up the hill, and ordered them, after taking a view

[1] Ἐκ πλέονος.] Sc. διαστήματος: they began to flee when the Greeks were at a still greater distance than before.

[2] Μέχρι κώμης τινός.] This is generally supposed to have been Cunaxa, where, according to Plutarch, the battle was fought. Ainsworth, p. 244, identifies Cunaxa with *Imséy'ab*, a place 36 miles north of Babylon.

[3] The infantry seem to have fled; the cavalry only were left.

[4] Ἐπὶ πέλτης ἐπὶ ξύλου.] So stands the passage in Dindorf's text; but most editors, from Schneider downward, consider ἐπὶ ξύλου to be a mere interpretation of ἐπὶ πέλτης, that has crept by some accident into the text, and either inclose it in brackets or wholly omit it. Πέλτη is said by Hesychius and Suidas to be the same as δόρυ or λόγχη: and Krüger refers to Philostratus, Icon. ii. 32, ἐπὶ τῆς πέλτης ἀετός. In Cyrop. vii. 1. 4, the insigne of Cyrus the elder is said to have been a golden eagle, ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένος. Πέλτη accordingly being taken in this sense, all is clear, and ἐπὶ ξύλου is superfluous. Kühner gives great praise to the conjecture of Hutchinson, ἐπὶ πέλτης ἐπὶ ξυστοῦ, who, taking πέλτη in the sense of *a shield*, supposed that the eagle was mounted on a shield, and the shield on a spear. But the shield would surely have been a mere encumbrance, and we had better be rid of it. Yet to take πέλτη in the same sense of *a spear*, unusual in Xenophon, is not altogether satisfactory; and it would be well if we could fairly admit into the text Leunclavius's conjecture, ἐπὶ παλτοῦ.

[5] Ἀνατεταμένον.] This word is generally understood to signify that the eagle's wings were expanded. See Liddell and Scott's Lexicon; and Dr. Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant. sub *Signa Militaria*.

from the summit, to report to him what was passing on the other side. 15. Lycius accordingly rode thither, and having made his observations, brought word that the enemy were fleeing with precipitation. Just as these things took place, the sun set.

16. Here the Greeks halted, and piling their arms, took some rest; and at the same time they wondered that Cyrus himself nowhere made his appearance, and that no one else came to them from him; for they did not know that he was killed, but conjectured that he was either gone in pursuit of the enemy, or had pushed forward to secure some post. 17. They then deliberated whether they should remain in that spot and fetch their baggage thither, or return to the camp; and it was resolved to return, and they arrived at the tents about supper-time. 18. Such was the conclusion of this day.

They found almost all their baggage, and whatever food and drink was with it, plundered and wasted; the wagons, too, full of barley-meal and wine, which Cyrus had provided, in order that, if ever a great scarcity of provisions should fall upon the army, he might distribute them among the Grecian troops (and the wagons, as was said, were four hundred in number), these also the king's soldier's had plundered. 19. Most of the Greeks consequently remained supperless; and they had also been without dinner; for before the army had halted for dinner, the king made his appearance. In this state they passed the ensuing night.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks are surprised to hear of the death of Cyrus. Ariæus resolves to return to Ionia, contrary to the advice of Clearchus, who incites him to make an attempt on the throne of Persia. Artaxerxes sends a message to the Greeks; their reply.

1. How the Grecian force was collected for Cyrus, when he undertook his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred in his march up the country, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and went to rest, in the belief that they were completely victorious, aud that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the preceding book.

2. When it was day, the generals met together, and expressed their surprise that Cyrus had neither sent any person to give directions how they should act, nor had made his appearance himself. It seemed best to them, therefore, to pack up what baggage they had, and, arming themselves, to march forward till they could effect a junction with Cyrus.

3. But when they were on the point of starting, just as the sun was rising, there came to them Procles, the governor of Teuthrania (who was descended from Damaratus, the Lacedæmonian), and with him Glus, the son of Tamos, who told them that Cyrus was dead, and that Ariæus, having fled, was, with the rest of the Barbarians, at the station whence they started the day before; and that he said he would wait for the Greeks that day, if they would come to him; but on the morrow, he said, he should set off for Ionia, from whence he had come.

4. The generals, on hearing this intelligence, and the other Greeks, on learning it from them,[1] were grievously afflicted; and Clearchus spoke thus: "Would that Cyrus were still alive; but since he is no more, carry back word to Ariæus,

[1] *Πυνθανόμενοι.* Schneider and others would omit this word, as an apparent interpolation. I have followed Kühner's interpretation.

that we at least are victorious over the king, and that, as you see, no enemy any longer offers us battle; and, if you had not come, we should have marched against the king; and we promise Ariæus, that, if he will come hither, we will seat him on the royal throne; for to those who conquer, it belongs also to rule."

5. Saying this, he dismissed the messengers, and sent with them Cheirisophus the Lacedæmonian, and Menon the Thessalian; for Menon himself desired to go, as he was connected with Ariæus by ties of friendship and hospitality.

6. While they departed on their mission Clearchus waited where he was; and the troops supplied themselves with food, as well as they could, from the carcases of their baggage-cattle, slaughtering their oxen and asses; and, going a little way in front of the line, to the place where the battle was fought, they collected and used as fuel, not only the arrows, which lay in great quantities, and which the Greeks had compelled the deserters from the king to throw down, but also the wicker shields of the Persians, and the wooden ones of the Egyptians; and there were also many other light shields, and wagons emptied of their contents,[1] to be taken away; using all which materials to cook the meat, they appeased their hunger for that day.

7. It was now about the middle of the forenoon,[2] when some heralds arrived from the king and Tissaphernes, all of them Barbarians, except one, a Greek named Phalinus, who chanced to be with Tissaphernes, and was highly esteemed by him, for he had pretensions to skill in the arrangement of troops, and in the exercise of heavy arms. 8. These persons having approached, and asked to speak with the commanders of the Greeks, told them, "that the king, since he had gained the victory and slain Cyrus, required the Greeks to deliver up their arms, and go to the gates of the king,[3] and try to obtain, if they could, some favor from him." 9. Thus spoke the king's heralds; and the Greeks heard them with no small

[1] *Φέρεσθαι ἔρημοι.*] Before *Φέρεσθαι* is to be understood *ὥστε*, as Zeune and Weiske observe. Kühner remarks that *ἔρημοι* should properly be referred to both *πέλται* and *ἅμαξαι*: the shields were without owners, and the wagons without their contents, as having been plundered by the enemy.

[2] *Περὶ πλήθουσαν ἀγοράν.*] See i. 8. 1

[3] See i. 9. 3.

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we may hope to profit by our valor; but if we were to give them up, we should expect to be deprived also of our lives. Do not suppose, therefore, that we shall give up to you the only things of value that we possess; but, with these in our hands, we will even fight for whatever of value you possess." 13. On hearing him speak thus, Phalinus smiled, and said, "You seem like a philosopher, young man, and express yourself not without grace; but be assured that you are out of your senses if you imagine that your valor will prove victorious over the might of the king." 14. But it was reported that certain others of the generals, giving way to their fears, said that they had been faithful to Cyrus, and might likewise prove of great service to the king, if he were willing to become their friend; and that whether he might wish to employ them in any other service, or in an expedition against Egypt, they would assist him in reducing it."

15. In the mean time Clearchus returned, and asked whether they had yet given their answer. Phalinus, in reply, said, "Your companions, O Clearchus, give each a different answer; and now tell us what you have to say." 16. Clearchus then said, "I was glad to see you, O Phalines, and so, I dare say, were all the rest of us; for you are a Greek, as we also are; and, being so many in number as you see, and placed in such circumstances, we would advise with you how we should act with regard to the message that you bring. 17. Give us then, I entreat you by the gods, such advice as seems to you most honorable and advantageous, and such as will bring you honor in time to come, when it is related, that Phalinus, being once sent from the king to require the Greeks to deliver up their arms, gave them, when they consulted him, such and such counsel; for you know that whatever counsel you do give, will necessarily be reported in Greece."

18. Clearchus craftily threw out this suggestion,[1] with the desire that the very person who came as an envoy from the king, should advise them not to deliver up their arms, in order that the Greeks might be led to conceive better hopes. But Phalinus, adroitly evading the appeal, spoke, contrary to his expectation, as follows: 19. "If, out of ten thousand hopeful chances, you have any single one, of saving yourselves by con-

[1] Ταῦτα ὑπήγετο.] *Hæc dolosè suadebat.* Compare ii. 4. 3. *Kühner.*

tinuing in arms against the king, I advise you not to deliver up your arms; but if you have not a single hope of safety in opposing the king's pleasure, I advise you to save yourselves in the only way in which it is possible." 20. Clearchus rejoined, "Such, then, is your advice; but on our part return this answer, that we are of opinion, that, if we are to be friends with the king, we shall be more valuable friends if we retain our arms, than if we surrender them to another; but that if we must make war against him, we should make war better if we retain our arms, than if we give them up to another." 21. Phalinus said, "This answer, then, we will report: but the king desired us also to inform you, that while you remain in this place, a truce is to be considered as existing between him and you; but, if you advance or retreat, there is to be war. Give us, therefore, your answer on this point also; whether you will remain here, and a truce is to exist, or whether I shall announce from you, that there is war." 22. Clearchus replied, "Report, therefore, on this point also, that our resolution is the same as that of the king." "And what is that?" said Phalinus. Clearchus replied, "If we stay here, a truce; but if we retreat or advance, war." 23. Phalinus again asked him, "Is it a truce or war that I shall report?" Clearchus again made the same answer: "A truce, if we stay; and if we retreat or advance, war." But of what he intended to do, he gave no intimation.

CHAPTER II.

The Greeks, joining Ariæus, form an alliance with him, and take counsel with him in reference to their return. During the night following the first day's march they are seized with a panic, which Clearchus allays.

1. PHALINUS and his companions departed; and there now returned, from their interview with Ariæus, Procles and Cheirisophus; Menon had remained there with Ariæus. They reported, "that Ariæus said that there were many Persians, of superior rank to himself, who would not endure that he should be king; but," he adds, "if you wish to return with him, he desires you to come to him this very night; if you do not, he says that he will set out by himself early in the

from the summit, to report to him what was passing on the other side. 15. Lycius accordingly rode thither, and having made his observations, brought word that the enemy were fleeing with precipitation. Just as these things took place, the sun set.

16. Here the Greeks halted, and piling their arms, took some rest; and at the same time they wondered that Cyrus himself nowhere made his appearance, and that no one else came to them from him; for they did not know that he was killed, but conjectured that he was either gone in pursuit of the enemy, or had pushed forward to secure some post. 17. They then deliberated whether they should remain in that spot and fetch their baggage thither, or return to the camp; and it was resolved to return, and they arrived at the tents about supper-time. 18. Such was the conclusion of this day.

They found almost all their baggage, and whatever food and drink was with it, plundered and wasted; the wagons, too, full of barley-meal and wine, which Cyrus had provided, in order that, if ever a great scarcity of provisions should fall upon the army, he might distribute them among the Grecian troops (and the wagons, as was said, were four hundred in number), these also the king's soldier's had plundered. 19. Most of the Greeks consequently remained supperless; and they had also been without dinner; for before the army had halted for dinner, the king made his appearance. In this state they passed the ensuing night.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks are surprised to hear of the death of Cyrus. Ariæus resolves to return to Ionia, contrary to the advice of Clearchus, who incites him to make an attempt on the throne of Persia. Artaxerxes sends a message to the Greeks; their reply.

1. How the Grecian force was collected for Cyrus, when he undertook his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, what occurred in his march up the country, how the battle took place, how Cyrus was killed, and how the Greeks returned to their camp and went to rest, in the belief that they were completely victorious, and that Cyrus was still alive, has been related in the preceding book.

2. When it was day, the generals met together, and expressed their surprise that Cyrus had neither sent any person to give directions how they should act, nor had made his appearance himself. It seemed best to them, therefore, to pack up what baggage the[illegible]nd, arming themselves, to march forward till they co[illegible]junction with Cyrus.

3. But when th[illegible] poin[illegible]ing, just as the sun was rising, there[illegible]nor of Teuthrania (w[illegible] Lacedæmonian), [illegible] told them that [illegible] fled, was, with the [illegible]ence they started the [illegible] wait for the Greeks [illegible] but [illegible] morrow, he [illegible] come. [illegible] the other [illegible] afflicted; [illegible] were still [illegible] to Ariæus, [illegible]

ably experience a scarcity of provisions. "Such," he concluded, "is my opinion."

13. This scheme for conducting the army was calculated for nothing else than to effect an escape, clandestinely or openly, by flight.[1] But fortune proved a better leader; for as soon as it was day they began their march, with the sun on their right, expecting to arrive about sunset at some villages in the Babylonian territory; and in this expectation they were not disappointed. 14. But, in the afternoon, they thought that they perceived some of the enemy's cavalry; and those of the Greeks who happened not to be in their ranks, ran to their places in the ranks; and Ariæus (for he was riding in a wagon because he had been wounded) came down and put on his armor, as did those who were with him. 15. But while they were arming themselves, the scouts that had been sent forward returned, and reported that they were not cavalry, but baggage-cattle grazing; and every one immediately concluded that the king was encamped somewhere near. Smoke also was seen rising from some villages not far distant. 16. Clearchus however did not lead his troops against the enemy; (for he was aware that his soldiers were tired and in want of food; and besides it was now late;) yet he did not turn out of his way, taking care not to appear to flee, but continued his march in a direct line, and took up his quarters with his vanguard, just at sunset, in the nearest villages, from which even the wood-work of the houses had been carried off by the king's troops. 17. These, therefore, who were in advance, encamped with some degree of regularity; but those who followed, coming up in the dark, took up with such quarters as they chanced to find, and made so much noise in calling to each other, that even the enemy heard them; and those of the enemy who were stationed the nearest, fled from their encampments. 18. That this had been the case, became apparent on the following day; for there was no longer a single beast of burden to be seen, nor any camp, nor smoke any where near. The king had been alarmed, as it seemed, by the sudden approach of the

[1] Ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ ἀποφυγεῖν.] The first means to flee, so that it could not be discovered whither the fugitive is gone; the second, so that he can not be overtaken. *Kühner* ad i. 4. 8. "Fugâ vel clandestinâ vel apertâ." *Weiske.*

Grecian army; and of this he gave proof by what he did on the following day.

19. However, in the course of this night, a panic fell upon the Greeks themselves, and there arose such noise and commotion in their camp as usually ensues on the occurrence of sudden terror. 20. Upon this, Clearchus ordered Tolmides, an Eleian, whom he happened to have with him, the best[1] herald of his time, to command silence; and proclaim, that "the generals give notice, that whoever will give information of the person who turned the ass among the arms,[2] shall receive a reward of a talent of silver." 21. On this proclamation being made, the soldiers were convinced that their alarm was groundless, and their generals were safe. At break of day, Clearchus issued orders for the Greeks to form themselves under arms, in the same order in which they had been when the battle took place.

CHAPTER III.

The king proposes a truce, and supplies the Greeks with provisions during the negotiation. Three days after he sends Tissaphernes to them, to ask why they had engaged in hostilities against him; he is answered by Clearchus. A treaty is then concluded, the king engaging to send home the Greeks under the conduct of Tissaphernes, and the Greeks promising to do no injury to the countries through which they should pass.

1. What I just now stated, that the king was alarmed at the approach of the Greeks, became evident by what followed; for though, when he sent to them on the preceding day, he desired them to deliver up their arms, he now, at sunrise, sent heralds to negotiate a truce. 2. These heralds, upon arriving at the outposts, requested to speak with the commanders. Their request being reported by the guards, Clearchus, who happened then to be inspecting the several divisions, told the

[1] Ἄριστον.] Best, apparently, on account of the loudness or clearness of his voice.

[2] The arms, as Kühner observes, were piled in front of the men's quarters. The affair of the ass was an invention of Clearchus to draw off the thoughts of the soldiers from the subject of their apprehension. Polyænus, iii. 9. 4, speaks of a similar stratagem having been adopted by Iphicrates.

guards to desire the heralds to wait till he should be at leisure. 3. When he had arranged the army in such a manner as to present on every side the fair appearance of a compact phalanx, and so that none of the unarmed were to be seen, he called for the heralds, and came forward himself, having about him the best-armed and best-looking of his soldiers, and told the other leaders to do the same. 4. When he drew near the messengers, he asked them what they wanted. They replied, "that they came to negotiate a truce, with full powers to communicate with the Greeks on behalf of the king, and with the king on behalf of the Greeks." 5. Clearchus answered, "Tell the king, then, that we must come to battle first; for we have no breakfast;[1] and there is no one who will dare to talk to the Greeks of a truce, without first supplying them with breakfast."

6. On hearing this answer, the messengers departed, but soon returned; from whence it was apparent that the king, or some other person to whom a commission had been given to conduct the negotiation, was somewhere near. They brought word, "that the king thought what they said was reasonable, and that they now came with guides, who in case the truce should be settled, would conduct the Greeks to a place were they might procure provisions." 7. Clearchus then inquired, whether the king would grant the benefit of the truce to those only who went with him, on their way thither and back, or whether the truce would be with the rest as well.[2] The messengers replied, "With all; until what you have to say is communicated to the king." 8. When they had said this Clearchus, directing them to withdraw, deliberated with the other officers; and they proposed to conclude the truce at once, and to go after the provisions at their ease, and supply themselves. 9. And Clearchus said, "I too am of that opinion.

[1] Ἄριστον.] This word answers to the Latin *prandium*, a meal taken in the early part of the day. We can not here render it "dinner."

[2] I have translated this passage as I think that the drift of the narrative requires. Krüger refers *σπένδοιτο* to Clearchus, and thinks that by *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι* are meant the Persian deputies. Some critics suppose that by those words the men who were to get provisions are intended. To me nothing seems consistent with the context but to refer *σπένδοιτο* to the king, and to understand by *αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσι* the messengers from the Greeks.

I will not, however, announce our determination immediately, but will wait till the messengers begin to be uneasy lest we should determine not to conclude the truce. And yet," said he, "I suspect that a similar apprehension will arise among our own soldiers." When he thought therefore that the proper time had arrived, he announced to the messengers that he agreed to the truce, and desired them to conduct him forthwith to the place where the provisions were.

10. They accordingly led the way; and Clearchus proceeded to conclude the truce, keeping his army however in battle-array; the rear he brought up himself. The met with ditches and canals so full of water that they could not cross without bridges; but they made crossings of the palm-trees which had fallen, and others which they cut down. 11. Here it might be seen how Clearchus performed the duties of a commander, holding his spear in his left hand, and a staff in his right; and if any of those ordered to the work seemed to him to loiter at it, he would select a fit object for punishment,[1] and give him a beating, and would lend his assistance himself,[2] leaping into the midst, so that all were ashamed not to share his industry. 12. The men of thirty and under only had been appointed by him to the work; but the older men, when they saw Clearchus thus busily employed, gave their assistance likewise. 13. Clearchus made so much the more haste, as he suspected that the ditches were not always so full of water; (for it was not the season for irrigating the ground;) but thought that the king had let out the water upon the plain, in order that even now there might appear to the Greeks to be many difficulties in the march.

14. Proceeding on their way, they arrived at some villages, from which the guides signified that they might procure provisions. In these villages there was great plenty of corn, and wine made from dates, and an acidulous drink obtained from them by boiling. 15. As to the dates themselves, such as those we see in Greece were here put aside for the use of the servants; but those which were laid by for their masters, were choice fruit, remarkable for beauty and size; their color was not unlike that of amber; and some of these they dried and

[1] Τὸν ἐπιτήδειον.] Scil. *παίεσθαι, pœnæ idoneum, pœnâ dignum.* Kühner.

[2] Προσελάμβανε.] *Manum operi admovebat* Kühner.

preserved as sweetmeats. These were a pleasant accompaniment to drink, but apt to cause headache. 16. Here too the soldiers for the first time tasted the cabbage[1] from the top of the palm-tree, and most of them were agreeably struck both with its external appearance and the peculiarity of its sweetness. But this also was exceedingly apt to give headache. The palm-tree, out of which the cabbage had been taken, soon withered throughout.

17. In this place they remained three days, when Tissaphernes arrived from the Great King, and with him the brother of the king's wife, and three other Persians; and a numerous retinue attended them. The generals of the Greeks having met them on their arrival, Tissaphernes first spoke by an interpreter, to the following effect: 18. "I myself dwell, O Greeks, in the neighborhood of your country; and when I perceived you fallen into many troubles and difficulties, I thought it a piece of good fortune if I could in any way press a request upon the king to allow me to conduct you in safety back to Greece. For I think that such a service would be attended with no want of gratitude either from yourselves or from Greece in general. 19. With these considerations, I made my request to the king, representing to him that he might reasonably grant me this favor, because I had been the first to give him intelligence that Cyrus was marching against him, and at the same time that I brought him the intelligence,

[1] Τὸν ἐγκέφαλον.] Literally "the brain." Dulcis medulla earum [palmarum] in cacumine, quod cerebrum appellant. Plin. H. N. xiii. 4. See also Theophr. ii. 8; Galen. de Fac. simpl. Medic. iv. 15. "It is generally interpreted *medulla*, "marrow" or "pith," but it is in reality a sort of bud at the top of the palm-tree, containing the last tender leaves, with flowers, and continuing in that state two years before it unfolds the flower; as appears from Boryd. St. Vincent Itiner. t. i. p. 223, vers. Germ., who gives his information on the authority of Du Petit Thouars. The French call it *choux*; the Germans, *Kohl*. Schneider. "By modern travelers it is called the *cabbage* of the palm; it 'is composed' (says Sir Joseph Banks) 'of the rudiments of the future leaves of the palm-tree, enveloped in the bases or footstalks of the actual leaves; which inclose them as a tight box or trunk would do.' It forms a mass of convolutions, exquisitely beautiful and delicate; and wonderful to appearance, when unfolded. It is also exceedingly delicate to the taste. Xenophon has justly remarked that the trees from whence it was taken withered." *Rennell's Illustrations of the Exp. of Cyrus*, p. 118.

had come to him with an auxiliary force; because I alone, of all those opposed to the Greeks, did not flee, but, on the contrary, charged through the midst of them, and joined the king in your camp, whither he came after he had slain Cyrus; and because, together with these who are now present with me, and who are his most faithful servants, I engaged in pursuit of the Barbarian part of Cyrus's army. 20. The king promised to consider of my request; and in the mean time desired me to come and ask you, on what account it was that you took the field against him; and I advise you to answer with moderation, in order that it may be easier for me to secure you whatever advantage I can from the king."

21. The Greeks then withdrew, and, after some deliberation, gave their answer, Clearchus speaking for them: "We neither formed ourselves into a body, with the view of making war upon the king, nor, when we set out, was our march directed against him; but Cyrus, as you yourself are well aware, devised many pretenses for his proceedings, that he might both take you by surprise, and lead us up hither. 22. But when we afterward saw him in danger, we were ashamed in the face of gods and men, to desert him, as we had before allowed him to bestow favors upon us. 23. As Cyrus, however, is now dead, we neither dispute the sovereignty with the king, nor is there any reason why we should desire to do harm to the king's territory; nor would we wish to kill him, but would proceed homeward, if no one molest us; but we will endeavor, with the aid of the gods, to avenge ourselves on any one that may do us an injury; while, if any one does us good we shall not be behindhand in requiting him to the utmost of our power." Thus spoke Clearchus. 24. Tissaphernes, having heard him, said, "I will report your answer to the king, and bring back to you his reply; and till I return, let the truce remain in force; and we will provide a market for you."

25. On the following day he did not return; so that the Greeks began to be anxious; but on the third day he came, and said that he returned after having obtained the king's permission to be allowed to save the Greeks; although many spoke against it, saying that it did not become the king to suffer men to escape who had engaged in war against him. 26. In conclusion he said, "You may now receive from us

solemn promises that we will render the country, through which you will pass, friendly to you; and will, without treachery, conduct you back to Greece, affording you opportunities of purchasing provisions; and wheresoever we do not afford you an opportunity of purchasing, we will allow you to take for yourselves necessaries from the adjacent country. 27. On the other hand, it will be incumbent upon you to swear to us, that you will march as through a friendly territory, without doing harm, only taking a supply of meat and drink, whenever we do not give you an opportunity of purchasing, but if that we give you such opportunity, you will procure your supplies by purchase." 28. These conditions were assented to; and they took the oaths, and Tissaphernes and the brother of the king's wife gave their right hands to the generals and captains of the Greeks, and received from the Greeks theirs in return. 29. After this, Tissaphernes said, "And now I shall go back to the king; and as soon as I have accomplished what I wish, I will come again, after making the necessary preparations, for the purpose of conducting you back to Greece, and returning myself to my province."

CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks conceive distrust both of Tissaphernes and Ariæus, and resolve to march apart from the Persians. They commence their march under the guidance of Tissaphernes, pass the wall of Media, and cross the Tigris.

1. AFTER these occurrences, the Greeks and Ariæus, encamping near each other, waited for Tissaphernes more than twenty days;[1] in the course of which there came to visit Ariæus both his brothers and other relations, and certain other Persians, to see his companions, and gave them encouraging hopes; some too were the bearers of assurances[2] from the king, that he would not remember to their disadvantage their

[1] During this time Tissaphernes went to Babylon to the king, and was rewarded with the hand of his daughter, and the province of which Cyrus had been satrap. *Diod. Sic.* xiv. 26. See sect. 8.

[2] Δεξιὰς.] That is, *fidem regis nomine dabant.* See the commentators on Cyrop. iv. 2. 7: *δεξιὰν δος, ἵνα φέρωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ταῦτα.*

expedition against him under Cyrus, or any thing else that was past. 2. On these things taking place, the followers of Ariæus evidently began to pay the Greeks less attention; so that, on this account, they rendered most of the Greeks dissatisfied with them; and many of them, going to Clearchus and the other generals, said, 3. "Why do we remain here? are we not aware that the king would wish above all things to destroy us, in order that a dread of going to war with the Great Monarch may fall upon the rest of the Greeks? For the present, he craftily protracts our stay, because his forces are dispersed; but, when his army is re-assembled, it is not possible but that he will attack us. 4. Perhaps, too, he is digging some trench or building some wall, that the way may be rendered impassable; for he will never consent, at least willingly, that we should go back to Greece, and relate how so small a number as we are have defeated the king at his own gates, and returned after setting him at naught."

5. To those who thus addressed him, Clearchus answered, "I have been considering all these things as well; but I think that, if we now go away, we shall be thought to go with a view to war, and to act contrary to the terms of the truce. Moreover, in the first place, there will be no one to provide us a market, or any means of procuring provisions; and, in the next place, there will be no one to guide us; besides, the moment that we do this, Ariæus will separate himself from us; so that not a friend will be left us; and, what is more, our former friends will then become our enemies. 6. Whether there is any other river for us to cross, I do not know; but as for the Euphrates, we know that it is impossible to cross that, if the enemy try to prevent us. Nor yet, if it should be necessary to fight, have we any horse to support us; while the enemy's cavalry is most numerous and efficient; so that, though we were victorious, how many of our enemies should we be able to kill? And, if we were defeated, it would not be possible for a man of us to escape. 7. With regard to the king, therefore, who is aided by so many advantages, I know not, if he wishes to effect our destruction, why he should swear, and give his right hand, and perjure himself before the gods, and render his pledge faith-

Poppo. So it is said in Latin *dextram ferre.* See Breitenbach on Xen. Agesil. iii. 4.

less both to Greeks and Barbarians." He said much besides to the same effect.

8. In the mean time Tissaphernes arrived, with his army, as if with the view of returning home; and Orontes came with his army. Orontes also brought[1] with him the king's daughter, whom he had received in marriage.[2] 9. From hence they now proceeded on their march, Tissaphernes being their guide, and securing them opportunities of buying provisions; Ariæus also, with the Barbarian troops of Cyrus, marched in company with Tissaphernes and Orontes, and encamped in common with them. 10. But the Greeks, conceiving a suspicion of these men, began to march by themselves, taking guides of their own; and they always encamped at the distance of a parasang, or little less, from each other; and both parties kept on their guard against one another, as if they had been enemies, and this consequently increased their mistrustful feelings. 11. More than once, too, as they were gathering fuel, or collecting grass and other such things, in the same quarter, they came to blows with each other;[3] and this was an additional source of animosity between them.

12. After marching three days, they arrived at the wall of Media,[4] as it is called, and passed to the other side of it. This wall was built of burnt bricks, laid in bitumen; it was twenty feet in thickness, and a hundred in height, and the length of it was said to be twenty parasangs; and it was not far distant from Babylon. 13. Hence they proceeded in two days' march,

[1] Ἦγε.] From iii. 4. 13, it appears that we must refer this verb to Orontes. See note on sect. 1. Whether Tissaphernes and Orontes both married daughters of the king, is uncertain. If only one of them, Xenophon is more likely to be in the right than Diodorus Siculus. Orontes was satrap of Armenia, iii. 5. 17. Rhodogune, a daughter of Artaxerxes, is said by Plutarch (Vit. Art. c. 27) to have been married to Oræetes, who may be the same as Xenophon's Orontes.

[2] Ἐπὶ γάμῳ.] These words signify literally *for* or *upon marriage*. The true interpretation, says Krüger, is, doubtless, "in order that he might have her, or live with her, in wedlock," the marriage ceremony having been, it would seem, previously performed at Babylon.

[3] Πληγὰς ἐνέτεινον ἀλλήλοις.] Whether this signifies that they actually inflicted blows on one another, or only threatened them, may admit of some doubt. The former notion is adopted by the Latin translators, by Sturz in his Lexicon, and by the commentators generally.

[4] See i. 7. 15.

the distance of eight parasangs; crossing two canals, the one by a permanent bridge, the other by a temporary one formed of seven boats. These canals were supplied from the rives Tigris; and from one to the other of them were cut ditches across the country, the first of considerable size, and the next smaller; and at last diminutive drains, such as are cut in Greece through the panic[1] fields. They then arrived at the Tigris; near which there was a large and populous city, called Sitace, distant from the banks of the river only fifteen stadia. 14. In the neighborhood of this city the Greeks encamped, close to an extensive and beautiful park, thickly planted with all kinds of trees. The Barbarians, though they had but just crossed the Tigris, were no longer in sight.

15. After supper Proxenus and Xenophon happened to be walking in front of the place where the arms were piled, when a man approached, and inquired of the sentinels where he could see Proxenus or Clearchus. But he did not ask for Menon, though he came from Ariæus, Menon's intimate friend. 16. Proxenus replying, "I am the person whom you seek," the man said, "Ariæus and Artaozus, the faithful friends of Cyrus, who are interested for your welfare, have sent me to you, and exhort you to beware lest the Barbarians should fall upon you in the night; for their is a considerable body of troops in the adjoining park. 17. They also advise you to send a guard to the bridge over the Tigris, as Tissaphernes designs to break it down in the night, if he can, in order that you may not be able to cross the river, but may be hemmed in between the river and the canal." 18. On hearing the man's message, they conducted him to Clearchus, and told him what he had said. When Clearchus heard it he was greatly agitated and alarmed.

19. But a young man,[2] one of those who were present, after reflecting a little on the matter, observed, "that the imputed designs of making an attack, and of breaking down the bridge, were not consistent; for," said he, "if they attack us, they must certainly either conquer or be conquered; if then they are to conquer us, why should they break down the bridge? for even though there were many bridges, we have no place where we could save ourselves by flight; 20. but if, on

[1] i. 2. 22.

[2] Zeune thinks that Xenophon may possibly mean himself; but this is mere conjecture.

the other hand, we should conquer them, then, if the bridge is broken down, they will have no place of retreat; nor will any of their friends on the other side of the river, however numerous, be able to come to their assistance when the bridge is destroyed." 21. After listening to these observations, Clearchus asked the messenger what was the extent of the country that lay between the Tigris and the canal. He replied, "that it was of considerable extent, and that there were several villages and large towns in it." 22. It was then immediately concluded, that the Barbarians had sent this man with an underhand object, being afraid lest the Greeks, having taken to pieces[1] the bridge, should remain in the island, where they would have, as defenses, the river Tigris on the one side, and the canal on the other; and might procure a sufficient supply of provisions from the country which lay between, and which was extensive and fertile, with people in it to cultivate it; and which would also serve as a place of refuge to any that might be inclined to annoy the king.

23. They then prepared for rest, but did not neglect, however, to send a guard to the bridge; but neither did any one attempt to attack them on any quarter, nor did any of the enemies come near the bridge, as those who were stationed on guard there reported.

24. As soon as it was day they crossed the bridge, which was constructed of thirty-seven boats, with every precaution in their power; for some of the Greeks, who came from Tissaphernes, stated that the enemy meant to attack them as they were crossing; but this report was also false. However, as they were going over, Glus made his appearance, with some others, watching to see if they were crossing the river; and when he saw they were, he immediately rode away.

25. From the Tigris they proceeded, in four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Physcus, which was a plethrum in breadth, and over which was a bridge. Here was situated a large town, called Opis; near which an illegitimate brother of Cyrus and Artaxerxes, who was leading a numerous army from Susa and Ecbatana, with the intention

[1] Διελόντες.] An excellent conjectural emendation of Holtzmann for the old reading διελθόντες. *Kühner.*—The stratagem of Tissaphernes was similar to that by which Themistocles expedited the departure of Xerxes from Greece.

of assisting the king, met the Greeks, and, ordering his troops to halt, took a view of the Greeks as they passed by. 16. Clearchus marched his men two abreast, and halted occasionally on the way; and as long as the van of the army halted, so long there was necessarily a halt throughout the whole of the line; so that even to the Greeks themselves their army seemed very large, and the Persian was amazed at the sight of it.

17. Hence they proceeded through Media,[1] six days' march through a desert country, a distance of thirty parasangs, when they arrived at the village of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king; which Tissaphernes, in mockery of Cyrus, gave permission to the Greeks to plunder of every thing except the slaves. There was found in them a great quantity of corn, and sheep, and other property. 18. Hence they advanced in a march of five days more through the desert, a distance of twenty parasangs, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of the first day's march there was situate on the opposite bank of the river a large and opulent city, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians brought over, on rafts made of hide, a supply of bread, cheese, and wine.

CHAPTER V.

After a three days' halt on the river Zabatus, Clearchus endeavors to put an end to the distrust between the Persians and the Greeks by an interview with Tissaphernes. He is received so plausibly that he is induced to return on the following day, accompanied by five other generals and twenty captains, in expectation of being informed of the persons who had excited, by false reports, ill feelings between the two armies. The generals are conducted into the tent and put to death; the captains and those with them are massacred on the outside, one only escaping to tell the tale. Ariæus calls on the rest of the Greeks to surrender their arms, but is answered with defiance.

1. Soon after, they arrived at the river Zabatus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Here they remained three days, during which the same suspicions continued, but no open indications of treachery appeared. 2. Clearchus therefore resolved to have a meeting with Tissaphernes, and, if it was at

[1] i. 7. 15.

all possible, to put a stop to these suspicions, before open hostilities should arise from them. He accordingly sent a person to say, that he wished to have a meeting with Tissaphernes; who at once requested him to come. 3. When they met, Clearchus spoke as follows: "I am aware, O Tissaphernes, that oaths have been taken, and right hands pledged between us, that we will do no injury to each other: nevertheless, I observe you on your guard against us, as though we were enemies; and we, perceiving this, stand on our guard against you. 4. But since, upon attentive observation, I can neither detect you in any attempt to injure us, and since, as I am certain, we have no such intentions toward you, it seemed proper for me to come to a conference with you, that we may put an end, if we can, to our distrust of one another. 5. For I have, before now, known instances of men, who, being in fear of another, some through direct accusations, and others through mere suspicion, have, in their eagerness to act before they suffered, inflicted irremediable evils upon those who neither intended nor wished any thing of the kind. 6. Thinking, therefore, that such misunderstandings may be best cleared up by personal communications, I have come here, and am desirous to convince you that you have no just ground for mistrusting us. 7. In the first and principal place, the oaths, which we have sworn by the gods, forbid us to be enemies to each other; and I should never consider him to be envied who is conscious of having disregarded such obligations; for from the vengeance of the gods I know not with what speed any one could flee so as to escape,[1] or into what darkness he could steal away, or how he could retreat into any stronghold, since all things, in all places, are subject to the gods; and they have power over all every where alike. 8. Such are my sentiments respecting the gods, and the oaths which we swore by them, in whose keeping we deposited the friendship that we cemented; but among human advantages, I, for my own part, consider vou to be the greatest that we at pres-

[1] *Οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους φεύγων τις ἀποφύγοι.*] This is Dindorf's reading. Bornemann and Kühner have *οὔτ' ἀπὸ ποίου ἂν τάχους οὔτε ὅποι ἄν τις φεύγων ἀποφύγοι*, on the authority, as they say, of the best copies. Dindorf thought with Schæfer, ad Greg. Cor. p. 492, that the words *οὔτε ὅποι ἂν* were superfluous, and consequently omitted them. Bornemann and Kühner see no reason why they should not be retained.

ent possess; 9. for with your assistance, every road is easy, every river is passable, and there will be no want of provisions; but without you all our way would lie through darkness (for we know nothing of it), every river would be difficult to pass, and every multitude of men would be terrible; but solitude most terrible of all, as it is full of extreme perplexity. 10. And even if we should be so mad as to kill you, what else would be the consequence, than that, having slain our benefactor, we should have to contend with the king as your most powerful avenger?[1] For my own part, of how many and how great expectations I would deprive myself, if I attempted to do you any injury, I will make you acquainted. 11. I was desirous that Cyrus should be my friend, as I thought him, of all the men of his time, the most able to benefit those whom he wished to favor. But I now see that you are in the possession both of the power and the territory of Cyrus, while you still retain your own province, and that the power of the king, which was opposed to Cyrus, is ready to support you. 12. Such being the case, who is so mad as not to wish to be your friend?

"But I will mention also the circumstances from which I derive hopes that you will yourself desire to be our friend. 13. I am aware that the Mysians give you much annoyance, and these, I have no doubt, I should be able, with my present force, to render subservient to you; I am aware also that the Pisidians molest you; and I hear that there are many such nations besides, which I think I could prevent from ever disturbing your tranquillity. As for the Egyptians, against whom I perceive you are most of all incensed, I do not see what auxiliary force you would use to chastise them better than that which I now have with me. 14. If, again, among the states that lie around you, you were desirous to become a friend to any one, you might prove the most powerful of friends; and if any of them give you any annoyance, you might, by our instrumentality, deal with them[2] as a master, as

[1] *Τὸν μέγιστον ἔφεδρον.*] Ἔφεδρος properly meant a gladiator or wrestler, who, when two combatants were engaged, stood ready to attack the one that should prove victorious. See Sturz, Lex. Xen.; Schol. in Soph. Aj. 610; Hesychius; D'Orvill. ad Charit. p. 338.

[2] *Ἀναστρέφοιο.*] "Ut dominus versere, vivas, domini partes sustineas:" Ἂν must be repeated from the preceding clause; unless that

we should serve you not for the sake of pay merely, but from gratitude, which we should justly feel toward you if we are saved by your means. 15. When I consider all these things, it appears to me so surprising that you should distrust us, that I would most gladly hear the name[1] of him who is so persuasive a speaker as to make you believe that we are forming designs against you."

Thus spoke Clearchus. Tissaphernes replied as follows: 16. "I am delighted, O Clearchus, to hear your judicious observations; for, with these sentiments, if you were to meditate any thing to my injury, you would appear to be at the same time your own enemy. But that you may be convinced that you have no just cause for distrusting either the king or me, listen to me in your turn. 17. If we wished to destroy you, do we appear to you to be deficient in numbers either of cavalry or infantry, or in warlike equipments, with the aid of which we might be able to do you injury, without danger of suffering any in return? 18. Or do we seem to you likely to be in want of suitable places to make an attack upon you? Are there not so many plains, which, as the inhabitants of them are friendly to us,[2] you traverse with exceeding toil? See you not so many mountains before you to be crossed, which we might, by pre-occupying them, render impassable to you? Or are there not so many rivers, at which we might parcel you out,[3] as many at a time as we might be willing to engage? Some of these rivers, indeed, you could not cross at all, unless we secured you a passage. 19. But even supposing that we were baffled in all these points, yet fire at least would prove its power over the produce of the soil; by burning which, we could set famine in array against you, which, though you were the bravest of the brave, you would find it difficult to withstand. 20. How then, having so many means

particle, as Dindorf thinks, has dropped out from before ἀναστρέφοιο. *Kühner.*

[1] There is in the text, as Krüger observes, a confusion of the two constructions, ἀκούσαιμι τὸ ὄνομα τούτου, ὅστις, and ἀκούσαιμι, τίς.

[2] Ἃ ἡμῖν φίλια ὄντα.] I have here departed from Dindorf's text, which has ἃ ὑμεῖς φίλια ὄντα, κ. τ. λ.; a reading much less satisfactory than the other, to which Schneider, Bornemann, and Kühner adhere.

[3] Ταμιεύεσθαι.] This word is used in the same sense, Cyrop. iii. 3. 47; iv. 1. 18; Thucyd. vi. 18; Plutarch, Timol. c. 27.

of waging war with you, and none of them attended with danger to ourselves, should we select from among them all this mode, the only one that is impious in the sight of the gods, the only one that is disgraceful in the sight of men? 21. It belongs, altogether, to men who are destitute of means, deprived of every resource, and under the coercion of necessity, and at the same time devoid of principle, to seek to effect their purposes by perjury toward the gods, and breach of faith toward men. We, O Clearchus, are not so foolish or so inconsiderate; 22. or why, when we have the opportunity of effecting your destruction, have we made no such attempt? Be well assured, that the cause of this was my desire to prove myself faithful to the Greeks, and, in consequence of doing them service, to return supported by that very body of foreign troops, to whom Cyrus, when he went up, trusted only on account of the pay that he gave them. 23. As to the particulars in which you will be of service to me, some of them you have enumerated, but of the greatest of all I am myself fully conscious; for though it is permitted to the king alone to wear the turban upright on the head, yet perhaps another than he may, with your assistance, wear that upright which is on the heart."[1]

24. Tissaphernes, in speaking thus, seemed to Clearchus to speak with sincerity, and he replied, "Do not those, then, who endeavor by calumny to make us enemies, when there are such strong inducements to friendship between us, deserve the severest of punishment?" 25. "Well, then," said Tissaphernes, "if you will come to me, as well generals as captains, in a public manner, I will inform you who they are that tell

[1] *Τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ—ἔχοι.*] Sc. *ὀρθὴν*. The sense is, "but to wear a tiara erect on the heart, that is, to have a kingly spirit and to aspire to dominion, is what another, by your aid, might be able to do." Tissaphernes, by this expression, wished to make it understood that he might possibly, with the support of the Greeks, aspire to the throne of Persia himself. A similar metaphor is noticed by Schæfer (ad Greg. Corinth. p. 491), in Philostratus v. a. iii. p. 131: *δοκεῖ μοι καὶ τὸν προγνωσόμενον ἄνδρα ὑγιῶς ἑαυτοῦ ἔχειν—· καθαρῶς δὲ αὐτὸν προφητεύειν, ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τῷ στέρνῳ τρίποδος συνιέντος.* *Kühner.* See Cyrop. viii. 3. 13. Hutchison refers to Dion Chrysost. xiv. extr. Lucian Piscat. p. 213. See also Strabo, xv. p. 231, where the Persian tiara is said to be *πίλημα πυργωτόν*, in the shape of a tower; and Joseph. Ant. xx. 3. "The tiaras of the king's subjects were soft and flexible: Schol. ad Plat. de Repub." *Krüger.*

me that you are forming plots against me and my army." 26. "I will bring them all," said Clearchus, "and, on my part, will let you know the quarter whence I hear reports respecting you." 27. After this conversation, Tissaphernes, behaving to Clearchus with much courtesy, desired him to stay with him, and made him his guest at supper.

On the following day, when Clearchus returned to the camp, he plainly showed that he considered himself to be on the most friendly footing with Tissaphernes, and stated what he had proposed; and he said that those must go to Tissaphernes, whose presence he required, and that whoever of the Greeks should be proved guilty of uttering the alleged calumnies, must be punished as traitors, and persons ill-affected to the Greeks. 28. It was Menon that he suspected of making the charges, as he knew that he had had an interview with Tissaphernes in company with Ariæus, and was forming a party and intriguing against himself, in order, that, having gained the whole army over to his own interests, he might secure the friendship of Tissaphernes. 29. Clearchus likewise wished the whole army to have their affections fixed on himself, and troublesome rivals to be removed out of his way.

Some of the soldiers urged, in opposition to his advice, that all the captains and generals should not go, and that they ought to place no confidence in Tissaphernes. 30. But Clearchus pressed his proposal with great vehemence, till he at length succeeded in getting five generals and twenty captains to go; and some of the other soldiers followed them, to the number of about two hundred, as if for the purpose of marketing.[1]

31. When they had arrived at the entrance of Tissaphernes' tent, the generals, who were Proxenus the Bœotian, Menon the Thessalian, Agias the Arcadian, Clearchus the Lacedæmonian, and Socrates the Achæan, were invited to enter; but the captains waited at the door. 32. Not long after, at one and the same signal, those within were seized, and those without massacred; and immediately afterward a body of Barbarian cavalry, riding through the plain, killed every Greek, slave or freeman, that they met.

33. The Greeks, observing the motions of these cavalry

[1] Ὡς εἰς ἀγορὰν.] "Consequently unarmed." *Krüger.*

from the camp, were filled with astonishment, and wondered what they could be doing, till Nicarchus an Arcadian came fleeing thither, wounded in the belly and holding his intestines in his hands, and related all that had occurred. 34. The Greeks, in consequence, ran to their arms in a state of general consternation, expecting that the enemy would immediately march upon the camp. 35. They however did not all come, but only Ariæus and Artaozus and Mithridates, who had been Cyrus's most confidential friends; and the interpreter of the Greeks said that he saw with them, and recognized, the brother of Tissaphernes. Other Persians, equipped with corslets, to the number of three hundred, were in attendance on them. 36. As they approached the camp, they called for whatever general or captain of the Greeks might be there, to come out to them, that they might deliver a message from the king. 37. There accordingly went forth to them, with much caution, Cleanor the Orchomenian, and Sophænetus the Stymphalian, generals of the Greeks, and with them Xenophon the Athenian, that he might learn news of Proxenus. As for Cheirisophus, he happened to be absent at some village looking for provisions.

38. When they had stopped just within hearing, Ariæus said to them: "Clearchus, O Greeks, having been found guilty of perjury, and of violating the truce, has received his just punishment, and is dead; Proxenus, and Menon, as having denounced his treachery, are in great honor; but the king demands of you your arms; for he says that they are his, as they belonged to Cyrus his subject." 39. To this the Greeks answered (Cleanor the Orchomenian spoke for them), "O Ariæus, most wicked of men, and the rest of you, as many as were the friends of Cyrus, have you no regard either for gods or men, that, after having sworn that you would oonsider our friends and enemies to be likewise yours, you have thus,[1]

[1] Ὡς ἀπολωλέκατε.] Jacobs interprets ὡς by *quàm*, as equivalent to *quàm turpiter! quàm impiè!* But such exclamations belong rather to modern writers than to the ancients. * * * Others have conjectured ἀθέως, ἀνοσίως, ὠμῶς, ἴσως, ὅλως, οὕτως. In one manuscript ὡς is omitted; an omission approved by Larcher, Porson, and some others. Some, too, think that the sentence is ἀνακόλουθος, and that the author, forgetful how he commenced it, goes on with ὡς for ὅτι. Dindorf supposes that Cleanor must be regarded as too much provoked and agitated to mind the exact arrangement of his words. For my own part,

after treacherously deserting us in concert with Tissaphernes, the most godless and most unprincipled of human beings, murdered the very men to whom you swore alliance, and, abandoning us who are left, have come against us in conjunction with our enemies?" 40. Ariæus replied, "Clearchus had been previously detected in treacherous designs against Tissaphernes and Orontes, and all of us who accompany them." 41. To this Xenophon rejoined, "Clearchus, then, if he infringed the truce in violation of his oath, is deservedly punished; for it is just that those who violate their oaths should suffer death; but as for Proxenus and Menon, as they are your benefactors and our generals, send them hither; for it is clear that, being friends to both parties, they will endeavor to advise what is best both for you and for us." 42. The Barbarians, after conversing among themselves for some time, departed without making any answer to this proposal.

CHAPTER VI.

The characters of the five generals that were put to death.

1. The generals, who were thus made prisoners, were taken up to the king, and put to death by being beheaded.

One of them, Clearchus, by the general consent of all who were acquainted with him, appears to have been a man well qualified for war, and extremely fond of military enterprise. 2. For as long as the Lacedæmonians were at war with the Athenians, he remained in the service of his country; but when the peace took place, having induced his government to believe that the Thracians were committing ravages on the Greeks, and having gained his point, as well as he could, with the Ephori, he sailed from home to make war upon the Thracians that lie above the Chersonesus and Perinthus. 3. But when the Ephori, after he was gone, hav-

I consider that those have the most reason on their side who think that we should read οὕτως, interpreting it, with Bornemann, *so rashly, so unjustifiably*. From οὕτως, written compendiously, ὡς might easily have sprung. *Kühner.*

ing for some reason changed their mind, took measures to oblige him to turn back from the Isthmus, he then no longer paid obedience to their commands, but sailed away to the Hellespont, 4. and was in consequence condemned to death, for disobedience, by the chief magistrates at Sparta. Being then an exile, he went to Cyrus; and by what methods he conciliated the favor of Cyrus, has been told in another place. Cyrus presented him with ten thousand darics; 5. and he, on receiving that sum, did not give himself up to idleness, but having collected an army with the money, made war upon the Thracians, and conquered them in battle, and from that time plundered and laid waste their country, and continued this warfare till Cyrus had need of his army, when he went to him, for the purpose of again making war in concert with him.

6. These seem to me to have been the proceedings of one fond of war, who, when he might have lived in peace without disgrace or loss, chose war in preference; when he might have spent his time in idleness, voluntarily underwent toil for the sake of military adventure; and when he might have enjoyed riches in security, chose rather, by engaging in warfare, to diminish their amount. He was indeed led by inclination to spend his money in war, as he might have spent it in pursuits of gallantry, or any other pleasure; to such a degree was he fond of war. 7. He appears also to have been qualified for military undertakings, as he liked perilous adventure, was ready to march day and night against the enemy, and was possessed of great presence of mind in circumstances of difficulty, as those who were with him on all such occasions were universally ready to acknowledge.

8. For commanding troops he was said to be qualified in as great a degree as was consistent with his temper; for he was excelled by no one in ability to contrive how an army might have provisions, and to procure them; and he was equally fitted to impress on all around him the necessity of obeying Clearchus. 9. This he effected by severity; for he was of a stern countenance and harsh voice; and he always punished violently, and sometimes in anger, so that he occasionally repented of what he had done. He punished too on principle, for he thought that there could be no efficiency in an army undisciplined by chastisement. 10. He is also reported to have

said that a soldier ought to fear his commander more than the enemy, if he would either keep guard well, or abstain from doing injury to friends, or march without hesitation against foes. 11. In circumstances of danger, accordingly, the soldiers were willing to obey him implicitly, and wished for no other leader; for they said that the sternness in his countenance then assumed an appearance of cheerfulness, and that what was severe in it seemed undauntedness against the enemy; so that it appeared indicative of safety, and not of austerity. 12. But when they were out of danger, and were at liberty to betake themselves to other chiefs, they deserted him in great numbers; for he had nothing attractive in him, but was always forbidding and repulsive, so that the soldiers felt toward him as boys toward their master. 13. Hence it was, that he never had any one who followed him out of friendship and attachment to his person; though such as followed him from being appointed to the service by their country, or from being compelled by want or other necessity, he found extremely submissive to him. 14. And when they began under his command to gain victories over the enemy, there were many important circumstances that concurred to render his troops excellent soldiers; for their perfect confidence against the enemy had its effect, and their dread of punishment from him rendered them strictly observant of discipline. 15. Such was his character as a commander. But he was said to have been by no means willing to be commanded by others. When he was put to death, he was about fifty years of age.

16. Proxenus the Bœotian, from his earliest youth, felt a desire to become a man capable of great undertakings; and through this desire paid Gorgias of Leontium for instruction. 17. When he had passed some time with him, and thought himself capable of command, and, if honored with the friendship of the great, of making no inadequate return for their favors, he proceeded to take a part in this enterprise with Cyrus; and expected to acquire in it a great name, extensive influence, and abundant wealth. 18. But though he earnestly wished for these things, he at the same time plainly showed, that he was unwilling to acquire any of them by injustice, but that he thought he ought to obtain them by just and honorable means, or otherwise not at all.

19. He was indeed able to command orderly and well-dis-

posed men, but incapable of inspiring ordinary soldiers with either respect or fear for him; he stood even more in awe of those under his command, than they of him; and evidently showed that he was more afraid of being disliked by his soldiers, than his soldiers of being disobedient to him. 20. He thought it sufficient both for being, and appearing, capable of command, to praise him who did well, and withhold his praise from the offender. Such, therefore, of his followers, as were of honorable and virtuous character, were much attached to him, but the unprincipled formed designs upon him, as a man easy to manage. He was about thirty years old when he was put to death.

21. As for Menon the Thessalian, he ever manifested an excessive desire for riches, being desirous of command that he might receive greater pay, and desirous of honors that he might obtain greater perquisites; and he wished to be well with those in power, in order that when he did wrong he might not suffer punishment. 22. To accomplish what he desired, he thought that the shortest road lay through perjury, falsehood, and deceit; while sincerity and truth he regarded as no better than folly. 23. He evidently had no affection for any man; and as for those to whom he professed to be a friend, he was unmistakably plotting mischief against them. He never ridiculed an enemy, but always used to talk with his associates as if ridiculing all of them.[1] 24. He formed no designs on the property of his enemies (for he thought it difficult to take what belonged to such as were on their guard against him), but looked upon himself as the only person sensible how very easy it was to invade the unguarded property of friends.

25. Those whom he saw given to perjury and injustice, he feared as men well armed; but sought to practice on those who were pious and observant of truth, as imbeciles. 26. As another might take a pride in religion, and truth, and justice, so Menon took a pride in being able to deceive, in devising falsehoods, in sneering at friends; and thought the man who was guileless was to be regarded as deficient in knowledge of the world. He believed that he must conciliate those, in whose friendship he wished to stand first, by calumniating such as

[1] *Τῶν δὲ συνόντων, κ. τ. λ.*] By a species of attraction for *τοῖς δὲ συνοῦσι πᾶσιν, ὡς καταγελῶν αὐτῶν, ἀεὶ διελέγετό.* *Kühner,*

already held the chief place in their favor. 27. The soldiers he tried to render obedient to him by being an accomplice in their dishonesty. He expected to be honored and courted, by showing that he had the power and the will to inflict the greatest injuries. When any one deserted him, he spoke of it as a favor on his own part that, while he made use of his services, he did not work his destruction.

28. As to such parts of his history as are little known, I might, if I were to speak of them, say something untrue of him; but those which every one knows, are these. While yet in the prime of youth he obtained, at the hands of Aristippus, the command of his corps of mercenaries. He was also, in his prime, most intimate with Ariæus, though a Barbarian, as Ariæus delighted in beautiful youths. He himself, too, while yet a beardless youth, made a favorite of Tharypas, who had arrived at manhood.

29. When his fellow-officers were put to death because they had served with Cyrus against the king, he, though he had done the same, was not put to death with them; but after the death of the other generals, he died under a punishment inflicted by the king, not like Clearchus and the other commanders, who were beheaded (which appears to be the speediest kind of death); but after living a year in torture, like a malefactor, he is said at length to have met his end.

30. Agias the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achæan were also put to death. These no one ever derided as wanting courage in battle, or blamed for their conduct toward their friends. They were both about five and thirty years of age.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Dejection of the Greeks. How Xenophon was led to join in Cyrus's expedition. His dream, and reflections. He rouses the captains of the division that Proxenus had commanded, and exhorts them to take measures for their safety. Apollonides deprived of his captaincy. A general meeting of the surviving generals and captains, at which Xenophon persuades them to choose new commanders in the room of those that they had lost. Xenophon is one of those elected.

1. What the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, until the time of the battle, and what occurred after Cyrus was dead, when the Greeks set out to return with Tissaphernes in reliance on a truce, has been related in the preceding part of the work.

2. After the generals were made prisoners, and such of the captains and soldiers as had accompanied them were put to death, the Greeks were in great perplexity, reflecting that they were not far from the king's residence;[1] that there were around them, on all sides, many hostile nations and cities; that no one would any longer secure them opportunities of purchasing provisions; that they were distant from Greece not less than ten thousand stadia; that there was no one to guide them on the way; that impassable rivers would intercept them in the midst of their course; that the Barbarians who had gone up with Cyrus had deserted them; and that they were left utterly alone, having no cavalry to support them, so that it was certain, even if they defeated their enemies, that they would not kill a man of them, and that, if they were defeated, none of themselves would be left alive; 3. reflecting, I say, on these circumstances, and being disheartened at them, few of them tasted food for that evening,[2] few kindled fires, and many did not come to the place of

[1] 'Επὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις.] See ii. 4. 4.
[2] Εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν.] *Vespertino tempore.* Kühner.

arms[1] during the night, but lay down to rest where they severally happened to be, unable to sleep for sorrow and longing for their country, their parents, their wives and children, whom they never expected to see again. In this state of mind they all went to their resting-places.

4. There was in the army a certain Xenophon, an Athenian, who accompanied it neither in the character of general, nor captain, nor common soldier, but it had happened that Proxenus, an old guest-friend of his, had sent for him from home, giving him a promise that, if he came, he would recommend him to the friendship of Cyrus, whom he considered, he said, as a greater object of regard than his own country. 5. Xenophon, on reading the letter, consulted Socrates the Athenian, as to the propriety of making the journey; and Socrates, fearing that if he attached himself to Cyrus it might prove a ground for accusation against him with his country, because Cyrus was thought to have zealously assisted the Lacedæmonians in their war with Athens, advised Xenophon to go to Delphi, and consult the god respecting the expedition. 6. Xenophon, having gone thither accordingly, inquired of Apollo to which of the gods he should sacrifice and pray, in order most honorably and successfully to perform the journey which he contemplated, and, after prosperously accomplishing it, to return in safety. Apollo answered him that "he should sacrifice to the gods to whom it was proper for him to sacrifice."[2] 7. When he returned, he repeated the oracle to Socrates, who, on hearing it, blamed him for not asking Apollo in the first place, whether it were better for him to go or stay at home; whereas, having settled with himself that he would go, he only asked how he might best go; "but since you have," said he, "put the question thus, you must do what the god has directed." 8. Xenophon, therefore, having sacrificed to the gods that Apollo commanded,

[1] Ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὅπλα.] See note on ii. 2. 20.

[2] Θεοις, οἷς ἔδει, θύειν.] *Ut diis eis, quibus oporteret, sacra faceret.* Those gods are to be understood, to whom it was established, by law or by custom, that whoever was entering on an expedition, such as that which Xenophon meditated, should offer sacrifice. They were, therefore, certain or appointed gods: comp. sect. 8; and vi. i. 22. Yet the absence of the article ought not to surprise us, even when special gods are meant. *Kühner.*—What gods they were, does not appear.

set sail, and found Proxenus and Cyrus at Sardis, just setting out on their march up the country, and was presented to Cyrus. 9. Proxenus desiring that he should remain with them, Cyrus joined in the same desire, and said that as soon as the expedition was ended, he would send him home again. The expedition was said to be intended against the Pisidians. 10. Xenophon accordingly joined in the enterprise, being thus deceived, but not by Proxenus; for he did not know that the movement was against the king, nor did any other of the Greeks, except Clearchus. When they arrived in Cilicia, however, it appeared manifest to every one that it was against the king that their force was directed; but, though they were afraid of the length of the journey, and unwilling to proceed, yet the greater part of them, out of respect[1] both for one another and for Cyrus, continued to follow him; of which number was Xenophon.

11. When this perplexity occurred, Xenophon was distressed as well as the other Greeks, and unable to rest, but having at length got a little sleep, he had a dream, in which, in the midst of a thunder-storm, a bolt seemed to him to fall upon his father's house, and the house in consequence became all in a blaze. 12. Being greatly frightened, he immediately awoke, and considered his dream as in one respect favorable (inasmuch as, being in troubles and dangers, he seemed to behold a great light from Jupiter), but in another respect he was alarmed (because the dream appeared to him to be from Jupiter who was a king, and the fire to blaze all around him), lest he should be unable to escape from the king's territories, but should be hemmed in on all sides by inextricable difficulties.

13. What it betokens, however, to see such a dream, we may conjecture from the occurrences that happened after the dream.

[1] *Δι' αἰσχύνην.*] They had regard for their character in the eyes of one another, fearing that they might seem faint-hearted; and regard for it in those of Cyrus, fearing that they might seem ungrateful. *Kühner.* —*Αἰσχύνη* is self-respect, apprehension of what others may think of us; and may be illustrated by Hom. Il. v.

Ἀλλήλους δ' αἰδεῖσθε κατὰ κρατερὰς ὑσμίνας·
Αἰδομένων ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἠὲ πέφανται·

"Have self-respect before one another in the violence of battle; of men who respect themselves, more are saved than killed." Hutchinson cites A. Gellius, xix. 7; *αἰσχύνη ἐστὶ φόβος δικαίου ψόγου, i. e. a fear of just blame.*

What immediately followed was this. As soon as he awoke, the thought that first occurred to him was, "Why do I lie here? The night is passing away. With daylight it is probable that the enemy will come upon us; and if we once fall into the hands of the king, what is there to prevent us from being put to death with ignominy, after witnessing the most grievous sufferings among our comrades, and enduring every severity of torture ourselves? 14. Yet no one concerts measures, or takes thought, for our defense, but we lie still, as if we were at liberty to enjoy repose. From what city, then, do I expect a leader to undertake our defense? What age am I waiting for to come to myself? Assuredly I shall never be older, if I give myself up to the enemy to-day." 15. After these reflections he arose, and called together, in the first place, the captains that were under Proxenus.

When they were assembled, he said, "For my part, captains, I can not sleep, nor, I should think, can you, nor can I lie still any longer, when I consider in what circumstances we are placed; 16. for it is plain that the enemy did not openly manifest hostility toward us, until they thought that they had judiciously arranged their plans; but on our side no one takes any thought how we may best maintain a contest with them. 17. Yet if we prove remiss, and fall into the power of the king, what may we not expect to suffer from a man who cut off the head and hand of his own brother by the same mother and father, even after he was dead, and fixed them upon a stake? What may not we, I say, expect to suffer, who have no relative[1] to take our part, and who have marched against him to make him a subject instead of a monarch, and to put him to death if it should lie in our power? 18. Will he not proceed to every extremity, that by reducing us to the last degree of ignominious suffering, he may inspire all men with a dread of ever taking the field against him? We must, however, try every expedient not to fall into his hands. 19. For myself, I never ceased, while the truce lasted, to consider ourselves as objects of pity, and to regard the king and his people as objects of envy, as I contemplated how extensive and valuable a country they possessed, how great an abundance of provisions, how many slaves and cattle, and

[1] Κηδεμών.] Cyrus, says Weiske, had his mother to take his part; the Greeks had no one to take theirs.

how vast a quantity of gold and raiment; 20. while, on the other hand, when I reflected on the condition of our own soldiers, that we had no share in any of all these blessings, unless we bought it, and knew that few of us had any longer money to buy, and that our oaths restrained us from getting provisions otherwise than by buying, I sometimes, on taking all these circumstances into consideration, feared the continuance of peace more than I now fear war. 21. But since they have put an end to peace, their own haughtiness, and our mistrust, seem likewise to be brought to an end; for the advantages which I have mentioned lie now as prizes between us, for whichsoever of us shall prove the better men; and the gods are the judges of the contest, who, as is just, will be on our side; 22. since the enemy have offended them by perjury, while we, though seeing many good things to tempt us, have resolutely abstained from all of them through regard to our oaths; so that, as it seems to me, we may advance to the combat with much greater confidence than they can feel. 23. We have bodies, moreover, better able than theirs to endure cold, and heat, and toil; and we have, with the help of the gods, more resolute minds; while the enemy, if the gods, as before, grant us success, will be found more obnoxious to wounds and death[1] than we are. 24. But possibly others of you entertain the same thoughts; let us not, then, in the name of heaven, wait for others to come and exhort us to noble deeds, but let us be ourselves the first to excite others to exert their valor. Prove yourselves the bravest of the captains, and more worthy to lead than those who are now leaders 25. As for me, if you wish to take the start in the course, I am willing to follow you, or, if you appoint me to be a leader, I shall not make my youth an excuse, but shall think myself sufficiently mature to defend myself against harm."

26. Thus spoke Xenophon; and the captains, on hearing his observations, all desired him to be their leader, except a certain Apollonides, who resembled a Bœotian in his manner of speaking; this man said that "whoever asserted they could gain safety by any other means than by obtaining, if he could, the king's consent to it, talked absurdly;" and at the same

[1] *Καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον.*] "More vulnerable and mortal." Alluding to the superiority of the Grecian armor over that of the Persians.

time began to enumerate the difficulties surrounding them. 27. But Xenophon, interrupting him, said, "O most wonderful of men! you neither understand what you see, nor remember what you hear. Yet you were on the same spot with those here present, when the king, after Cyrus was dead, being in high spirits at the circumstance, sent to demand that we should deliver up our arms; 28. and when we, refusing to deliver them up, and appearing in full armor, went and encamped over against him, what means did he not try, sending deputies, asking for a truce, and supplying us with provisions until he obtained a truce? 29. But when, on the other hand, our generals and captains went to confer with the Barbarians, as you now advise us to do, without their arms, and relying on the truce, were they not beaten, goaded, insulted, and are they not unable, wretched men, to die, though, I should think, greatly longing for death? And do you, knowing all these occurrences, say to those who exhort us to defend ourselves talk absurdly, and advise us to go again to try persuasion? 30. To me, O captains, it seems that we should no longer admit this man into the same service with ourselves, but take from him his captaincy, and laying baggage on his back, make use of him in that capacity; for he disgraces both his own country and all Greece, inasmuch as, being a Greek, he is of such a character." 31. Here Agasias of Stymphalus, proceeding to speak, said, "But this man, assuredly, has nothing to do either with Bœotia or with Greece at all, for I have observed that he has both his ears bored, like a Lydian." Such indeed was the case; and they accordingly expelled him.

32. The rest, proceeding to the different divisions of the troops, called up the general wherever there was a general surviving, and the lieutenant-general[1] where the general was dead, and the captain wherever there was a captain surviving. 33. When they were all come together, they sat down before the place where the arms were piled;[2] and the generals and captains assembled were about a hundred in all. The time when the meeting took place was about midnight.

[1] Τὸν ὑποστράτηγον.] Krüger, from v. 9. 36, and vi. 2. 11, concludes that the ὑποστράτηγος was he who was appointed to discharge the duties of the στράτηγος in his absence, or to take his place if he should be killed.

[2] See ii. 2. 20.

34. Hieronymus, a native of Elis, the oldest of all the captians that had served under Proxenus, was the first to speak, as follows: "It has seemed proper to us, O generals and captians, on contemplating the present state of our affairs, to meet together ourselves, and to call upon you to join us, that we may determine, if we can, on some plan for our benefit. But do you, Xenophon, first represent to the assembly what you have already observed to us." 35. Xenophon accordingly said, "We are all aware that the king and Tissaphernes have made prisoners of as many of us as they could; and it is evident that they are forming designs against the rest of us, that they may put us to death if they can. But on our parts I think that every means should be adopted in order that we may not fall into the Barbarians' hands, but rather that they, if we can accomplish it, may fall into ours. 36. Be well assured then, that you, who have now met together in such numbers, have upon you a most important responsibility;[1] for all the soldiers look to you, and, if they see you dispirited, they will themselves lose courage, but if both you yourselves appear well prepared to meet the enemy, and exhort others to be equally prepared, be certain that they will follow you, and strive to imitate you. 37. Perhaps, too, it is right that you should show some superiority over them; for you are their generals, their officers, and their captains, and, when there was peace, you enjoyed advantages over them in fortune and honor; and now, in consequence, when war arises, you ought to prove yourselves pre-eminent over the multitude, and to take the lead in forming plans for them, and, should it ever be necessary, in toiling for them. 38. And, in the first place, I think that you will greatly benefit the army, if you take care that generals and captains be chosen, as soon as possible, in the room of those whom we have lost; for without commanders nothing honorable or advanatgeous can be achieved, I may say in one word, any where, but least of all in the field of battle. Good order conduces to safety, but want of order has already proved fatal to many. 39. Again, when you have appointed as many commanders as are requisite, I consider that

[1] Καιρόν.] Leunclavius makes this equivalent to "in vobis plurimum est situm." Sturz, in his Lexicon Xenoph., says, "rerum status is est, ut vos in primis debeatis rebus consulere." Toup, is his *Emend. ad Suid.*, gives *maximum momentum habetis.*

if you were to assemble and encourage the rest of the soldiers, you would act very suitably to the occasion; 40. for you perhaps observe, as well as myself, how dejectedly they have now come to the place of arms,[1] and how dejectedly they go upon guard, so that, while they are in such a condition, I know not for what service any one could employ them, whether required by night or by day. 41. But if any one could change the direction of their thoughts, so that they may not merely contemplate what they are likely to suffer, but what they may be able to do, they will become much more eager for action; 42. for you are certain that it is neither numbers nor strength which gives the victory in war, but that whichsoever side advances on the enemy with the more resolute courage, their opponents, in general, can not withstand their onset. 43. I have also remarked, fellow-soldiers, that such as are eager in the field to preserve their lives at any rate, for the most part perish wretchedly and ignominiously, while I see that such as reflect that death is to all men common and inevitable, and seek in battle only to fall with honor, more frequently, from whatever cause, arrive at old age, and live, while they live, with greater happiness. 44. Being aware, then, of these facts, it behooves us, such are the circumstances in which we are placed, both to prove ourselves to be brave soldiers, and to exhort others to be so likewise." 45. Having spoken thus, he stopped.

After him Cheirisophus said, "Till the present moment, O Xenophon, I knew nothing of you, except having heard that you were an Athenian, but now I have to praise you both for what you say and what you do, and could wish that there were very many like you; for it would be a general good. 46. And now," he added, "let us not delay, my fellow-soldiers, but proceed at once, you who want them, to choose commanders, and when you have elected them, come to the center of the camp, and bring those that are chosen; and we will then call the rest of the soldiers together there. And let Tolmides the herald," said he, "come with us." 47. As he said this, he rose up, that the necessary measuses might not be delayed, but carried at once into execution. There were accordingly chosen commanders, Timasion, a Dardanian in the room of Clearchus, Xanthicles an Achæan in that of Socrates, Cleanor

[1] See ii. 2. 20.

an Arcadian in that of Agias, Philesius an Achæan in that of Menon, and Xenophon of Athens in that of Proxenus.

CHAPTER II.

The new generals hold a council of war. The speeches of Cheirisophus, Cleanor, and Xenophon. The order of march is settled, and the duties of each commander appointed.

1. WHEN the officers were chosen, and day was just dawning, they met in the center of the camp, and it was resolved to station sentinels at the outposts, and to call together the soldiers. When the rest of the troops came up, Cheirosophus the Lacedæmonian rose first, and spoke as follows: 2. "Our present circumstances, fellow-soldiers, are fraught with difficulty, since we are deprived of such able generals, and captains, and soldiers, and since, also, the party of Ariæus, who were formerly our supporters, have deserted us; 3. yet it behooves us to extricate ourselves from these difficulties as brave men, and not to lose courage, but to endeavor to save ourselves, if we can, by an honorable victory; but if we can not do so, let us at least die with honor, and never, while we live, put ourselves into the power of the enemy; for I think that, in that case, we should endure such sufferings as I wish that the gods may inflict on our adversaries."

4. After him Cleanor the Orchomenian arose and spoke thus: "You see, soldiers, the perjury and impiety of the king; and you see also the faithlessness of Tissaphernes, who, after telling us that he was a neighbor of the Greeks, and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us, and after having given us his right hand as a pledge, has himself deceived and made prisoners our generals, and has not respected even Jupiter, the protector of the rights of hospitality, but, entertaining Clearchus at his own table, has, by this very means, inveigled and destroyed our officers. 5. Ariæus, too, whom we offered to make king, to whom we gave and from whom we received pledges, that we would not betray one another, even he, neither fearing the gods, nor respecting the memory of Cyrus, though honored by him in the highest degree while

he was alive, has now gone over to his bitterest enemies, and endeavors to distress us who were his friends. 6. But on these men may the gods take vengeance; for ourselves, it is incumbent upon us, having this conduct before our eyes, not to be deceived again by them, but, after fighting as bravely as we can, to bear with patience such fortune as the gods may appoint us."

7. Next stood up Xenophon, who had accoutered himself for war as splendidly as he could, thinking that if the gods should grant them victory, the finest equipment would be suitable to success, or that, if it were appointed for him to die, it would be well for him to adorn himself with his best armor,[1] and in that dress to meet his end. He proceeded to speak thus: 8. "Of the perjury and perfidy of the Barbarians Cleanor has just spoken, and you, I am sure, are well aware of it. If, then, we think of coming again to terms of friendship with them, we must of necessity feel much distrust on that head, when we see what our generals have suffered, who, in reliance on their faith, put themselves into their hands; but if we propose to inflict on them vengeance with our swords for what they have done, and, for the future, to be at war with them at all points, we have, with the help of the gods, many fair hopes of safety." 9. As he was uttering these words, somebody sneezed, and the soldiers, hearing it, with one impulse paid their adoration to the god;[2] and Xenophon continued, "Since, soldiers, while we were speaking of safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, it seems to me that we should vow to that god to offer sacrifices for our preservation on the spot where we first reach a friendly country; and that we should vow, at the same time, to sacrifice to the other gods according to our ability. And to whomsoever this seems reasonable, let him hold up his hand." All held up their hands; and they then made their vows, and sang the pæan. When the ceremonies to the gods were duly performed, he recommenced thus: 10. "I was saying that we had many fair hopes of safety. In the first place, we have observed our oaths made to the gods; but the enemy have perjured themselves, and broken the truce and their oaths.

[1] Τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα.] "Thinking himself worthy of the most beautiful (equipments)."

[2] Τὸν θεόν.] Jupiter the Preserver. *Kühner.*

Such being the case, it is natural that the gods should be unfavorable to our enemies, and should fight on our side; the gods, who are able, whenever they will, to make the mighty soon weak, and to save the weak with ease, although they be in grievous perils. 11. In the next place, I will remind you of the dangers in which our ancestors were, that you may feel conscious how much it becomes you to be brave, and how the brave are preserved, even from the greatest troubles, by the aid of the gods. For when the Persians, and those united with them, came with a numerous host, as if to sweep Athens from the face of the earth,[1] the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, gave them a defeat; 12. and having made a vow to Diana, that whatever number they should kill of the enemy, they would sacrifice to her divinity the same number of goats, and not being able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and to this day they still continue to sacrifice them. 13. Again, when Xerxes, having collected that innumerable army of his, came down upon Greece a second time, our ancestors on that occasion, too, defeated the ancestors of these Barbarians, both by land and sea; of which exploits the trophies are still to be seen as memorials; the greatest of all memorials, however, is the liberty of the states in which you were born and bred, for you worship no man as master, but the gods alone. Of such ancestors are you sprung.

14. "Nor am I going to say that you dishonor them. It is not yet many days since you arrayed yourselves in the field against the descendants of those Barbarians, and defeated, with the help of the gods, a force many times more numerous than yourselves. 15. On that occasion you showed yourselves brave men to procure a throne for Cyrus; and now, when the struggle is for your own lives, it becomes you to be more valiant and resolute. 16. At present, too, you may justly feel greater confidence against your adversaries; for even then, when you had made no trial of them, and saw them in count-

[1] Αὖθις ἀφανιούντων.] Weiske, Schneider, and others emit the *αὖθις*. Bornemann, Dindorf, and Kühner preserve it, as it is found in six manuscripts, giving it, with Spohn, Lect. Theocr. i. p. 33, the sense of *back again*, as if the Persians had intended to make Athens disappear again as if it had never been. I think the word better left out. An American editor has conjectured *αὐτὰς*.

less numbers before you, you yet dared, with the spirit of your fathers, to advance upon them, and now, when you have learned from experience of them, that, though many times your number, they shrink from receiving your charge, what reason have you any longer to fear them? 17. And do not consider it any disadvantage, that the troops of Cyrus, who were formerly arrayed on our side, have now left us; for they are far more cowardly than those who were defeated by you; at least[1] they deserted us to flee to them, and those who are so ready to commence flight it is better to see posted on the side of the enemy than in our own ranks.

18. "If, again, any of you are disheartened because we have no cavalry, and the enemy have a great number, consider that ten thousand cavalry are nothing more than ten thousand men; for no one ever perished in battle of being bitten or kicked by a horse; it is the men that do whatever is done in the encounter. 19. Doubtless we, too, rest upon a surer support than cavalry have, for they are raised upon horses, and are afraid, not only of us, but also of falling, while we, taking our steps upon the ground, shall strike such as approach us with far greater force, and hit much more surely the mark at which we may aim. In one point alone, indeed, have the cavalry the advantage, that it is safer for them to flee than for us.

20. "But if, though you have courage for battle, you are disquieted at the thought that Tissaphernes will no longer guide you, and that the king will no longer supply you with provisions, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for our guide, who is manifestly plotting our destruction, or such persons as we ourselves may seize and compel to be our guides, who will be conscious that if they go wrong with regard to us, they go wrong with regard to their own lives and persons. 21. And as to provisions, whether is it better for us to purchase, in the markets which they provide, small measures of food for large sums of money (no longer, indeed, having the money), or, if we are successful in the field, to take supplies for ourselves, adopting whatever measure each of us may wish to use?

22. "Again, if you think, that this state of things will be

[1] Γοῦν.] Some copies have οὖν. "The sense of γοῦν is this: *ceteris rebus prætermissis, hoc quidem certissimum est, eos fugisse.* Kühner.

better, but imagine that the rivers will be impassable, and that you were greatly misled when you came across them, reflect whether the Barbarians have not acted most unwisely also in this respect.[1] For all rivers, though they may be impassable at a distance from their sources, are easy to be forded by those who go to their springs, wetting them not even to the knees. 23. But even if the rivers shall not afford us a passage,[2] and no guide shall appear to conduct us, we still need not be in despair; for we know that the Mysians, whom we should not call more valiant than ourselves, have settled themselves, against the king's will, in many rich and large cities in the king's territory; we know that the Pisidians have acted similarly; and we have ourselves seen[3] that the Lycaonians, having seized on the stongholds in the plains, enjoy the produce of the land of these Barbarians; 24. and I should recommend that we, for the present, should not let it be seen that we are eager to start homeward, but should apparently make arrangements as if we thought of settling somewhere in these parts; for I am sure that the king would grant the Mysians many guides, and give them many hostages to send them out of the country safely, and even make roads for them, though they should desire to depart in four-horse chariots; and for ourselves, too, I am convinced that he would with thrice as much pleasure do the same, if he saw us making dispositions to remain here. 25. But I am afraid that if we would once learn to live in idleness, to revel in abundance, and to associate with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we should, like the lotus-eaters,[4] think no more of the road homeward. 26. It

[1] Εἰ ἄρα, κ. τ. λ.] Krüger admonishes the reader that these words must be taken negatively: *whether—not.*

[2] Διήσουσιν.] Eight manuscripts have *διοίσουσιν*, which Bornemann has preferred. Dindorf also gave the preference to it in his first edition, but has subsequently adopted the other reading. Μήτε *διοίσουσιν* is interpreted by Bornemann, "if the rivers shall present no difference in any part of their course; if they be as broad at their sources as at their mouths."

[3] Αὐτοὶ εἴδομεν.] The Greeks had passed through a part of Lycaonia in their march up the country, i. 2. 19; when, however, it is not indicated that they saw much.

[4] The allusion is to Odyss. ix. 83, where the lotus-eaters are mentioned:

> The trees around them all their food produce,
> Lotus the name, divine nectareous juice

seems to me, therefore, both reasonable and just, that we should first of all make an attempt to return to Greece, and to the members of our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since they might see those, who are now living at home without due means of subsistence, enriched on betaking themselves hither. But I need say no more on this head, for it is plain, my fellow-soldiers, that all these advantages fall to the conquerors.

27. "I must also suggest to you, however, in what manner we may proceed on our way with the greatest safety, and how we may fight, if it should be necessary to fight, to the greatest possible advantage. First of all, then," he continued, "it seems to me that we ought to burn whatever carriages we have, that our cattle may not influence our movements, but that we may march whithersoever it may be convenient for the army; and then that we should burn our tents with them, for tents are troublesome to carry, and of no service either for fighting or in getting provisions. 28. I think also that we ought to rid ourselves of whatever is superfluous in the rest of our baggage, reserving only what we have for war, or for meat and drink, that as many of us as possible may be under arms, and as few as possible baggage-bearers; for you are aware that whatever belongs to the conquered becomes the property of others; and, if we are victorious, we ought to look upon the enemy as our baggage-carriers.

29. "It only remains for me to mention a particular which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see that the enemy did not venture openly to commence war against us, until they had seized our generals, thinking that as long as we had commanders, and were obedient to them, we should be in a condition to gain the advantage over them in the field, but, on making prisoners of our generals, they expected that we should perish from want of direction and order. 30. It is incumbent, therefore, on our present commanders to be far more vigilant than our former ones, and on those under com-

(Thence called Lotophagi), which whoso tastes,
Insatiate riots in their sweet repasts,
Nor other home, nor other care intends,
But quits his house, his country, and his friends. *Pope.*

mand to be far more orderly, and more obedient to their officers, at present, than they were before. 31. And if you were also to pass a resolution, that, should any one be disobedient, whoever of you chances to light upon him, is to join with his officers in punishing him, the enemy would by that means be most effectually disappointed in their expectations, for, on the very day that such resolution is passed, they will see before them ten thousand Clearchuses instead of one, who will not allow a single soldier to play the coward. 32. But it is now time for me to conclude my speech;[1] for in an instant, perhaps, the enemy will be upon us. Whosoever, therefore, thinks these suggestions reasonable, let him give his sanction to them at once, that they may be carried into execution. But if any other course, in any one's opinion, be better than this,[2] let him, even though he be a private soldier, boldly give us his sentiments; for the safety, which we all seek, is a general concern.

33. Cheirisophus then said, "Should there be need of any other measure in addition to what Xenophon proposes, it will be in our power to bring it forward by and by; what he has now suggested we ought, I think, to vote at once to be the best course that we can adopt; and to whomsoever this seems proper, let him hold up his hand;" and they all held them up. 34. Xenophon then, rising again, said, "Hear, soldiers, what appears to me to be necessary in addition to what I have laid before you. It is plain that we must march to some place from which we may get provisions; and I hear that there are some good-looking villages not more than twenty stadia distant; 35. but I should not wonder if the enemy (like cowardly dogs that run after such as pass by them, and bite them if they can, but flee from those who pursue them), I should not wonder, I say, if the enemy were to follow close upon us when we begin to march. 36. It will, perhaps, be the safer way for us to march, therefore, forming a hollow square of the heavy-armed troops, in order that the baggage and the large number of camp-followers may be in greater security within it;

[1] *Περαίνειν.*] Sc. *τὸν λόγον.* This is the sense in which this word has been taken, I believe, by most readers; as in Æsch. Pers. 699, and elsewhere. Sturz, in his Lexicon, seems to take it in the sense of *to execute, to proceed to action.*

[2] *Εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτῃ.*] Understand *δοκεῖ ἔχειν.* *Kühner.* "But if any thing else (seems) better (to any one) than in this way."

and if it be now settled who is lead on the square, and regulate the movements in front, who are to be on each flank, and who to have charge of the rear, we shall not have to consider of these things when the enemy approach, but may at once act according to what has been arranged. 37. If, then, any one else sees any thing better to recommend, let it be settled otherwise; if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedæmonian;[1] let two of the oldest generals take the command on each of the flanks; and let Timasion and myself, the youngest of the officers, take charge, at least for the present, of the rear. 38. After a time, when we have tried this arrangement, we will consider, as occasion may require, what may seem best to be done. If any one thinks of any better plan than this, let him speak." As nobody made any objection, he said, "Whosoever likes these proposals, let him hold up his hand." The proposals were approved. 39. "And now," he added, "it belongs to you to go and carry into execution what has been decided upon; and whosoever of you wishes to see his friends and relations, let him prove himself a man of valor, for by no other means can he succeed in attaining that object; whoever of you desires to preserve his life, let him strive to conquer, for it is the part of conquerors to kill, but of the conquered to die; and if any one of you covets spoil, let him endeavor to secure victory for us, for it is the privilege of victors at once to save their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished."

CHAPTER III.

The Greeks are visited by Mithridates as a friend, but he soon shows that he is an enemy, and they resolve to enter into no further negotiations with the Persian king. They pass the Zabatus, are harassed by Mithridates, and suffer from the want of slingers and cavalry. Volunteers are enrolled for these services.

1. WHEN this speech was concluded, they rose up, and went off to burn their carriages and tents; of their superflu-

[1] Ἐπειδὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιός ἐστι.] The καὶ, *also*, refers to something understood: "since he is not only a brave man, but also a Lacedæmonian." *Kühner.*—The Lacedæmonians were then at the head of Greece: comp. v. 9. 26; vi. 6. 12. *Zeune.*

ous baggage they divided among themselves such portions as any needed, and threw the rest into the fire. Having done this, they went to breakfast. While they were at their meal, Mithridates rode up to them with about thirty horsemen, and requesting the generals to come within hearing, spoke as follows: 2. "I was faithful to Cyrus, O men of Greece, as you yourselves know; I am now well disposed toward you; and I am living here under great apprehensions; if, therefore, I should find that you are concerting any safe scheme for your deliverance, I would come and join you, bringing with me all my followers. Let me know, therefore, what you have in contemplation, as one who is your friend and well-wisher, and who is willing to march along with you." 3. The generals, after consulting together, resolved on returning the following answer; and Cheirisophus delivered it: "It is our determination, if no one hinders us from returning home, to proceed through the country with as little injury to it as possible; but if any one opposes us on our march, to fight our way against him as vigorously as we can." 4. Mithridates then endeavored to convince them how impracticable it was to escape without the king's consent. But it was now concluded that he was insidiously sent; for one of the followers of Tissaphernes was in attendance on him to ensure his fidelity.[1] 5. In consequence, it was thought right by the generals to pass a resolution that the war should be such as to admit of no intercourse by heralds;[2] for those that came tried to corrupt the soldiers, and succeeded in seducing one of the captains, Nicarchus an Arcadian, and he deserted in the night with about twenty men.

6. Having then dined, and crossed the river Zabatus, they marched on in regular order, keeping the baggage-cattle and camp-followers in the center. But before they had gone far, Mithridates made his appearance again with about two hundred cavalry and about four hundred archers and slingers,

[1] *Πίστεως ἕνεκα.*] To watch him, lest he should act treacherously. *Kühner.*

[2] *Πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον.*] Properly *war in which there is no use for heralds*, but in which all is violent and desperate; so that *ἀκήρυκτος* will be equivalent, according to Hesychius, to *ἀδιάλλακτος*, *implacable, irreconcilable*. See Erasm. Adag. iii. 3. 84. *Sturz Lex.* Others rather think it a deadly war, not commenced by sending heralds, and not to be terminated by sending them. *Kühner.* See Herod. v. 81.

very light and active troops. 6. He advanced toward the Greeks as a friend, but when he came near, some of his men, both horse and foot, suddenly discharged their arrows, and others used their slings, and wounded some of our men. The rear of the Greeks, indeed, was much harassed, and could do nothing in return; for the Cretan bowmen shot to a less distance than the Persians, and had also, as being lightly armed, sheltered themselves within the heavy troops; and the javelin-men did not hurl far enough to reach the slingers. 8. Upon this it seemed to Xenophon that it would be well to pursue them; and such of the heavy-armed and peltasts as happened to be with him in the rear, began to pursue, but could overtake in the pursuit not a single man of the enemy; 9. for the Greeks had no cavalry,[1] nor could their infantry, in a short distance overtake the infanty of the enemy, who took to flight when they were a long way off since it was impossible for the Greeks to follow them to a great distance from the rest of the army. 10. The Barbarian cavalry, too, inflicted wounds in their retreat, shooting backward as they rode, and however far the Greeks advanced in pursuit, so far were they obliged to retreat, fighting. 11. Thus during the whole day they did not advance more than five-and-twenty stadia; however they arrived at the villages in the evening.

Here again there was much dejection; and Cheirisophus and the oldest of the generals blamed Xenophon for pursuing the enemy apart from the main body, endangering himself, and yet being unable to hurt the assailants. 12. Xenophon, hearing this charge, acknowledged that they blamed him justly, and that the result bore testimony in their favor. "But," said he, "I was under the necessity of pursuing, as I saw that we suffered great damage while remaining at our posts, and were unable to retaliate. 13. But when we began to pursue," continued he, "the truth was as you say; for we were none the better able to injure the enemy, and we could not retreat without great difficulty. 14. Thanks are due to the gods, therefore, that the Barbarians did not come upon us in great force, but only with a few troops, so that, while they

[1] Cyrus's Greek auxiliaries for the expedition had consisted only of infantry; all his cavalry was either Asiatic or Thracian. The Thracian horse had deserted, and the Asiatic cavalry had gone over to Tissaphernes soon after the battle.

did us no great harm, they showed us of what we stand in need: 15. for at present the enemy shoot their arrows and sling their stones such a distance, that neither can the Cretans return their shots, nor can those who throw with the hand reach them, and when we pursue them, we can not go after them any great distance from the main body, and in a short space, a foot-soldier, even if ever so swift, can not overtake another foot-soldier, starting at bow-shot distance. 16. If, therefore, we would keep off the enemy, so that they may be unable to hurt us on our march, we must at once provide ourselves with slingers and cavalry. There are, I hear, some Rhodians in our army, the greater number of whom, they say, understand the use of the sling, while their weapon carries even double the distance of the Persian sling, 17. which, as they sling with large stones, reach only a short distance, while the Rhodians know how to use leaden bullets. 18. If, then, we ascertain which of them have slings, and give money to each of them[1] for them; and pay money also to any one who is willing to plait more, and find some other privilege[2] for him who consents to serve in the troop of slingers,[3] possibly some will offer themselves who may be able to be of service to us. 19. I see also that there are horses in the army, some in my posesssion, and some left by Clearchus, besides many others taken from the enemy which are employed in carrying the baggage. If, then, we collect all these, and put ordinary baggage-cattle in their place, and equip the horses for riders, they will perhaps annoy the enemy in their flight." 20. These suggestions were approved; and that very night there came forward slingers to the number of two hundred. The next day, as many as fifty horemen and horses were pronounced fit for service; leathern jackets[4] and breastplates

[1] Τούτῳ μὲν.] As *τίνες πέπανται* immediately precedes, the singular *τούτῳ* rather startles the reader; but there are not wanting examples of similar irregularity.

[2] Ἀτέλειαν.] Exemption, for instance, from keeping guard and keeping watch. *Krüger*.

[3] Τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐντεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι.] "To him willing to be a slinger, being enrolled in the company (of slingers)." This is the reading of Schneider, and Dindorf, and Bornemann. Kühner and some others prefer *ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ*, "in the place appointed him."

[4] Σπολάδες.] This form of the word is preferred by Dindorf; Schneider, Bornemann, and Kühner prefer *στολάδες*, both in this passage and in iv. 1. 18. Both forms seem to have been in use, and to have had the

were furnished to them; and Lycius the son of Polystratus, an Athenian, was appointed their captain.

CHAPTER IV.

Mithridates again pursues the Greeks, but is repulsed. They reach the Tigris, encamp at Mespila, and are attacked by Tissaphernes with a numerous force. They repel him, and alter their order of march. Traversing a mountainous part of the country, they are harassed by the enemy, till, on getting possession of a height, they are enabled to reach the plain beyond it in safety.

1. Having halted for that day, they went forward on the next, rising earlier in the morning than usual; for they had a ravine formed by a torrent to pass, at which they were afraid that the enemy would attack them while they were crossing. 2. It was not till they had got over, however, that Mithridates again made his appearance, having now with him a thousand horse, and archers and slingers to the number of four thousand; for he had solicited and obtained that number from Tissaphernes, promising that, if he received them, he would deliver the Greeks into his hands; for he had conceived a contempt for them, because, in his previous attack on them, though he had but a small force with him, he had suffered no loss, and thought that he had caused them great annoyance. 3. When the Greeks, having crossed, were distant about eight stadia from the ravine, Mithridates also passed over it with his force. Instructions had been issued to such of the peltasts and heavy-armed troops as were to pursue, and a charge had been given to the horsemen to pursue with boldness, as a sufficient force would follow to support them. 4. When, therefore, Mithridates overtook them, and the slings and arrows began to take effect, a signal was given to the Greeks with the trumpet, and those who had been ordered immediately hastened to charge the enemy, the cavalry riding forward at the same time. The enemy, however, did not wait to receive their charge, but fled back to the ravine.

same signification; but *σπολάς* to have been the more common. See Pollux, 1. 135. Hesychius has *σπολὰς, χιτωνίσκος βαθὺς, σκύτινος, ὁ βύρσινος θώραξ.* See Pollux, 7. 10; 10. 143. Suidas, Phavorinus, and Photius give similar interpretations.

5. In the pursuit several of the Barbarian foot were killed, and about eighteen of the horse were made prisoners in the defile. The Greeks, of their own impulse, mutilated the dead bodies, in order that the sight of them might be as horrible as possible to the enemy.

6. The enemy, after faring thus, went off, and the Greeks, advancing the rest of the day without molestation, arrived at the river Tigris. 7. Here was a large deserted city, the name of which was Larissa, and which the Medes had formerly inhabited. The breadth of its wall was five and twenty feet, and the height of it a hundred; its circuit was two parasangs. It was built of bricks made of clay, but there was under it a stone foundation,[1] the height of twenty feet. 8. This city the king of the Persians,[2] at the time when the Persians wrested[3] the empire from the Medes, was unable by any means to take; a cloud, however, having covered the sun, hid it from view,[4]

[1] *Κρηπὶς δ' ὑπῆν λιθίνη, κ. τ. λ.*] The foundation appears to have risen twenty feet above the ground; so that the whole height of the wall would be a hundred and twenty feet. Mr. Ainsworth says that he found the ruins of the brick wall at Resen, which he considers to be the same with Larissa, "based on a rude and hard conglomerate rock, giving to them all the solidity and characteristics of being built of stone." *Travels in the Track*, p. 139.

[2] Cyrus the Great.

[3] *'Ελάμβανον.*] That the Medes did not willingly submit, but were overcome by force, is testified by Herodotus, and is apparent from what is said here; whence it follows that *λαμβάνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρά τινος* may be applied even when those who lose the government are forcibly deprived of it. Xenophon, however, is at variance with himself in the Cyropædia, where Cyrus is said to have succeeded to the throne by a marriage with the daughter of Cyaxares. *Kühner.*

[4] *Ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε.*] This reading has been adopted by Dindorf and others, from a conjecture of Brodæus or Muretus; the manuscripts have all *ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλην προκάλυψας*, except two, one of which has the *ν* erased in *νεφέλην*, and the other *νεφέλῃ*. Those who read with Dindorf refer to Plutarch de Placit. Philosoph. ii. 24, where the cause of an eclipse of the sun is said by some philosophers to be *a condensation of clouds imperceptibly advancing over the disc.* Bornemann and Kühner restore the reading of the manuscripts, which Langius thus interprets: *sol nubem sibi prætendens se obscuravit;* than which no better explanation has been offered. That we are not to suppose an eclipse of the sun to be signified in the text, is well observed by Bornemann; as Thales had previously ascertained the causes of such eclipses, and had foretold one, according to Herodotus i. 74; hence it is impossible to believe that Xenophon would have spoken of a

till the people deserted it,[1] and so it was taken. 9. Near the city was a stone pyramid, of the breadth[2] of one plethrum, and the height of two plethra. Upon it[3] were many of the Barbarians who had fled from the neighboring villages.

10. Hence they proceeded one day's journey, six parasangs, to a large unoccupied fortress,[4] situated near a city, the name of which was Mespila; the Medes had formerly inhabited it. The foundation of the wall was of polished stone, full of shells,[5] the breadth fifty feet, and the height fifty; 11. and on it was constructed a wall of bricks, fifty feet broad, and a hundred high; the circumference of it was six parasangs. Here Medea, the king's wife, is said to have taken refuge, when the Medes were deprived of their empire by the Persians. 12. The king of the Persians, on besieging the city, was unable to reduce it either by length of time or by assault, but Jupiter, as with a thunder-stroke,[6] deprived the inhabitants of their senses, and thus it was taken.

13. Hence they proceeded one day's journey, a distance of four parasangs. In the course of this day's march Tissaphernes made his appearance, having with him the cavalry which he himself commanded, the force of Orontes, who had married the king's daughter,[7] the Barbarian troops with which Cyrus

solar eclipse himself, or have made the inhabitants speak of one, so irrationally. Hutchinson and Zeune absurdly understand *τὴν πόλιν* with *ἠφάνισε*.

[1] Ἐξέλιπον.] Hutchinson and Weiske interpret this word *animis defecerunt*. Abreschius (Dilucid. Thucyd. p. 274) makes it *reliquerunt* sc. *urbem*; an interpretation adopted by Porson, Schneider, Kühner, and all the modern editors.

[2] Εὖρος.] We must understand the length of each side.

[3] Ἐπὶ ταύτης.] There might be steps on the outside on which they might climb.

[4] Τεῖχος.] Now called *Yarumjah*, according to Ainsw. Travels, p. 139.

[5] Κογχυλιάτου.] "It is a curious fact, that the common building-stone of Mosul (near Mespila) is highly fossiliferous, and indeed replete with shells, characteristic of a tertiary or supra-cretaceous deposit; and the same limestone does not occur far to the north or south of Mosul, being succeeded by wastes of gypsum." *Ainsw. Travels*, p. 140.

[6] Ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ.] "Jupiter makes the inhabitants thunderstruck." "He rendered them," says Sturz, "either stupid or mad."

[7] ii. 4. 8.

went up, the troops with which the king's brother came to assist him, and, besides these, all that the king himself had given him; so that his army appeared extremely numerous. 14. When he came near, he stationed some of his companies in the rear, and brought others round upon our flanks, but did not venture to make a charge, or show any disposition to endanger himself, but ordered his men to use their slings and bows. 15. But when the Rhodians who were dispersed among the ranks, began to use their slings, and the Scythian archers[1] discharged their arrows, no one failing to hit a man (for it would not have been easy to do so, even if they had been ever so desirous), Tissaphernes hastily retreated beyond reach of the missiles, and the other divisions drew off at the same time. 16. During the rest of the day the Greeks continued their march, and the enemy followed; but the Barbarians no longer harassed them with their usual skirmishing; for the Rhodians sent their missiles to a greater distance than the Persians, and than most of the bowmen. 17. The bows of the Persians, too, were large, so that such of their arrows as were taken up, were of service to the Cretans, who continued to use the enemy's arrows, and practiced shooting by sending them far up into the air.[2] A great number of bowstrings were also found in the villages, and some lead, so that they could use it for their slings.

18. For that day, therefore, as soon as the Greeks reached the villages and encamped, the Barbarians went off, having had the worst in the skirmish; and during the next the Greeks remained where they were, and collected provisions, for there was plenty of corn in the villages. The day after, they proceeded through the open country, and Tissaphernes followed, hurling missiles at them from a distance. 19. Here the Greeks found that a square was a bad disposition for an

[1] Σκύθαι τοξόται.] As there is no mention of Scythians in the whole Anabasis, Krüger, in his larger edition, suggested that the word Σκύθαι might have been written in the margin by some scholiast, who was thinking of the Athenian τοξόται; but in his smaller edition he has shown that he had learned something better from Arrian, Tact. ii. 13: "Those of the cavalry who use bows are called ἱπποτοξόται, and by some Σκύθαι." *Kühner.*

[2] In order that they might fall with greater weight. *Bornemann.* Or perhaps, as Bishop Thirlwall thinks, that they might reach a greater distance.

army when an enemy was behind them; for it must necessarily happen, that if the flanks of the square close together, from the road being narrow, or from hills or a bridge making it necessary, that the heavy-armed men must be pushed out of their places, and march with difficulty,[1] being at the same time crowded together and thrown into confusion; so that when in such disorder they must be nearly useless. 20. And when, again, the flanks divide, those who were previously forced out of their places, must now of necessity separate, and the space between the flanks be left empty; and men who are thrown into such a condition must doubtless lose heart, if the enemy are behind them. Whenever, too, they had to pass a bridge, or any other crossing-place, each hastened on to get first; and the enemy had then a fine opportunity of attacking them.[2] 21. The generals, seeing that such was the case, formed six companies of a hundred men each, and appointed captains of these companies, as well as captains of fifty and captains of twenty-five.[3] These captains and their companies, on the march, whenever the flanks of the square closed together, fell behind, so as to cause no disorder in the flanks, and then led on outside the flanks; 22. and whenever the sides of the square opened, they filled up the center, if the opening was narrow, by companies; if rather wide, by fifties; if very wide, by twenty-fives;[4] so that the center was always full. 23. If, then, it was necessary to pass any defile or bridge, they were not thrown into confusion, but the captains and companies went over in succession;[5] and if any thing was needed in any part

[1] Πονήρως.] From πόνηρος, *difficult*, not from πονηρός, *bad*. See Thucyd. viii. 24, ed. Popp. part iii. vol. iv. p. 658, *seqq*. *Kühner*.

[2] Καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. I have rendered this phrase agreeably to the notion of Krüger, who thinks εὐεπίθετον used absolutely, or as a substantive. Some, however, understand τὸ πλαίσιον, or τὸ στρύτευμα, which is perhaps better.

[3] Ἐνωμοτάρχας.] The ἐνωμοτία being the fourth part of a λόχος, or twenty-five men. See Xen. De Rep. Lac. ii. 4; Arnold's Thucyd. v. 68.

[4] As there were six companies of a hundred men each, they moved into the vacant space, if it was but narrow, by centuries, that is, six men in front, and a hundred deep; if it was somewhat broader, by fifties, that is, twelve men in front, and fifty deep; if very broad, by twenty-fives, that is, twenty-four men in front, and twenty-five deep. *Kühner*.

[5] Ἐν τῷ μέρει.] Each in his place; one after another in the order which had been previously appointed.

of the main body, these were at hand. In this order they advanced four days' journey.

24. As they were pursuing the fifth day's march, they observed a kind of palace with several villages round it. The way to this place, they perceived, lay among high hills, which reached down from a mountain, at the foot of which the village was.[1] These hills the Greeks were glad to see, as was natural, when the enemy's force consisted of cavalry. 25. But when, after leaving the plain, they had ascended the first hill, and were descending in order to mount the second, the Barbarians came upon them, and from the eminence began, under the lash,[2] to hurl darts, use their slings, and shoot arrows, on the ground below; 26. they wounded many, and had the advantage over the light-armed Greeks, and shut them up within the heavy-armed; so that both the slingers and archers were that day entirely useless, being mixed with the crowd that had charge of the baggage. 27. When the Greeks, on being hard pressed, attempted pursuit, they mounted the height but slowly, as being heavily armed, while the enemy sprang up speedily. 28. When, again, they retreated back to the rest of the force, they fared equally ill. The same occurrences took place on the second hill; so that they thought it proper not to move the soldiers from the third hill, until they led up a body of peltasts to the mountain from the right wing of the square. 29. When these had got above the pursuing enemy, they no longer attacked them in their descent, fearing that they might be cut off from their own body, and that enemies might assail them on both sides. 30. Marching in this manner for the rest of the day, some by the route among the hills, and others advancing abreast of them

[1] Ἦν ἡ κώμη.] Schneider, Bornemann, and most editors before Dindorf, read κώμη, *a village*, without the article. Dindorf has added the article from two manuscripts, and Kühner has followed him, supposing that *the particular village* of which the Greeks had now caught sight is meant. Bornemann, if the article be added, thinks that *the village in which the palace stood* is intended. The passage seems to me decidedly better without the article; for, if it be inserted, the reader is puzzled to know why Xenophon changes the number, when he had just before said that the palace stood in the midst of villages.

[2] According to the discipline of the Persians; see Herod. vii. 21, 56, 223.

along the mountain, they arrived at the villages, and appointed eight surgeons,[1] for there were many wounded.

31. Here they remained three days, both for the sake of the wounded, and because they found, at the same time, abundance of provisions, wheat-flour, wine, and a great quantity of barley laid up for horses; supplies which had been collected for the satrap of the country. On the fourth day they went down into the plain. 32. But as Tissaphernes overtook them with his forces, necessity taught them to encamp where they first saw a village, and not to march on still fighting; for there were many unfitted for action, some wounded, some carrying the wounded, and some bearing the arms of those that carried them. 33. When however they were encamped, and the Barbarians, coming up to the village, attempted to skirmish with them, the Greeks had greatly the advantage; for they found a great difference[2] between sallying from their own ground to repulse the enemy, and fighting with a pursuing enemy on their march.

34. When evening approached, it became time for the enemy to retire; for the Barbarians never encamped at a less distance from the Greeks than sixty stadia, fearing lest the Greeks should attack them in the night. 35. For in the night a Persian army is difficult to manage; as their horses are tied, and for the most part fastened by the feet, that they may not run away if they should be untied; and if any sudden attack takes place, the Persian has[3] to put the housings[4] on his

[1] This is the first mention of surgeons in the Greek army, as Mr. Stanford observes, since the time of Homer. But whether the persons here mentioned were professed surgeons, or merely some of the soldiers, who, in long service, had gained experience in the treatment of wounds, is uncertain. The latter supposition is more in consonance with the word *appointed*.

[2] Πολὺ γὰρ διέφερον—ὁρμῶντες—πορευόμενοι.] The manuscripts present some variations here. Bornemann's text is the same as Dindorf's. Kühner prefers *διέφερεν—ὁρμῶντας—πορευομένους*, expressing a doubt whether the other method be really Greek.

[3] Δεῖ—Πέρσῃ ἀνδρί.] Most commentators concur in taking this as an example of the rarer construction of *δεῖ* with the dative; though it has been suggested whether Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ may be the dative after ἐπισάξαι, as if a Persian horse-soldier had an attendant to equip his horse for him.

[4] Ἐπισάξαι.] Spelman quarrels with D'Ablancourt for translating this

horse, and to bridle him, and then, when he has put on his armor, to mount; but all these things are troublesome by night and in the midst of an alarm. On this account they encamped at a distance from the Greeks.

36. As soon as the Greeks saw that they intended to retire, and were passing the order for doing so, proclamation was made among the Greeks, in the hearing of the enemy, that they were to collect their baggage; when the Barbarians, for some time, delayed their march; but, when it grew late, they went off, for they did not think it expedient to march and arrive at their camp[1] in the night. 37. When the Greeks observed them evidently moving away, they themselves also decamped[2] and began to march, and accomplished as much as sixty stadia. There was thus so great a distance between the armies, that the enemy did not appear on the following day or on the third; but on the fourth, the Barbarians, having gone forward in the night, occupied an elevated position on the right, on the route by which the Greeks were to pass; the brow of a mountain, beneath which was the descent into the plain. 38. As soon as Cheirisophus saw that this eminence was pre-occupied, he sent for Xenophon from the rear, and ordered him to bring his peltasts and come to the front. 39. Xenophon however did not bring the peltasts, (for he saw Tissaphernes, and all his force, in full view), but, riding up alone, asked, "Why do you call me?" Cheirisophus replied, "You may see; for the eminence above the descent has been pre-occupied against us, and it is impossible to pass, unless we cut off those who are on it. But why did you not bring the peltasts?" 40. Xenophon replied that he did not think it right to leave the rear unguarded when the enemy were in sight. "But it is high time," he continued, "to consider how some of us may dislodge those men from the hill." 41. Xenophon now noticed that the summit of the mountain[3] was

word by "saddle," and adopts in his own version "housings," which I have borrowed from him, from inability to find a better word.

[1] Τὸ στρατόπεδον.] Apparently for the place where they intended to encamp. It seems needless to understand, with Krüger, "castra interea à lixis et calonibus posita."

[2] Ἀναζεύξαντες.] Ἀναζεῦξαι, *castra movere*. Zeune.

[3] The enemy had not occupied the highest part of the mountain, but a lower position upon it. Comp. sect. 37. *Kühner*.

above their own army, and that there was a way from it to the hill where the enemy were, and exclaimed, "It is best for us, Cheirisophus, to hasten as quickly as possible to the summit, for if we gain this, those who are above our road will be unable to maintain their ground. But do you, if you please, remain with the army; I have a desire to go forward; or, if you prefer it, proceed on to the mountain, and I will stay here." 42. "I leave you," replied Cheirisophus, "to choose which of the two you please." Xenophon, observing that he was the younger, decided on advancing, but requested Cheirisophus to send with him a detachment from the front, as it was too great a distance to bring one from the rear. 43. Cheirisophus then sent with him the peltasts from the front; and he took those that were in the middle of the square. Cheirisophus also ordered the three hundred that he held with him at the head of the square, consisting of picked men, to follow Xenophon.

44. The party then marched forward with all possible speed. But the enemy on the heights, when they perceived that the Greeks were directing their course toward the summit, hurried forward also themselves to contend for the possession of the summit. 45. There was then great shouting from the Grecian army, cheering their men, and great shouting also from the troops of Tissaphernes, cheering on theirs. 46. Xenophon, riding along on horseback, encouraged his party, saying, "Consider, soldiers, that you are now contending for Greece: that after a brief struggle now, we shall march the rest of the way without fighting, to join our children and our wives." 47. Soterides, a Sicyonian, cried out, "We are not upon an equality, Xenophon; for you are carried on a horse, while I have hard work to carry my shield." 48. Xenophon, on hearing this remark, leaped from his horse, pushed Soterides from the ranks, took from him the shield, and marched on with it as fast as he was able. He happened however to have on his horseman's corslet, so that he was distressed. Yet he continued to exhort the men in front to lead on gently, and those behind, who followed with difficulty, to come up. 49. But the rest of the soldiers beat and threw stones at Soterides, and reviled him till they obliged him to resume his shield and march in his place. Xenophon, remounting, led the way, as long as it was passable for his horse, on

horseback, but when it became impassable, he left his horse behind, and hastened forward on foot. Thus they got the start of the enemy, and arrived first at the summit.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks arrive at a point where the Carduchian mountains overhang the river, and, as they are still harassed by the enemy, the generals hold a consultation, and determine to march across the mountains.

1. The Barbarians in consequence, turned their backs and fled every one as he could, and the Greeks took possession of the top of the hill. Tissaphernes and Ariæus turned aside, and went off in another direction. Cheirisophus and his forces, going down into the plain, encamped in a village abounding with acceptable supplies; and there were also in this plain many other villages stored with excellent provisions, lying along the river Tigris. 2. When it was evening, the enemy suddenly showed themselves in the plain, and cut off some of the Greeks who were dispersed over the ground foraging; for several herds of cattle had been intercepted as they were being transported to the other side of the river. 3. Here Tissaphernes and his party attempted to set fire to the villages, and some of the Greeks were much disheartened, being apprehensive that, if they should burn them, they would have no place whence to procure supplies.

4. Cheirisophus and his men now returned from giving succor;[1] and Xenophon, when he came down, riding past the ranks, as the Greeks, coming in from affording aid, met him, and said, 5. "You see, Greeks, that the enemy admit that the country is now ours, for whereas they stipulated, when they made the truce, that we should not burn the king's country, they now burn it themselves, as being no longer theirs.

[1] Ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας.] Xenophon is here somewhat obscure; for he made no mention of this *βοηθεία* before. Cheirisophus and his men seem to have gone to aid the party of Greeks that were dispersed for plunder, when some of them were cut off by the Persians, and when Tissaphernes attempted to burn the villages. * * * Afterward he is rather tautological; for the words *ἡνίκα*——*οἱ Ἕλληνες* express no more than is said in *οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον*——*βοηθείας*, except that they serve to mark the exact time when Xenophon addressed the men. *Kühner.*

But wherever they leave supplies for themselves, thither, also they shall see us direct our march. 6. I think, however, Cheirisophus," continued he, "that we ought to resist these burners, as if in defense of our own territory." "I," replied Cheirisophus, "am of a different opinion; rather let us burn also," said, he "and thus they will the sooner cease."

7. When they returned to their quarters,[1] the soldiers busied themselves about their provisions, but the generals and captains held a council. There was now much perplexity; for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river of such depth, that, when they sounded it, their spears did not rise above the water. 8. While they were in doubt how to act, a Rhodian came to them, and said, "I am willing to convey you across, O Greeks, by four thousand heavy-armed men at a time, if you will furnish me with what I require for the purpose, and give me a talent as a remuneration." 9. Being asked what he should require, he replied, "I shall want two thousand hides made into bags; and I see here many sheep, goats, oxen, and asses, the hides of which, being blown out,[2] would easily furnish the means of crossing. 10. I shall want also the ropes which you use for the baggage-cattle; joining, with these, the bags to one another, steadying each bag by attaching stones to it, letting the stones down like anchors into the water, extending the bags across the stream, and securing them to both banks, I will then lay wood upon them, and strew earth over the wood. 11. That you will not sink, you will at once see; for each skin will prevent two men from sinking, and the wood and earth will keep them from slipping off." 12. The generals, on hearing this proposal, thought the invention ingenious, but the execution of it impossible, for there were numerous cavalry on the other side to hinder their passage, who, at the commencement, would not have allowed the first that made the attempt to effect their purposes.

[1] 'Επὶ τὰς σκηνάς.] The tents were burned, iii. 3, 1; and Krüger therefore observes that we must consider τὰς σκηνάς as equivalent to τὸ στρατόπεδον, or the place of encampment. This explanation is better than that of Weiske and Zeune, who think that *the shelter of the villages* is meant.

[2] Ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα.] "Which being skinned and blown out." From brevity, Xenophon has said that of the animals which he ought to have said of their skins. *Krüger.*

13. The day next they retreated back toward Babylon, to some unburnt villages, having first set fire to those which they abandoned; so that the enemy did not come up to them, but watched them, and seemed to be wondering which way the Greeks would turn themselvs, and what they had in their mind. 14. The rest of the soldiers then turned their thoughts to getting supplies; but the generals and captains held another council, and, bringing together the prisoners, questioned them as to the whole country around, what each part was. 15. They said that the parts toward the south were on the road toward Babylon and Media, through which the Greeks had come; that the road toward the east led to Susa and Ecbatana, where the king was said to pass the summer and spring; that the one across[1] the river, toward the west, led to Lydia and Ionia; and that the other over the mountains, toward the north, led to the Carduchi. 16. This people, they said, lived among the mountains, were very warlike, and did not obey the king; that on one occasion, a royal army of a hundred and twenty thousand men had penetrated into their country, whence, from the impracticability of the ground, not one of them returned; but that, whenever they made a treaty with the satrap of the plain, some of them had intercourse with the Carduchi, and some of the Carduchi with them. 17. The generals, having heard these statements, kept apart by themselves those who said that they knew the road in each direction, not letting it be known which way they intended to go. It appeared necessary to the generals, however, to make their way over the mountains into the country of the Carduchi; for the prisoners said that after passing through this they would come to Armenia, a large and rich country, of which Orontes was governor, whence it would be easy for them to go whichever way they pleased.

18. With reference to this proceeding, they made a sacrifice, in order that, when it should seem time, they might commence their march; for they were afraid that the passage over the mountains might be pre-occupied by the enemy; and they gave orders, that when the soldiers had supped, they should all pack up their baggage and go to rest, and follow their leaders whenever the signal should be given.

[1] *Διαβάντι.*] The road "for one crossing" the river.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks enter the territory of the Carduchi, where they suffer greatly from the wind and cold, as well as from the Barbarians, who harass them with frequent attacks on their march.

1. What occurred in the expedition up the country to the time of the battle, and what took place after the battle during the truce which the king and the Greeks that went up with Cyrus concluded, and what hostilities were committed against the Greeks after the king and Tissaphernes had violated the truce, and while the Persian army was pursuing them, have been related in the preceding part of the narrative.

2. When they had arrived at a spot where the Tigris was quite impassable from its depth and width, and where there was no passage along its banks, as the Carduchian mountains hung steep over the stream, it appeared to the generals that they must march over those mountains, 3. for they had heard from the prisoners that "if they could but cross the Carduchian mountains, they would be able to ford, if they wished, the sources of the Tigris in Armenia, or, if they declined doing so, to make a circuit round them." The sources of the Euphrates, too, they said were not far from those of the Tigris; and such is the truth.[1]

4. Their entrance upon the territory of the Carduchi they made in the following manner, endeavoring at once to escape observation, and to anticipate the enemy in getting possession of the heights. 5. When it was about the last watch, and enough of the night was left to allow them to cross the plain under cover of the darkness, they arose at a given signal, and, marching onward, reached the hills by break of day. 6. Here Cheirisophus took the lead of the army, having with him both his own men and all the light-armed; while Xenophon brought up the rear with the heavy-armed troops, having not a single light-armed soldier; for there seems to

[1] *Καὶ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον.*] A most happy emendation of Abreschius, Dilucid. Thucyd. p. 640, for *καὶ ἔστιν οὕτω στενόν.*

be no danger that any of the enemy would attack them in the rear as they were marching up the mountains. Cheirisophus indeed mounted the summit before any of the enemy perceived him; he then led slowly forward; 7. and each portion of the army, as it passed the summit in succession, followed him to the villages which lay in the windings and recesses of the mountains.[1] 8. The Carduchi, in consequence, quitting their dwellings, and taking with them their wives and children, fled to the hills. There was plenty of provisions left for the Greeks to take; and the houses were furnished with great numbers of brazen utensils, none of which the Greeks took away. Nor did they pursue the people, being inclined to spare them, if perchance the Carduchi, since they were enemies to the king, might consent to allow them to pass through their country as that of friends; 9. the provisions, however, as many as fell in their way, they carried off; for it was a matter of necessity to do so. But as for the Carduchi themselves, they would neither listen when they called, nor did they give any other sign of friendly feeling.

10. But when the rear of the Greeks was descending from the hills into the villages, being now overtaken by darkness (for, as the way was narrow, their ascent of the heights, and descent to the villages, had lasted the entire day), some of the Carduchi, collecting together, attacked the hindmost, and killed and wounded some of them with stones and arrows. They were but few; for the Greek troops had come on them unawares; 11. but had they assembled in greater numbers, a great part of the army would have been in danger of being destroyed. For this night, accordingly, they took up their abode in the villages; and the Carduchi lighted a number of fires around them on the hills, and observed the positions of one another.[2] 12. As soon as it was day, the generals and

[1] "Thus they accomplished their entrance into Kurdistan without opposition, and crossed one of the most defensible passes that they were almost destined to meet. * * * The recesses—left between the hills are in the present day the seat of villages, as they were in the time of Xenophon, and the crags in front, and in the rear, bristle with the small and rude rock-forts of the Kurds." *Ainsworth, Travels in the Track*, p. 153, 154.

[2] Συνεώρων ἀλλήλους.] The lighted fires served as signals, by means of which the Carduchi could keep an eye on one another. *Kühner*.

captains of the Greeks, meeting together, resolved, when they should march, to reserve only such of the baggage-cattle as were most necessary and most able, abandoning the rest, and to dismiss all the slaves in the army that had been recently captured; 13. for the cattle and the slaves, being numerous, rendered their progress slow, and the number of men in charge of them were unable to take part in any encounter; and besides, when the men were so numerous, it was necessary to procure and carry with them a double quantity of provisions. This resolution being passed, they made proclamation that the troops should act accordingly.

14. When they had breakfasted, and were on the march, the generals, taking their stand in a narrow part of the way, took from the soldiers whatever of the things mentioned they found had not been left behind; and the men submitted to this, unless any of them, smitten with desire of a handsome boy or woman, conveyed them past secretly.[1] Thus they proceeded during this day, sometimes having to fight a little, and sometimes resting themselves. 15. On the next day a great storm arose; but they were obliged to pursue their march, for they had not a sufficient supply of provisions. Cheirisophus continued to lead, and Xenophon had charge of the rear. 16. The enemy pressed steadily upon them, and, where the passes were narrow, came close up, and used their bows and their slings; so that the Greeks, sometimes pursuing and sometimes retreating, were compelled to march but slowly; and Xenophon, when the enemy attacked them violently, had frequently to pass the word for a halt. 17. Cheirisophus, at other times, when the order was passed, halted, but on one occasion he did not halt, but hurried on rapidly, and passed the word to follow; so that it was manifest that there was something extraordinary; but there was no time to go forward and ascertain the cause of the haste; and the march of the rear-guard became like a flight. 18. On this occasion a brave soldier, Cleonymus a Lacedæmonian, met his death, being shot with an arrow in the side through his shield and corslet;[2] and also Basias, an Arcadian, shot right through the head.

19. When they arrived at the place of encampment, Xeno-

[1] Πλὴν εἴ τίς τι ἔκλεψεν, κ. τ. λ.] "Except if any one concealed any thing, either coveting a youth or woman of the handsome ones."

[2] Τῆς σπολάδος.] See note on iii. 3. 20.

phon immediately proceeded, just as he was, to Cheirisophus, and blamed him for not having halted, as the men had been compelled to flee and fight at the same time. "Two honorable and brave soldiers," said he, "have now been killed, and we have been unable either to carry off their bodies or bury them." 20. To this remark Cheirisophus answered, "Cast your eyes upon those mountains, and observe how impassable they all are. The only road which you see is steep; and close upon it you may perceive a great multitude of men, who, having occupied the pass, keep guard at it. 21. For these reasons I hastened on, and therefore did not wait for you, to try if I could get the start of the enemy before the pass was seized; and the guides whom we have say that there is no other road." 22. Xenophon rejoined, "I have two prisoners; for when the enemy molested us, we placed an ambush, which enabled us to recover breath, and killed some of them; and we were also anxious to take some alive for this very purpose, that we might use them, as being well acquainted with the country, for guides."

23. Immediately after, bringing forward the two men, they inquired of them separately whether they knew of any other road than that which was open to their view. The one denied that he knew of any other, though many threats were held out to him; and as he would give no useful information, he was put to death in sight of the other. 24. The survivor said that the other had denied any knowledge of a road, because he had a daughter there married to somebody, but stated that he himself would lead them by a road that might be passed even by beasts of burden. 25. Being then asked if there was any spot in it difficult to be passed, he replied that there was one height, and that unless a party secured it beforehand, it would be impossible for them to pass. 26. Upon this it was thought proper to call together the captains, both of the peltasts and of the heavy-armed men,[1] and to acquaint them with the prospect of affairs, and ask whether any of them was willing to prove himself a man of valor, and engage to go on this service as a volunteer. 27. Of the heavy-armed, Aristonymus of Methydrium, and Agasias of Stymphalus, both Arcadians, offered

[1] *Λοχαγοὺς καὶ πελταστὰς καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν.*] H. e. *Centuriones et ex peltastis et ex militibus gravis armaturæ.* Kühner. *Πελταστὰς* is to be taken as an epithet; compare *γυμνητῶν ταξιαρχῶν*, sect 28.

themselves; and Callimachus of Parrhasia, also an Arcadian, disputed the honor with them, and said that he himself was eager to go, taking with him volunteers from the whole army; "for I am sure," said he, "that many of the young men will follow if I take the lead." 28. They then asked if any of the officers of the light-armed troops were willing to join in the attempt; and Aristeas of Chios presented himself, a man who had often proved himself of great value to the army for similar services.

CHAPTER II.

One of the prisoners is forced to guide them to an eminence, from which they dislodge the Carduchi. But they are still harassed, and the rear suffers severely.

1. It was now afternoon, and the generals[1] desired the party to take some refreshment and set forward. Having bound the guide, they put him into their hands, and arranged with them that, if they should gain the summit, they should keep guard at that post during the night, and give a signal by trumpet at break of day, and that those on the height should then charge the enemy in possession of the apparent egress,[2] and those below should issue forth and come in a body to their assistance as soon as they were able.

2. When they had made this arrangement, the party set out, being in number about two thousand; and there was heavy rain at the time. [Xenophon, taking the rear-guard, led them toward the apparent egress, in order that the enemy might turn their attention in that direction, and that those who were going round might as much as possible escape notice. 3. But when the rear-guard came to a ravine, which they had to pass to gain the ascent, the Barbarians then rolled down masses of rock,[3] each big enough to load a wagon, with

[1] Xenophon and Cheirisophus. *Kühner.*

[2] Τὴν φανερὰν ἔκβασιν.] Xenophon calls the passage to the top of the mountain an ἔκβασις, or egress, with reference to the Greeks, to whom it was a way of escape from a disagreeable position. *Kühner* ad c. 5. 20. The same words are repeated by Xenophon in the next sect.

[3] Ὁλοιτρόχους.] A word borrowed from Homer, signifying properly

other stones greater and smaller, which, striking in their descent against the rocks, were hurled abroad in all directions;[1] and it was utterly impossible even to approach the pass. 4. Some of the captains, when they could not succeed in this part, made attempts in another, and continued their efforts till darkness came on. When they thought that they might retire unobserved, they went to get their supper; for the rear-guard had been dinnerless that day. The enemy, however, being evidently in fear, continued to roll down stones through the whole of the night, as it was easy to conjecture from the noise. 5. Those, meanwhile, who had the guide, taking a circuitous route, surprised a guard of the enemy sitting round a fire, and, having killed some of them, and put the rest to flight, remained on the spot, with the notion that they were in possession of the summit. 6. But in possession of it they were not; for there was a small hill above them, round which lay the narrow pass, at which the guard had been posted. However, there was a way from thence to that party of the enemy who were stationed at the open egress. 7. Here they remained during the night.

As soon as day began to dawn, they advanced in regular order, and with silence, against the enemy; and as there was a mist, they came close upon them before they were perceived. But when they caught sight of one another, the trumpet sounded on the side of the Greeks, who, raising the shout of battle, rushed upon the enemy. The Barbarians did not stand their charge, but quitted the pass and fled; only a few of them were killed, for they were active in moving off. 8. At the same time the party of Cheirisophus, hearing the sound of the trumpet, marched immediately up the plain track; while others of the officers proceeded by untrodden paths, where each happened to be, and, climbing up as well as they could, drew up one another with their spears; 9. and these were the first to join those who had secured the position. Xenophon, with the half of the rear-guard, went up by the

a round stone fit for rolling, or *a stone that has been made round by rolling*, as a pebble in the sea. It was originally an adjective, with πέτρος understood. Most critics suppose it to be from ὅλος and τρέχω, *totus teres atque rotundus*. Liddell and Scott derive it from εἴλω, *volvo*. See Theocr. xxii. 49.

[1] Διεσφενδονῶντο.] "Shivered in pieces, and flew about as if hurled by a sling."

same way as those who had the guide; for it was the most practicable for the baggage-cattle; the other half he ordered to come up behind the cattle. 10. In their way they came to a hill overhanging the road, which was occupied by the enemy, whom they must either dislodge or be separated from the rest of the Greeks. The men themselves, indeed, might have gone the same way as the rest of the army, but the baggage-cattle could ascend by no other route than this. 11. Encouraging one another, therefore, they made an attack upon the hill in files,[1] not on every side, but leaving a way of escape for the enemy, if they should be inclined to flee. 12. For a while, as they were making their way as each best could, the Barbarians shot arrows and threw stones at them, but did not receive them in close encounter, and at last abandoned the place entirely.

The Greeks had no sooner passed the hill, than they caught sight of another before them occupied also by the enemy. Upon this hill it was resolved likewise to make an assault. 13. But Xenophon, apprehending that, if he left the hill which they had taken unguarded, the enemy, recovering it, might attack the baggage-cattle as they were passing (for the train of baggage-cattle reached a great distance, as they were marching along a narrow path), left upon the hill the captains Cephisodorus the son of Cephisophon, an Athenian, Amphicrates the son of Amphidemus, an Athenian, and Archagoras, an exile from Argos, while he himself, with the others, directed his march upon the second hill, which they also captured in a similar manner. 14. However, there was still a third hill left for them to take, which was by far the steepest of the whole; this was an eminence that overhung the post where the guard was surprised in the night by the volunteers. 15. But as the Greeks came up, the Barbarians deserted the hill without attempting any defense, so that all were surprised, and suspected that they had left their position from fear of being surrounded and besieged in it. But the truth was, that having ob-

[1] Ὀρθίοις τοῖς λόχοις.] Each λόχος or company marching in file or column, so that the depth of the λόχος was equal to the number of soldiers of which it consisted. *Sturz.* This is the interpretation adopted by Kühner. Yet it would be hard to prove that ὄρθιος λόχος always meant *single file;* the term seems to have included any form of a company in which the number of men in depth exceeded the number in front.

served from the eminence what had passed behind, they all went off with the intention of attacking the rear.

16. Xenophon, with the youngest of his men, ascended to the top, and ordered the rest to march on slowly, so that the companies in the rear might join them; and he directed them, after proceeding some distance, to halt under arms, on a level piece of ground. 17. At this juncture Aristagoras the Argive came fleeing from the enemy, and said that the Greeks were driven from the first hill, and that Cephisodorus, and Amphicrates, and all the rest, who had not leaped from the rock, and joined the rear-guard, had been killed. 18. The Barbarians, after this success, appeared upon an eminence opposite the third hill, and Xenophon began to treat with them, through an interpreter, about making a truce, and called upon them to give up the dead. 19. They replied, that they would give them up on condition that he would not burn their villages. To this Xenophon agreed. But while the rest of the army was passing on, and these were discussing the terms of a truce, all the Barbarians from that part of the country had flocked together. Here the enemy made a stand; 20. and when Xenophon's party began to descend the hill, to join the others where the heavy-armed troops were drawn up,[1] they came forward in great numbers and with loud shouts. When they had reached the top of the hill from which Xenophon was descending, they rolled down stones, and broke the leg of one man; and Xenophon's shield-bearer deserted him, carrying off his shield, 21. but Eurylochus, and Arcadian from Lusia,[2] a heavy-armed soldier, ran to his support, and went on holding his shield before them both; and the rest went to join those who were already drawn up.

22. The entire Grecian force was now together, and took up their quarters in a number of good houses, and in the midst of abundance of privisions. Wine was so abundant, that they kept it in excavations under ground, which were plastered over.[3] 23. Xenophon and Cheirisophus now made

[1] *Τὰ ὅπλα ἔκειντο.*] See sect. 16. The heavy-armed men had halted on the level piece of ground, and their arms were lying by them. See Kühner ad. i. 5. 14.

[2] A small town of Arcadia, to the north-west of Clitor.

[3] *'Εν λάκκοις κονιατοῖς.*] The Athenians and other Greeks used to make large excavations under ground, some round, some square, and,

an agreement with the enemy, that on receiving the dead bodies they should give up the guide; and they performed all funeral rites for the deceased, as far as they could, according to what is usually done at the interment of brave men. 24. The next day they proceeded without a guide; and the enemy, sometimes by skirmishing, and sometimes, where there was a narrow pass, by pre-occupying it, endeavored to obstruct their progress. 25. Whenever therefore they impeded the front, Xenophon, ascending the hills from the rear, endeavored to break through the opposition made in that quarter, trying always to reach higher ground than the obstructing enemy; 26. and when they assailed the rear, Cheirisophus, quitting his place, and striving also to get above the enemy, removed the obstruction that was offered to the passage of that part of the army. Thus they relieved and supported each other with effect. 27. Sometimes, too, when the Greeks had ascended eminences, the Barbarians gave them great annoyance in their descent; and, as they were nimble, they could escape, though they had but a very short start of us;[1] for they were encumbered with no other weapons than bows and slings. 28. As archers they were very expert, and had bows nearly three cubits long, and arrows above two cubits; and they drew the string, whenever they discharged their arrows, advancing the left foot[2] against the lower extremity of the bow. Their arrows penetrated through shields

covering them over with plaster, laid up their wine and oil in them; they called them λάκκοι. Schol. ad Aristoph. Eccl., cited by Hutchinson. Spelman translates λάκκοι κονιατοί, "plastered cisterns," a term which Ainsworth adopts. "The plastered cisterns noticed by Xenophon," says he, "are also met with throughout Kurdistan, Armenia, and Syria. They are especially numerous around some of the ancient villages of the early Christians of those countries, as more especially between Semeïsát and Bireh-jik, and have frequently been a subject of discussion as their former uses. This notice of Xenophon serves to clear up many doubts upon the subject, although, since the Kurds have become Mohammedans, and rejected the use of wine, there is no doubt they are sometimes used for depots for corn or hay, and even sometimes for water. They were generally closed by a single large stone." *Travels in the Track*, etc., p. 164.

1 Ἐγγύθεν φεύγοντες.] "Fleeing from near," *i. e.* when they were at no great distance before us.

2 Τῷ ἀριστερῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες.] All the manuscripts have προβαινοντες: προσβαίνοντες is a conjecture of Wesseling ad Diod. Sic.

and corslets; and the Greeks, taking them up, made use of them as javelins, fixing thongs to them.[1] In these parts the Cretans were of the greatest service. Stratocles, a Cretan, had the command of them.

CHAPTER III.

The Greeks arrive at the river Centrites, which divides the Carduchi from Armenia. They see the Persians drawn up on the opposite bank, while the Carduchi threaten their rear. They are encouraged by a dream of Xenophon's to try a ford, and effect a safe passage across the stream.

1. THIS day the Greeks abode in the villages above the plain near the river Centrites, the breadth of which is about two hundred feet, and which forms the boundary between Armenia and the territory of the Carduchi. Here they took some rest, being glad to see a piece of level country. The river is distant from the mountains of the Carduchi about six or seven stadia. 2. It was with great satisfaction that they stayed here, as they had a sufficiency of provisions, and were frequently reflecting on the difficulties that were past, for, during seven days that they had been marching among the Carduchi, they had been constantly fighting, and had suffered more evils than all those which they had endured from the

iii. 8, which all the recent editors have adopted, but by which it does not appear that any thing is gained, as πρὸς τὸ κάτω τοῦ τόξου precedes. Spelman, who was himself an archer, has illustrated the passage very clearly by a quotation from Arrian, Indic. 16: "Resting one end of the bow upon the ground, and stepping forward with the left foot (τῷ ποδὶ τῷ ἀριστερῷ ἀντιβάντες), they thus discharge the arrow, drawing the string a long way back, the arrow being nearly three cubits long." See also Diod. Sic. l. c., where he speaks of the archery of the Æthiopians; Strabo, xvi. p. 1117; Suidas in Ἄραβες, cited by Weiske. Schneider and Halbkart, strangely enough, think that Xenophon is speaking of *cross-bows*, which few besides themselves have supposed to have been known in Xenophon's time.

[1] Ἐναγκυλῶντες.] "Fitting them with ἀγκύλαι." The ἀγκύλη is generally supposed to be the same with the Latin *amentum*, a strap or loop fastened to the middle of a javelin, or the shaft of a spear, that it might be hurled with the greater force. The writer of the article *Ansa* in Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant., thinks, however, that the two were not the same.

king and Tissaphernes.[1] Having escaped from such hardships, they gladly took repose.

3. At day-break, however, they perceived on the other side of the river a body of cavalry, in complete armor, ready to prevent them from crossing, and on the high banks above the cavalry, another of foot prepared to hinder them from entering Armenia. 4. These were Armenians, Mardians, and Chaldæans, mercenary troops of Orontes and Artuchas.[2] The Chaldæans were said to be a free people, and warlike; for arms they had long shields and spears. 5. The high banks on which these forces were drawn up, were three or four hundred feet from the river; and the only road that was visible was one that led upward, apparently a work of art. Here the Greeks endeavored to cross, 6. but as, on making trial, the water rose above their breasts, and the bed of the river was rough with large and slippery stones, and as it was impossible for them to carry their arms into the water, or, if they attempted to do so, the river swept them away (while, if any of them took their arms on their heads, they became exposed to the arrows and other missiles of the enemy), they in consequence retreated, and encamped at the side of the river.

7. They now perceived the Carduchi assembled in great numbers under arms on the spot where they themselves had been on the previous night. Hence great despondency was

[1] Yet "the Carduchian mountains," observes Rennell, "in effect presented an asylum to the Greeks, who could no other way have escaped, at least, the reiterated attacks of such a host of enemies, whose numbers also were augmenting instead of diminishing. But as a Persian army could not subsist, or their cavalry act, within the wide range of these mountains, the Greeks, by ascending them, got rid of their dreaded enemy. And although, in the mean time, they had to contend with an enemy much more brave and persevering, their numbers were fewer, and they might reasonably expect an earlier escape from them than from the Persians. Had they known that the Tigris was fordable under the Zaco hills, and passed into Mesopotamia, they would still have had the Euphrates to cross, a yet more difficult river, in the line which they must have pursued. Therefore, according to our limited view of things, it appears that nothing less than such a barrier as these mountains presented, could have saved the Greeks from eventual destruction, from the attacks of the Persians." *Illustrations of the Exp. of Cyrus*, p. 173.

[2] Orontes was satrap of Armenia, iii. 5. 17; Artuchas is nowhere else mentioned.

felt by the Greeks, as they knew the difficulty of passing the river, and saw the Carduchi ready to attack them if they attempted to cross. 8. This day, therefore, and the following night, they remained where they were in great perplexity. Xenophon however had a dream; he thought that he was bound in fetters, but that they fell off him of their own accord, so that he was set at liberty, and walked securely[1] whithersoever he pleased. 9. When the morning approached, he went to Cheirisophus, told him that he had hopes that all would be well, and related to him his dream. Cheirisophus was much pleased, and, as soon as it was day, all the generals who were present offered sacrifice, and the victims were favorable at the very first. As soon as they left the place of sacrifice, the generals and captains gave directions to the troops to take their breakfast.

10. While Xenophon was at breakfast, two young men came running up to him, for every one knew that it was allowable to approach him whether breakfasting or supping and to wake him and speak to him even when asleep, if they had any thing to tell of affairs relating to the war. 11. The youths informed him that they had been gathering sticks for their fire, and had chanced to see, on the opposite side of the river, among the rocks that reached down to the stream itself, an old man, a woman, and some girls, depositing in a cavernous rock what appeared to be bags of clothes; 12. that when they saw this, they thought it would be safe to cross, as the ground at that point was inaccessible to the enemy's horse; that having taken off their clothes, and taken their daggers in their hands, they went over undressed, in expectation of having to swim, but that, as they went on, they reached the other side before they were wet to the middle, and, having thus forded the stream, and taken the clothes, they came back again. 13. Xenophon immediately therefore made a libation, and ordered the young men to join in it,[2] and to pray to the

[1] *Διαβαίνειν.*] "Ingredi, pedem proferre." *Kühner*. His fetters being removed, he was able to put his legs *apart*, and walk *with stability*; as is indicated, says Weiske, by the preposition *διά*.

[2] *Ἐγχεῖν.*] This passage is commonly taken thus: *ἐκέλευε τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἐγχεῖν*, "he ordered the young men to pour (wine) into (the cup for themselves)," for the purpose of making a libation. Kühner, however, makes it *ἐκελευε (τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν) ἐγχεῖν τοῖς νεανίσκοις*, he ordered those about him (the attendants), to pour into the cup

gods who had sent the dream and pointed out the ford, to complete what was wanting to their success. After the libation, he at once conducted the youths to Cheirisophus, and to him they gave the same account. Cheirisophus, on hearing it, made a libation also.

14. When the libation was over, they gave orders to the soldiers to get their baggage ready; while they themselves, calling the rest of the generals together, consulted with them how they might cross the river to the best advantage, and how they might defeat the enemy in front, and suffer no damage from those in the rear. 15. It was then resolved that Cheirisophus should take the lead, and cross over with half of the army, that the other half should stay behind with Xenophon, and that the baggage-cattle and camp-followers should go over between the two. 16. When these matters were fairly arranged, they began to move, the young men acting as guides, and keeping the river on the left, the distance to the ford being about four stadia. 17. As they proceeded, the lines of the enemy's cavalry advanced abreast of them on the opposite bank; and when they came to the ford, and the margin of the river, they halted, laying down their arms; and then Cheirisophus himself, placing a chaplet upon his head,[1] and laying aside his outer garments, took up his arms and commanded the rest to follow his example, directing the captains to lead their troops in files,[2] some on his left hand and some on his right. 18. The augurs at the same time, sacrificed victims over the river;[3] while the enemy plied their bows and slings, but did not reach the Greeks. 19. As the sacrifices appeared favorable, all the soldiers sung the pæan and raised a shout, and all the women (for there were a number of the men's mistresses in the army) joined in the cry.

for the young men. The former mode is the more simple, κελεύω being sometimes found with the dative, and agrees better with what follows.

[1] Στεφανωσάμενος.] According to the custom of the Lacedæmonians, of which Xenophon speaks de Repub. Lacedæm. 13. 8; Hellen. iv. 2. 12; see also Plutarch, Lycurg. c. 22. *Schneider.*

[2] Τοὺς λόχους ὀρθίους.] See iv. 2. 11.

[3] Ἐσφαγίαζοντο εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.] Offering a sacrifice to the gods inhabiting the river, as Alexander in the middle of the Hellespont sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids: see Arrian, i. 11. 10, cited by Hutchinson. "They slew the animals so as to allow the blood to flow into the river." *Poppo.*

20. Cheirisophus and his men then entered the stream; and Xenophon, taking the most active of the rear-guard, marched at full speed back to the ford[1] opposite the outlet into the mountains of Armenia, making a feint that he meant to cross the river there, and thus cut off the cavalry that were on the bank; 21. when the enemy, seeing Cheirisophus and his men crossing over with ease, and Xenophon and his party hurrying back, were afraid of being intercepted, and fled with precipitation to gain the outlet that led up from the river, and as soon as they came to that passage, they directed their course up into the mountains. 22. Lycius, who had the command of the troop of horse, and Æschines, who commanded the band of peltasts attending on Cheirisophus, seeing the enemy retreating with so much haste, set off in pursuit of them; and the rest of the soldiers called to each other not to stay behind,[2] but to go along with them up the mountains. 23. But Cheirisophus, when he had crossed the river, did not follow the cavalry, but made his way up the high banks that reached down to the river, to attack that portion of the enemy that were on the more elevated ground.[3] This party on the heights, however, seeing their cavalry take to flight, abandoned their commanding position above the stream.

24. Xenophon, when he saw that all was going well on the other side, returned with all possible speed to join that part of the army which was crossing over; for the Carduchi were evidently descending into the plain, with the view of falling upon the rear. 25. Cheirisophus was now in possession of the heights, and Lycius, who, with his small party, had proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, had captured some of their baggage that they had left behind, and among it some rich garments and drinking-cups. 26. The baggage and camp-followers of the Greeks were still in the act of crossing; and Xenophon, turning toward the Carduchi, halted under arms over against them, and ordered the captains to form each his own company into divisions of five and twenty men, bringing round each division in line[4] toward the left; and he directed

[1] Τὸν πόρον.] The ford mentioned in sect. 5, 6.

[2] Behind the enemy. *Kühner.* Or behind the cavalry that were pursuing the enemy.

[3] Those mentioned in sect. 3.

[3] Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.] This disposition of a company was in opposition to

both the captains, and the officers of the divisions of five and twenty, to advance facing the Carduchi, and the rearmost to halt facing the river.

27. The Carduchi, when they observed that the rear-guard of the camp-followers was diminished in number, and that they seemed now indeed to be but few, advanced at a quicker pace, singing at the same time certain songs. Cheirisophus, when he saw that all was safe on his own side, sent the peltasts, and the slingers and archers, to Xenophon, desiring them to do whatsoever he should direct. 28. Xenophon, seeing them beginning to cross, sent a messenger to desire that they should remain by the river where they were, without crossing, and that, when his own party should begin to cross, they should come forward in the water on each side opposite to him, the javelin-men holding their weapons by the thong,[1] and the archers with their arrows on the string, as if with the intention of crossing over, but not to advance far into the river. 29. His own men he ordered, as soon as a sling should reach them and a shield should ring,[2] to raise the pæan and rush toward the enemy; and he directed that when the enemy should take to flight, and the trumpeter should sound the signal of attack[3] from the river, the rear should wheel to the right and take the lead, and that they should then all run forward as fast as possible, and cross over at the part where each happened to be stationed, so as not to impede one another; telling them that he would be the best man who should first reach the opposite side. 30. The Carduchi, seeing that those who were left were but few (for many even of those who had been ordered to stay had gone away, some to take care of the cattle, some of their baggage, and others of

λόχοι ὄρθιοι (iv. 2. 11): see c. 8, sect. 10. The expression ἐπὶ φάλαγγος, says Kühner, properly means *for a phalanx*, or *so that a phalanx* (or *acies*) *might be formed.*

[1] Διηγκυλωμένους.] The verb διηγκυλοῦσθαι is rightly interpreted by Hesychius τὸ ἐνεῖραι τοὺς δακτύλους τῇ ἀγκύλῃ (h. e. amento) τοῦ ἀκοντίου. *Sturz.* The following ἐπιβεβλημένους must be similarly explained.

[2] Ἀσπὶς ψοφῇ.] From the enemy's missiles striking upon it. *Kühner.* Hutchinson, Weiske, and Zeune think that a clashing of shields on the part of the Greeks is meant, preparatory to an onset; but, without doubt, erroneously.

[3] Or, *sound a charge.* The design of it was to precipitate the enemy's flight. Compare sect. 32.

their mistresses), began, in consequence, to press forward boldly, and to use their slings and bows. 31. The Greeks then sang the pæan, and rushed upon them at full speed; and the Barbarians did not stand their charge; for though they were well enough equipped for a sudden onset and retreat upon the mountains, they were by no means sufficiently armed to receive an enemy hand to hand. At this juncture the trumpeter sounded, 32. when the enemy fled still faster, and the Greeks, turning in the opposite direction, made their way over the river with all possible speed. 33. Some of the enemy, perceiving this movement, ran back to the river, and wounded a few of our men with their arrows; but the greater number of them, even when the Greeks were on the other side, were observed to continue their flight. 34. The troops, meanwhile, that came to meet Xenophon, being carried away by their courage, and advancing too far, repassed the river in the rear of Xenophon's men; and some of these also were wounded.

CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks enter Armenia, pass the sources of the Tigris, and arrive at the Teleboas. They make a treaty with Tiribazus, the governor of the province, and discover his insincerity.

1. When they had crossed, and had ranged themselves in order about noon, they proceeded through the country of Armenia, consisting wholly of plains and gently sloping hills, a distance of not less than five parasangs; for there were no villages near the river, in consequence of the hostilities with the Carduchi. 2. The village, however, at which they at length arrived, was of considerable size, and contained a palace for the satrap;[1] upon most of the houses there were towers, and provisions were in great plenty.

3. Hence they proceeded, two day's journey, a distance of ten parasangs, until they passed round the sources of the river Tigris. From hence they advanced, three days' journey, fif-

[1] Orontes: iii. 5. 17; 4. 3. 4. He was the satrap, as Krüger thinks, of Eastern Armenia; Tiribazus being called satrap of Western Armenia, sect. 4.

teen parasangs, to the river Teleboas, a stream not large, indeed, but of much beauty; and there were many villages on its banks. 4. This part of the country was called Western Armenia. The deputy-governor of it was Tiribazus, who was an intimate friend of the king; and no one else, when he was present, assisted the king to mount his horse. 5. He now rode up with a body of cavalry, and sending forward an interpreter, said that he wished to speak with the commanders. The generals thought proper to hear what he had to say, and advancing within hearing, asked what he wanted. 6. He replied, that he wished to make a treaty with them, on the conditions that he himself should not hurt the Greeks, and that the Greeks should not burn the houses, but should be at liberty to take such provisions as they required. This proposal was agreeable to the generals, and they concluded a treaty upon these terms.

7. Hence they proceeded, three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, through a plain; and Tiribazus followed them with his troops, keeping at a distance of about ten stadia. They then came to a palace,[3] with several villages around it stored with abundance of provisions. 8. While they were encamped, there fell a great quantity of snow[4] in

[1] Τύρσεις.] Apparently intended for a sort of defenses, should the people be attacked by any of their neighbors. Compare v. 2. 5.

[2] Καλὸς μὲν, μέγας δ' οὔ.] I have, with Bornemann and Poppo, restored this reading, in which all the manuscripts concur. Muretus, from Demetrius Phalereus, sect. 6 and 121, has given μέγας μὲν οὔ, καλὸς δέ, and Hutchinson and all other editors down to Bornemann have followed him. It can not be denied that this is the usual order in such phrases: as in iv. 8. 2; vi. 4. 20; but passages are not wanting in which the contrary order is observed; see iv. 6. 2. *Kühner*. As the piece attributed to Demetrius Phalereus is not genuine, little attention need be paid to it.

[3] It would seem to have been the palace of Tiribazus, as the one mentioned in sect. 2 was that of Orontes. *Schneider*.

[4] See Diod. Sic. xiv. 28.] Ainsworth speaks of the cold in the nights on these Armenian uplands, p. 173. "When Lucullus, in his expedition against Mithridates, marched through Armenia, his army suffered as much by the frost and snow as the Greeks under Xenophon; and, when Alexander Severus returned through this country, many of his men lost their hands and feet through excessive cold. Tournefort also complains that at Erzeroum, though situated in a plain, his fingers were so benumbed with cold, that he could not write till an hour after sunrise. (See Plutarch in Lucull., and Zonaras's Annals.)" *Spelman*.

the night; and in the morning it was thought advisable that the companies and officers should take up their quarters in the neighboring villages; for they perceived no enemy, and it appeared to be safe on account of the quantity of the snow.[1] 9. Here they found all kinds of excellent provisions, cattle, corn, old wines of great fragrance, dried grapes, and vegetables of all kinds.

Some of the soldiers, however, who had strolled away from the camp, brought word that they had caught sight of an army, and that many fires had been visible during the night. 10. The generals thought it unsafe, therefore, for the troops to quarter apart, and resolved to bring the whole army together again. They accordingly assembled, for it seemed to be clearing up.[2] 11. But as they were passing the night here, there fell a vast quantity of snow, so that it covered both the arms and the men as they lay on the ground. The snow cramped the baggage-cattle, and they were very reluctant to rise; for, as they lay, the snow that had fallen upon them served to keep them warm, when it had not dropped off. 12. But when Xenophon was hardy enough to rise without his outer garment, and to cleave wood, some one else then rose, and, taking the wood from him, cleft it himself. Soon after, the rest got up, and lighted fires and anointed themselves; 13. for abundance of ointment was found there, made of hog's-lard, sesamum,[3] bitter almonds, and turpentine, which they used instead of oil. Of the same materials also an odoriferous ungent was found.

14. After this it was resolved to quarter again throughout

[1] There being no cause to apprehend the approach of an enemy during such deep snow.

[2] Διαιθριάζειν.] The commentators rightly interpret this word *disserenascere*, "to clear up." *Kühner*; who, however, prefers *συναιθριάζειν*, for which there is good manuscript authority. He translates it, with Bornemann, *simul disserenascere*, "to clear up at the same time;" so that the one word has little advantage over the other. Sturz disapproves of the interpretation *disserenascere*, and would have both verbs to signify *sub dio agere*, "to bivouac in the open air;" but the other sense appears preferable.

[3] See note on i. 2. 22. Oil made of sesamum, or sesama, is mentioned, says Kühner, by Plin. H. N. xiii. 1, xviii. 10; Q. Curt. vii. 4. 23; Dioscorid. 2. 119—121; Theophrast. de Odoribus, p. 737, ed. Schneid.; Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 727; Interp. ad Aristoph. Pac. 865.

the villages, under shelter; and the soldiers went off with great shouting and delight to the cottages and provisions. Those who had set fire to the houses, when they quitted them before, paid the penalty of having to encamp uncomfortably in the open air. 15. Hence they dispatched in the night Democrates of Temenos, giving him a detachment of men, to the hills where the stragglers said that they had seen the fires; they selected him because he was thought on several former occasions to have brought exact information concerning such matters, reporting what was, just as it appeared, and what was not, as not existing. 16. Having gone, he said that he saw no fires, but he brought with him a captive that he had taken, having a Persian bow and quiver, and a short battle-ax, such as the Amazons have. 17. Being asked of what country he was, he said that he was a Persian, and that he was going from the army of Tiribazus to get provisions. They then asked him how large the army was, and for what purpose it was assembled. 18. He said that Tiribazus had his own troops, and some mercenaries from the Chalybes and Taochians; and that he was prepared to attack the Greeks in their passage over the mountains, at a narrow defile through which lay their only road.

19. The generals, on hearing this, resolved to collect the army, and, leaving a guard, with Sophænetus the Stymphalian as commander over those who staid behind, proceeded to march without delay, taking the man who had been captured for their guide. 20. After they had passed the mountains, the peltasts, who went before the rest, and were the first to discover the enemy's camp, did not wait for the heavy-armed men, but ran forward with a shout to attack it. 21. The Barbarians, hearing the noise, did not stand their ground, but fled; some of them however were killed, and about twenty horses taken, as was also the tent of Tiribazus, and in it some couches with silver feet, and drinking-cups, and some prisoners, who said that they were bakers and cup-bearers. 22. When the officers of the heavy-armed troops heard what had taken place, they resolved upon marching back as fast as possible to their own camp, lest any attempt should be made on those who had been left there. Calling in the men immediately, therefore, by sound of trumpet, they returned to the camp the same day.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks march through an uninhabited tract of country, suffering greatly from cold winds, snow, and want of provisions. At length they reach some well-stored villages, where they rest seven days.

1. The next day it was thought necessary to march away as fast as possible, before the enemy's force should be re-assembled, and get possession of the pass. Collecting their baggage at once, therefore, they set forward through a deep snow, taking with them several guides; and, having the same day passed the height on which Tiribazus had intended to attack them, they encamped. 2. Hence they proceeded three days' journey through a desert tract of country, a distance of fifteen parasangs,[1] to the river Euphrates, and passed it without being wet higher than the middle. The sources of the river were said not to be far off. 3. From hence they advanced three days' march, through much snow and a level plain, a distance of fifteen parasangs; the third day's march was extremely troublesome, as the north wind blew full in their faces, completely parching up every thing and benumbing the men. 4. One of the augurs, in consequence, advised that they should sacrifice to the wind; and a sacrifice was accordingly offered; when the vehemence of the wind appeared to every one manifestly to abate. The depth of the snow was a fathom;[2] so that many of the baggage cattle and slaves perished with about thirty of the soldiers. 5. They continued to burn fires through the whole night, for there was plenty of wood at the place of encampment. But those who came up late could get no wood; those therefore who had arrived before, and had kindled fires, would not admit the late comers to the fire unless they gave them a share of the corn or other provisions that they had brought. 6. Thus they shared with each other what they respectively had. In the places where the fires were made, as the snow melted, there

[1] Rennell, p. 214, and Kinneir, p. 485, think this distance too great for troops marching through deep snow. Πέντε occurs in one manuscript, and Kühner has admitted it into his text.

[2] Ὀργυιά.] A great depth. We can not suppose the snow to have been of that depth every where. None of the commentators make any remark.

were formed large pits that reached down to the ground; and here there was accordingly opportunity to measure the depth of the snow.

7. From hence they marched through snow the whole of the following day, and many of the men contracted the *bulimia*.[1] Xenophon, who commanded in the rear, finding in his way such of the men as had fallen down with it, knew not what disease it was. 8. But as one of those acquainted with it, told him that they were evidently affected with *bulimia*, and that they would get up if they had something to eat, he went round among the baggage, and, wherever he saw any thing eatable, he gave it out, and sent such as were able to run to distribute it among those diseased, who, as soon as they had eaten, rose up and continued their march. 9. As they proceeded, Cheirisophus came, just as it grew dark, to a village, and found, at a spring in front of the rampart, some women and girls belonging to the place fetching water. 10. The women asked them who they were; and the interpreter answered, in the Persian language, that they were people going from the king to the satrap. They replied that he was not there, but about a parasang off. However, as it was late, they went with the water-carriers within the rampart, to the head man of the village; 11. and here Cheirisophus, and as many of the troops as could come up, encamped; but of the rest, such as were unable to get to the end of the journey, spent the night on the way without food or fire; and some of the soldiers lost their lives on that occasion. 12. Some of the enemy too, who had collected themselves into a body, pursued our rear, and seized any of the baggage-cattle that were unable to proceed, fighting with one another for the possession of them. Such of the soldiers, also, as had lost their sight from the effects of the snow, or had had their toes mortified by the cold, were left behind. 13. It was found to be a relief to the eyes against the snow, if the soldiers kept something black before them on the march, and to the feet, if they kept constantly in motion, and allowed themselves no rest, and if they

[1] Ἐβουλιμίασαν.] Spelman quotes a description of the *βουλιμία* or *βούλιμος* from Galen Med. Def., in which it is said to be "a disease in which the patient frequently craves for food, loses the use of his limbs, falls down, turns pale, feels his extremities become cold, his stomach oppressed, and his pulse feeble." Here, however, it seems to mean little more than a faintness from long fasting.

took off their shoes in the night; 14. but as to such as slept with their shoes on, the straps worked into their feet, and the soles were frozen about them; for when their old shoes had failed them, shoes of raw hides had been made by the men themselves from the newly-skinned oxen. 15. From such unavoidable sufferings, some of the soldiers were left behind, who, seeing a piece of ground of a black appearance, from the snow having disappeared there, conjectured that it must have melted; and it had in fact melted in the spot from the effect of a fountain, which was sending up vapor in a woody hollow close at hand. Turning aside thither, they sat down and refused to proceed further. 16. Xenophon, who was with the rear-guard, as soon as he heard this, tried to prevail on them by every art and means not to be left behind, telling them, at the same time, that the enemy were collected, and pursuing them in great numbers. At last he grew angry; and they told him to kill them, as they were quite unable to go forward. 17. He then thought it the best course to strike a terror, if possible, into the enemy that were behind, lest they should fall upon the exhausted soldiers. It was now dark, and the enemy were advancing with a great noise, quarreling about the booty that they had taken; 18. when such of the rear-guard as were not disabled, started up, and rushed toward them, while the tired men, shouting as loud as they could, clashed their spears against their shields. The enemy, struck with alarm, threw themselves among the snow into the hollow, and no one of them afterward made themselves heard from any quarter.

19. Xenophon, and those with him, telling the sick men that a party should come to their relief next day, proceeded on their march, but before they had gone four stadia, they found other soldiers resting by the way in the snow, and covered up with it, no guard being stationed over them. They roused them up, but they said that the head of the army was not moving forward. 20. Xenophon, going past them, and sending on some of the ablest of the peltasts, ordered them to ascertain what it was that hindered their progress. They brought word that the whole army was in that manner taking rest. 21. Xenophon and his men, therefore, stationing such a guard as they could, took up their quarters there without fire or supper. When it was near day, he sent the youngest of his

men to the sick, telling them to rouse them and oblige them to proceed. 22. At this juncture Cheirisophus sent some of his people from the village to see how the rear were faring. The young men were rejoiced to see them, and gave them the sick to conduct to the camp, while they themselves went forward, and, before they had gone twenty stadia, found themselves at the village in which Cheirisophus was quartered. 23. When they came together, it was thought safe enough to lodge the troops up and down in the villages. Cheirisophus accordingly remained where he was, and the other officers, appropriating by lot the several villages that they had in sight, went to their respective quarters with their men.

24. Here Polycrates, an Athenian captain, requested leave of absence, and, taking with him the most active of his men, and hastening to the village which Xenophon had been allotted, surprised all the villagers, and their head man, in their houses, together with seventeen[1] colts that were bred as a tribute for the king, and the head man's daughter, who had been but nine days married; her husband was gone out to hunt hares, and was not found in any of the villages. 25. Their houses were under ground, the entrance like the mouth of a well, but spacious below; there were passages dug into them for the cattle, but the people descended by ladders. In the houses were goats, sheep, cows, and fowls, with their young; all the cattle were kept on fodder within the walls.[2] 26. There was also wheat, barley, leguminous vegetables, and

[1] That this number is corrupt is justly suspected by Weiske, and shown at some length by Krüger de Authent. p. 47. Bornemann, in his preface, p. xxiv., proposes ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑκατὸν, a hundred and seven. Strabo, xi. 14, says that the satrap of Armenia used to send annually to the king of Persia twenty thousand horses. *Kühner*. Krüger, l. c., suggests that Xenophon may have written Σ′ *two hundred*, instead of ΙΖ′ *seventeen*. In sect. 35, we find Xenophon taking some of these horses himself, and giving one to each of the other generals and captains; so that the number must have been considerable.

[2] "This description of a village on the Armenian uplands applies itself to many that I visited in the present day. The descent by wells is now rare, but is still to be met with; but in exposed and elevated situations, the houses are uniformly semi-subterraneous, and entered by as small an aperture as possible, to prevent the cold getting in. Whatever is the kind of cottage used, cows, sheep, goats, and fowls, participate with the family in the warmth and protection thereof." *Ainsw. Travels*, p. 178.

barley-wine,[1] in large bowls; the grains of barley floated in it even with the brims of the vessels, and reeds also lay in it, some larger and some smaller, without joints; 27. and these, when any one was thirsty, he was to take in his mouth, and suck.[2] The liquor was very strong, unless one mixed water with it, and a very pleasant drink to those accustomed to it.

28. Xenophon made the chief man of his village sup with him, and told him to be of good courage, assuring him that he should not be deprived of his children, and that they would not go away without filling his house with provisions in return for what they took, if he would but prove himself the author of some service to the army till they should reach another tribe. 29. This he promised, and, to show his good-will, pointed out where some wine[3] was buried. This night, therefore, the soldiers rested in their several quarters in the midst of great abundance, setting a guard over the chief, and keeping his children at the same time under their eye. 30. The following day Xenophon took the head man and went with him to Cheirisophus, and wherever he passed by a village, he turned aside to visit those who were quartered in it, and found them in all parts feasting and enjoying themselves; nor would they any where let them go till they had set refreshments before them; 31. and they placed every where upon the same table, lamb, kid pork, veal, and fowl, with plenty of bread both of wheat and barley. 32. Whenever any person, to pay a compliment, wished to drink to another, he took him to the large bowl, where he had to stoop down and drink, sucking like an ox. The chief they allowed to take whatever he pleased, but he accepted nothing from them; where he found any of his relatives, however, he took them with him.

[1] Οἶνος κρίθινος.] Something like our beer. See Diod. Sic. i. 20, 34; iv. 2; Athenæus, i. 14; Herod. ii. 77; Tacit. Germ. c. 23. "The barley-wine I never met with." *Ainsw.* p. 178.

[2] The reeds were used, says Krüger, that none of the grains of barley might be taken into the mouth.

[3] Xenophon seems to mean *grape-wine*, rather than to refer to the barley-wine just before mentioned, of which the taste does not appear to have been much liked by the Greeks. Wine from grapes was not made, it is probable, in these parts, on account of the cold, but Strabo speaks of the οἶνος Μοναρίτης of Armenia Minor as not inferior to any of the Greek wines. *Schneider.*

33. When they came to Cheirisophus, they found his men also feasting in their quarters,[1] crowned with wreaths made of hay, and Armenian boys, in their Barbarian dresses, waiting upon them, to whom they made signs what they were to do as if they had been deaf and dumb. 34. When Cheirisophus and Xenophon had saluted one another, they both asked the chief man, through the interpreter who spoke the Persian language, what country it was. He replied that it was Armenia. They then asked him for whom the horses were bred; and he said that they were a tribute for the king, and added that the neighboring country was that of Chalybes, and told them in what direction the road lay. 35. Xenophon then went away, conducting the chief back to his family, giving him the horse that he had taken, which was rather old, to fatten and offer in sacrifice (for he had heard that it had been consecrated to the sun), being afraid, indeed, that it might die, as it had been injured by the journey. He then took some of the young horses, and gave one of them to each of the other generals and captains. 36. The horses in this country were smaller than those of Persia, but far more spirited. The chief instructed the men to tie little bags round the feet of the horses, and other cattle, when they drove them through the snow, for without such bags they sunk up to their bellies.

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks leave the villages under conduct of a guide, who, on being struck by Cheirisophus, deserts them. After wandering through the country for seven days, they arrive at the Phasis, and in two days more at some mountains occupied by the Phasiani, Taochi, and Chalybes, whom, by skillful maneuvering, they dislodge.

1. When the eighth day was come, Xenophon committed the guide to Cheirisophus. He left the chief[2] all the members

[1] Σκηνοῦντας.] *Convivantes, epulantes.* Comp. v. 2. 9; vii. 3. 15. *Künner.* Having no flowers or green herbs to make chaplets, which the Greeks wore at feasts, they used hay.

[2] This is rather oddly expressed; for the guide and the chief were the same person.

of his family, except his son, a youth just coming to mature age; him he gave in charge to Episthenes of Amphipolis, in order that if the father should conduct them properly, he might return home with him. At the same time they carried to his house as many provisions as they could, and then broke up their camp, and resumed their march. 2. The chief conducted them through the snow, walking at liberty. When he came to the end of the third day's march, Cheirisophus was angry at him for not guiding them to some villages He said that there were none in that part of the country. Cheirisophus then struck him, but did not confine him; 3. and in consequence he ran off in the night, leaving his son behind him. This affair, the ill-treatment and neglect of the guide, was the only cause of dissension between Cheirisophus and Xenophon during the march. Episthenes conceived an affection for the youth, and, taking him home, found him extremely attached to him.

4. After this occurrence they proceeded seven days' journey, five parasangs each day, till they came to the river Phasis,[1] the breadth of which is a plethrum. 5. Hence they advanced two days' journey, ten parasangs; when, on the pass that led over the mountains into the plain, the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasians were drawn up to oppose their progress. 6. Cheirisophus, seeing these enemies in possession of the height, came to a halt, at the distance of about thirty stadia, that he might not approach them while leading the army in a column. He accordingly ordered the other officers to bring up their companies, that the whole force might be formed in line.[2]

7. When the rear-guard was come up, he called together the generals and captains, and spoke to them as follows: "The enemy, as you see, are in possession of the pass over the mountains; and it is proper for us to consider how we may encounter them to the best advantage. 8. It is my opinion, therefore, that we should direct the troops to get their dinner and that we ourselves should hold a council, in

[1] Not the Colchian Phasis, which flows into the Euxine, but a river of Armenia (Ἀράξης, now *Aras*), which runs into the Caspian. See Ainsworth, Travels, p. 179, 247. However Xenophon himself seems to have confounded this Phasis with that of Colchis. See Rennell, p. 230. *Kühner.*

[2] Ἐπὶ φάλαγγος.] See on iv. 3. 26.

the mean time, whether it is advisable to cross the mountain to-day, or to-morrow." 9. "It seems best to me," exclaimed Cleanor, "to march at once, as soon as we have dined and resumed our arms, against the enemy; for if we waste the present day in inaction, the enemy who are now looking down upon us will grow bolder, and it is likely that, as their confidence is increased, others will join them in greater numbers."

10. After him Xenophon said, "I am opinion that if it is necessary to fight, we ought to make our arrangements so as to fight with the greatest advantage; but that if we propose to pass the mountains as easily as possible, we ought to consider how we may incur the fewest wounds and lose the fewest men. 11. The range of hills, as far as we see, extends more than sixty stadia in length; but the people nowhere seem to be watching us except along the line of road; and it is therefore better, I think, to endeavor to try to seize unobserved some part of the unguarded range, and to get possession of it, if we can, beforehand, than to attack a strong post and men prepared to resist us. 12. For it is far less difficult to march up a steep ascent without fighting then along a level road with enemies on each side; and, in the night, if men are not obligèd to fight, they can see better what is before them than by day if engaged with enemies; while a rough road is easier to the feet to those who are marching without molestation, than a smooth one to those who are pelted on the head with missiles. 13. Nor do I think it at all impracticable for us to steal a way for ourselves, as we can march by night, so as not to be seen, and can keep at such a distance from the enemy as to allow no possibility of being heard. We seem likely, too, in my opinion, if we make a pretended attack on this point, to find the rest of the range still less guarded; for the enemy will so much the more probably stay where they are. 14. But why should I speak doubtfully about stealing? For I hear that you Lacedæmonians, O Cheirisophus, such of you at least as are of the better class,[1] practice stealing from your boyhood, and it is not a

[1] Τῶν ὁμοίων.] The ὅμοιοι at Sparta were all those who had an equal right to participate in the honors of offices of the state; *qui pari inter se jure gaudebant, quibus honores omnes æqualiter patebant.* Cragius de Rep.

disgrace, but an honor, to steal whatever the law does not forbid; 15. while, in order that you may steal with the utmost dexterity, and strive to escape discovery, it is appointed by law that, if you are caught stealing, you are scourged. It is now high time for you, therefore, to give proof of your education, and to take care that we may not receive many stripes." 16. "But I hear that you Athenians also," rejoined Cheirisophus, "are very clever at stealing the public money, though great danger threatens him that steals it; and that your best men steal it most, if indeed your best men are thought worthy to be your magistrates; so that it is time for you likewise to give proof of your education." 17. "I am then ready," exclaimed Xenophon, "to march with the rear-guard, as soon as we have supped, to take possession of the hills. I have guides too; for our light-armed men captured some of the marauders following us by lying in ambush; and from them I learn that the mountains are not impassable, but are grazed over by goats and oxen, so that if we once gain possession of any part of the range, there will be tracks also for our baggage-cattle. 18. I expect also that the enemy will no longer keep their ground, when they see us upon a level with them on the heights, for they will not now come down to be upon a level with us." 19. Cheirisophus then said, "But why should you go, and leave the charge of the rear? Rather send others, unless some volunteers present themselves." 20. Upon this Aristonymus of Methydria came forward with his heavy-armed men, and Aristeas of Chios and Nichomachus of Œta[1] with their light-armed; and they made an arrangement, that as soon as they should reach the top, they should light a number of fires. 21. Having settled these points, they went to dinner; and after dinner Cheirisophus led forward the whole army ten stadia toward the enemy, that he might appear to be fully resolved to march against them on that quarter.

22. When they had taken their supper, and night came on,

Lac. i. 10, cited by Sturz in his Lex. Xenoph. See Xenophon De Rep. Lac. 13, 1 and 7; Aristot. Polit. 5. 7. 3. "A similar designation to that of ὁμότιμοι in the Cyropædia." *Schneider*. See Hellen. iii. 3. 5.

[1] A native of the country about Mount Œta in Thessaly. There was also, however, a town of that name in the south of Thessaly: Thucyd. iii. 92.

those appointed for the service went forward and got possession of the hills; the other troops rested where they were. The enemy, when they saw the heights occupied, kept watch and burned a number of fires all night. 23. As soon as it was day, Cheirisophus, after having offered sacrifice, marched forward along the road; while those who had gained the heights advanced by the ridge. 24. Most of the enemy, meanwhile, stayed at the pass, but a part went to meet the troops coming along the heights. But before the main bodies came together, those on the ridge closed with one another, and the Greeks had the advantage, and put the enemy to flight. 25. At the same time the Grecian peltasts ran up from the plain to attack the enemy drawn up to receive them, and Cheirisophus followed at a quick pace with the heavy-armed men. 26. The enemy at the pass, however, when they saw those above defeated, took to flight. Not many of them were killed, but a great number of shields were taken, which the Greeks, by hacking them with their swords, rendered useless. 27. As soon as they had gained the ascent, and had sacrificed and erected a trophy, they went down into the plain before them, and arrived at a number of villages stored with abundance of excellent provisions.

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks, entering the country of the Taochi, storm a fort, capturing a great number of cattle, on which they subsist while traversing the region of the Chalybes. They cross the Harpasus, and, marching through the territory of the Scythini, arrive at a town called Gymnias, whence they are conducted to Mount Theches, from the top of which they see the Euxine.

1. From hence they marched five days' journey, thirty parasangs, to the country of the Taochi, where provisions began to fail them; for the Taochi inhabited strong fastnesses, in which they had laid up all their supplies. 2. Having at length, however, arrived at one place which had no city or houses attached to it, but in which men and women and a great number of cattle were assembled, Cheirisophus, as soon as he came before it, made it the object of an attack; and when the first division that assailed it began to be tired,

another succeeded, and then another, for it was not possible for them to surround it in a body, as there was a river about it. 3. When Xenophon came up with his rear-guard, peltasts, and heavy-armed men, Cheirisophus exclaimed, "You come seasonably, for we must take this place, as there are no provisions for the army, unless we take it."

4. They then deliberated together, and Xenophon asking what hindered them from taking the place, Cheirisophus replied, "The only approach to it is the one which you see; but when any of our men attempt to pass along it, the enemy roll down stones over yonder impending rock, and whoever is struck, is treated as you behold;" and he pointed, at the same moment, to some of the men who had had their legs and ribs broken. 5. "But if they expend all their stones," rejoined Xenophon, "is there any thing else to prevent us from advancing? For we see, in front of us, only a few men, and but two or three of them armed. 6. The space, too, through which we have to pass under exposure to the stones, is, as you see, only about a hundred and fifty feet in length; and of this about a hundred feet is covered with large pine trees in groups, against which if the men place themselves, what would they suffer either from the flying stones or the rolling ones? The remaining part of the space is not above fifty feet, over which, when the stones cease, we must pass at a running pace." 7. "But," said Cheirisophus, "the instant we offer to go to the part covered with trees, the stones fly in great numbers." "That," cried Xenophon, "would be the very thing we want, for thus they will exhaust their stones the sooner. Let us then advance, if we can, to the point whence we shall have but a short way to run, and from which we may, if we please, easily retreat."

8. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, with Callimachus of Parrhasia, one of the captains, who had that day the lead of all the other captains of the rear-guard, then went forward, all the rest of the captains remaining out of danger. Next, about seventy of the men advanced under the trees, not in a body, but one by one, each sheltering himself as he could. 9. Agasias of Stymphalus, and Aristonymus of Methydria, who were also captains of the rear-guard, with some others, were at the same time standing behind, without the trees, for it was not safe for more than one company to stand under them.

10. Callimachus then adopted the following stratagem: he ran forward two or three paces from the tree under which he was sheltered, and when the stones began to be hurled, hastily drew back; and at each of his sallies more than ten cart-loads of stones were spent. 11. Agasias, observing what Calimachus was doing, and that the eyes of the whole army were upon him, and fearing that he himself might not be the first to enter the place, began to advance alone (neither calling to Aristonymus who was next him, nor to Eurylochus of Lusia, both of whom were his intimate friends, nor to any other person), and passed by all the rest. 12. Callimachus, seeing him rushing by, caught hold of the rim of his shield, and at that moment Aristonymus of Methydria ran past them both, and after him Eurylochus of Lusia, for all these sought distinction for valor, and were rivals to one another; and thus, in mutual emulation, they got possession of the place, for when they had once rushed in, not a stone was hurled from above. 13. But a dreadful spectacle was then to be seen; for the women, flinging their children over the precipice, threw themselves after them; and the men followed their example. Æneas of Stymphalus, a captain, seeing one of them, who had on a rich garment, running to throw himself over, caught hold of it with intent to stop him. 14. But the man dragged him forward, and they both went rolling down the rocks together, and were killed. Thus very few prisoners were taken, but a great number of oxen, asses, and sheep.

15. Hence they advanced, seven days' journey, a distance of fifty parasangs, through the country of the Chalybes. These were the most warlike people of all that they passed through, and came to close combat with them. They had linen cuirasses, reaching down to the groin, and, instead of skirts,[1] thick cords twisted. 16. They had also greaves and helmets, and at their girdles a short falchion, as large as a Spartan crooked dagger, with which they cut the throats of all whom they could master, and then, cutting off their heads, carried them away with them. They sang and danced when the enemy were likely to see them. They carried also a spear of about fifteen cubits in length, having one spike.[2] 17. They

[1] Ἀντὶ τῶν πτερύγων.] That this is the true sense of this word appears from Xen. de Re Equest. 12. 4.

[2] Having one iron point at the upper end, as in v. 4. 12, and no point at the lower for fixing the spear in the ground. *Schneider.*

staid in their villages till the Greeks had passed by, when they pursued and perpetually harassed them. They had their dwellings in strong places, in which they had also laid up their provisions, so that the Greeks could get nothing from that country, but lived upon the cattle which they had taken from the Taochi.

18. The Greeks next arrived at the river Harpasus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Hence they proceeded through the territory of the Scythini, four days' journey, making twenty parasangs, over a level tract, until they came to some villages, in which they halted three days, and collected provisions. 19. From this place they advanced four days' journey, twenty parasangs, to a large, rich and populous city, called Gymnias, from which the governor of the country sent the Greeks a guide, to conduct them through a region at war with his own people. 20. The guide, when he came, said that he would take them in five days to a place whence they should see the sea; if not, he would consent to be put to death. When, as he proceeded, he entered the country of their enemies, he exhorted them to burn and lay waste the lands; whence it was evident that he had come for this very purpose, and not from any good will to the Greeks. 21. On the fifth day they came to the mountain;[1] and the name of it was Theches. When the men who were in the front had mounted the height, and looked down upon the sea, a great shouted proceeded from them; 22. and Xenophon and the rear-guard, on hearing it, thought that some new enemies were assailing the front, for in the rear, too, the people from the country that they had burned were following them, and the rear-guard, by placing an ambuscade, had killed some, and taken others prisoners, and had captured about twenty shields made of raw ox-hides with the hair on. 23. But as the noise still increased, and drew nearer, and as those who came up from time to time kept running at full speed to join those who were continually shouting, the cries becoming louder as the men became more numerous, it

[1] The word ἱερόν, which precedes ὄρος in the older editions, is inclosed in brackets, as being probably spurious, by most of the modern editors, and actually ejected by Dindorf. Yet something seems to be wanting in connection with ὄρος, for the guide (sect. 20) says merely that he will bring them to *a* χωρίον, and on the fifth day after it is said that they come to *the mountain*.

appeared to Xenophon that it must be something of very great moment. 24. Mounting his horse, therefore, and taking with him Lycius and the cavalry, he hastened forward to give aid, when presently they heard the soldiers shouting, "The sea, the sea!" and cheering on one another. They then all began to run, the rear-guard as well as the rest, and the baggage-cattle and horses were put to their speed; 25. and when they had all arrived at the top, the men embraced one another, and their generals and captains, with tears in their eyes. Suddenly, whoever it was that suggested it, the soldiers brought stones, and raised a large mound, 26. on which they laid a number of raw ox-hides,[1] staves, and shields taken from the enemy. The shields the guide himself hacked in pieces,[2] and exhorted the rest to do the same. 27. Soon after, the Greeks sent away the guide, giving him presents from the common stock, a horse, a silver cup, a Persian robe, and ten darics;[3] but he showed most desire for the rings on their fingers, and obtained many of them from the soldiers. Having then pointed out to them a village where they might take up their quarters, and the road by which they were to proceed to the Macrones, when the evening came on he departed, pursuing his way during the night.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Greeks proceed unmolested through the country of the Macrones, and enter Colchis. Putting to flight the Colchians who obstructed their passage, they arrive at Trebisond, a Greek city, where they perform whatever vows they had made, and celebrate games.

1. HENCE the Greeks advanced three days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, through the country of the Macrones. On the first day they came to a river which divides the territories of the Macrones from those of the Scythini. 2. On

[1] They appear to be the hides of oxen offered up as a sort of sacrifice to the gods. *Balfour.*

[2] In order, says Krüger, to render them useless, so that they might not be carried off by any of the neighboring people.

[3] i. 1. 9.

their right they had an eminence extremely difficult of access, and on their left another river,[1] into which the boundary river, which they had to cross, empties itself. This stream was thickly edged with trees, not indeed large, but growing closely together. These the Greeks, as soon as they came to the spot, cut down,[2] being in haste to get out of the country as soon as possible. 3. The Macrones, however, equipped with wicker shields, and spears, and hair tunics, were drawn up on the opposite side of the crossing-place; they were animating one another, and throwing stones into the river.[3] They did not hit our men, or cause them any inconvenience.

4. At this juncture one of the peltasts came up to Xenophon, saying that he had been a slave at Athens, and adding that he knew the language of these men. "I think, indeed," said he, "that this is my country, and, if there is nothing to prevent, I should wish to speak to the people." 5. "There is nothing to prevent," replied Xenophon; "so speak to them, and first ascertain what people they are." When he asked them, they said that they were the Macrones. "Inquire, then," said Xenophon, "why they are drawn up to oppose us, and wish to be our enemies." 6. They replied, "Because you come against our country." The generals then told him to acquaint them that we were not come with any wish to do them injury, but that we were returning to Greece after having been engaged in war with the king, and that we were desirous to reach the sea. 7. They asked if the Greeks would give pledges to this effect; and the Greeks replied that they were willing both to give and receive them. The Macrones accordingly presented the Greeks with a Barbarian lance, and the Greeks gave them a Grecian one; for they said that such were their usual pledges. Both parties called the gods to witness.

8. After these mutual assurances, the Macrones immediately assisted them in cutting away the trees, and made a passage

[1] A stream running into the Tchórúk-sú, according to Ainsworth, Travels, p. 189.

[2] The Greeks cut down the trees in order to throw them into the stream, and form a kind of bridge on which they might cross. *Schneider.*

[3] They threw stones into the river that they might stand on them, and approach nearer to the Greeks, so as to use their weapons with more effect. *Bornemann.*

for them, as if to bring them over, mingling freely among the Greeks; they also gave such facilities as they could for buying provisions, and conducted them through their country for three days, until they brought them to the confines of the Colchians. 9. Here was a range of hills,[1] high, but accessible, and upon them the Colchians were drawn up in array. The Greeks, at first, drew up against them in a line,[2] with the intention of marching up the hill in this disposition; but afterward the generals thought proper to assemble and deliberate how they might engage with the best effect. 10. Xenophon then said it appeared to him that they ought to relinquish the arrangement in line, and to dispose the troops in columns;[3] "for a line," pursued he, "will be broken at once, as we shall find the hills in some parts impassable, though in others easy of access: and this disruption will immediately produce despondency in the men, when, after being ranged in a regular line, they find it dispersed. 11. Again, if we advance drawn up very many deep, the enemy will stretch beyond us on both sides, and will employ the parts that outreach us in any way they may think proper; and if we advance only a few deep, it would not be at all surprising if our line be broken through by showers of missiles and men falling upon us in large bodies. If this happen in any part, it will be ill for the whole extent of the line. 12. I think, then, that having formed our companies in columns, we should keep them so far apart from each other as that the last companies on each side may be beyond the enemy's wings. Thus our extreme companies will both outflank the line of the enemy, and, as we march in file, the bravest of our men will close with the enemy first, and wherever the ascent is easiest, there each division will direct its course. 13. Nor will it be easy for the enemy to penetrate into the intervening spaces, when there are companies on each side, nor will it be easy to break through a column as it advances; while, if any one of the companies be hard pressed, the neighboring one will support it; and if but one of the companies can by any path attain the summit, the enemy will no longer stand their ground." 14. This plan was approved, and they threw the companies into columns. Xenophon, riding along from the right wing to

[1] Kárá Kapán, or Kóhát Tágh, according to Ainsw. p. 190.
[2] Κατὰ φάλαγγα.] See on iv. 3. 26.
[3] Λόχους ὀρθίους.] See on iv. 2. 11.

the left, said, "Soldiers, the enemy whom you see before you, are now the only obstacle to hinder us from being where we have long being eager to be. These, if we can, we must eat up alive."[1]

15. When the men were all in their places, and they had formed the companies into columns, there were about eighty companies of heavy-armed men, and each company consisted of about eighty men. The peltasts and archers they divided into three bodies, each about six hundred men, one of which they placed beyond the left wing, another beyond the right, and the third in the center. 16. The generals then desired the soldiers to make their vows[2] to the gods; and having made them, and sang the pæan, they moved forward. Cheirisophus and Xenophon, and the peltasts that they had with them, who were beyond the enemy's flanks, pushed on; 17. and the enemy, observing their motions, and hurrying forward to receive them, were drawn off, some to the right and others to the left, and left a great void in the center of their line; 18. when the peltasts in the Arcadian division, whom Æschines the Acarnanian commanded, seeing them separate, ran forward in all haste, thinking that they were taking to flight; and these were the first that reached the summit. The Arcadian heavy-armed troop, of which Clearnor the Orchomenian was captain, followed them. 19. But the enemy, when once the Greeks began to run, no longer stood their ground, but went off in flight, some one way and some another.

Having passed the summit, the Greeks encamped in a number of villages containing abundance of provisions. 20. As to other things here, there was nothing at which they were surprised; but the number of bee-hives was extraordinary, and all the soldiers that ate of the combs, lost their senses, vomited, and were affected with purging, and none of them were able to stand upright; such as had eaten a little were like men greatly intoxicated, and such as had eaten much were like mad-men, and some like persons at the point of death. 21. They lay upon the ground, in consequence, in great numbers, as if there had been a defeat; and there was general dejection. The next

[1] *'Ωμοὺς——κατάφαγεῖν.*] "Eat up raw," without waiting to cook them; a metaphorical expression for *to extirpate utterly and at once*, taken from Homer, Il. v. 35: *'Ωμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας.*

[2] See the payment of these vows in sect. 25.

day no one of them was found dead; and they recovered their senses about the same hour that they had lost them on the preceding day; and on the third and fourth days they got up as if after having taken physic.[1]

22. From hence they proceeded two days' march, seven parasangs, and arrived at Trebisond, a Greek city, of large population, on the Euxine Sea; a colony of Sinope, but lying in the territory of the Colchians. Here they staid about thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians, 23. whence they made excursions and plundered the country of Colchis. The people of Trebsiond provided a market for the Greeks in the camp, and entertained them in the city; and made them presents of oxen, barley-meal, and wine. 24. They negotiated with them also on behalf of the neighbouring Colchians, those especially who dwelt in the plain, and from them too were brought presents of oxen.

25. Soon after, they prepared to perform the sacrifice which they had vowed. Oxen enough had been brought them to offer to Jupiter the Preserver, and to Hercules, for their safe conduct, and whatever they had vowed to the other gods. They also celebrated gymnastic games upon the hill where they were encamped, and chose Dracontius a Spartan (who had become an exile from his country when quite a boy, for having involuntarily killed a child by striking him with a dagger), to prepare the course and preside at the contests. 26. When the sacrifice was ended, they gave the hides[2] to

[1] That there was honey in these parts, with intoxicating qualities, was well known to antiquity. Pliny, H. N. xxi. 44, mentions two sorts of it, one produced at Heraclea in Pontus, and the other among the Sanni or Macrones. The peculiarities of the honey arose from the herbs to which the bees resorted; the first came from the flower of a plant called ægolethron, or goat'-bane; the other from a species of rhododendron. Tournefort, when he was in that country, saw honey of this description. See Ainsworth, Travels in the Track, p. 190, who found that the intoxicating honey had a bitter taste. See also Rennell, p. 253. "This honey is also mentioned by Dioscorides, ii. 103; Strabo, xii. p. 826; Ælian, H. A. v. 42; Procopius, B. Goth. iv. 2." *Schneider.*

[2] Lion and Kühner have a notion that these skins were to be given as prizes to the victors, referring to Herod. ii. 91, where it is said that the Egyptians, in certain games which they celebrate in honor of Perseus, offer as prizes cattle, cloaks, and *δέρματα*, hides. Krüger doubts whether they were intended for prizes, or were given as a present to Dracontius.

Dracontius, and desired him to conduct them to the place where he had made the course. Dracontius, pointing to the place where they were standing, said, "This hill is an excellent place for running, in whatever direction the men may wish." "But how will they be able," said they, "to wrestle on ground so rough and bushy?" "He that falls," said he, "will suffer the more." 27. Boys, most of them from among the prisoners, contended in the short course,[1] and in the long course[1] above sixty Cretans ran; while others were matched in wrestling, boxing, and the pancratium. It was a fine sight; for many entered the lists, and as their friends were spectators, there was great emulation. 28. Horses also ran; and they had to gallop down the steep, and, turning round in the sea, to come up again to the altar.[2] In the descent, many rolled down; but in the ascent, against the exceedingly steep ground, the horses could scarcely get up at a walking pace. There was consequently great shouting, and laughter, and cheering from the people.

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

Cheirisophus goes to Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, to obtain ships for the Greeks. Xenophon, meanwhile, attends to other matters, and devises another plan for procuring vessels, if Cheirisophus should fail in his mission, and causing the roads to be repaired, in case the army should be obliged to proceed by land. Treachery of Dexippus, and efficient exertions of Polycrates.

1. WHAT the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, and what they underwent in their journey to the Euxine Sea; how they arrived at the Greek city of Trebisond, and how they offered the sacrifices which they had vowed to offer for their safety as soon as they should reach a friendly country, has been related in the preceding part of this narrative.

[1] *Σταδιον——δόλιχον.*] The *stadion*, or short course, was six plethra, or 600 Greek feet, equal to 606¾ feet English; the *δόλιχος*, or long course, was six or more stadia, even up to twenty-four. *Hussey*, Append. ix. sect. 11.

[2] The altar, apparently, at which they had been sacrificing.

2. They now assembled to hold a council concerning the remainder of their journey; and Antileon, a native of Thurii, stood up first, and spoke thus: "For my part, my friends, I am now quite exhausted with packing up my baggage, walking, running, carrying my arms, marching in order, mounting guard, and fighting, and should wish, since we have come to the sea, to rest from such toils, and to sail the remainder of the way; and to arrive at Greece, like Ulysses, stretched out asleep."[1] 3. The soldiers, on hearing these remarks, cried out that he spoke well; and then another, and afterward all the rest, expressed the same feelings. Cheirisophus then rose and spoke as follows: 4. "Anaxibius[2] is a friend of mine, and is now admiral. If, therefore, you will commission me to go to him, I have no doubt that I shall return with galleys and transport-vessels to carry you. And as you wish to sail, stay here till I come back; for I shall come very soon." When the soldiers heard this offer, they were delighted, and voted that he should set sail with all speed.

5. After him Xenophon stood up, and spoke to the following effect: "Cheirisophus is going to fetch ships, and we shall remain here; and I will now mention what I think it proper for us to do during our stay. 6. In the first place, we must get provisions from the enemy's country; for the market here is not abundant enough to supply us, nor have we, except some few, a sufficiency of means with which to purchase. But the country around us is inhabited by enemies; and there is danger, therefore, that many of you may be killed, if you go out in quest of provisions heedlessly and unguardedly. 7. It seems to me, then, that we ought to seek

[1] ——The winged galley flies;
Less swift an eagle cuts the liquid skies;
Divine Ulysses was her sacred load,
A man in wisdom equal to a god!
Much danger, long and mighty toils he bore,
In storms by sea, and combats on the shore:
All which soft sleep now banish'd from his breast,
Wrapt in a pleasing, soft, and death-like rest.
* * * * * * *
Ulysses sleeping on his couch they bore,
And gently placed him on the rocky shore.
Pope, Odyss. xiii.

[2] He was then at Byzantium: see vii. 1. 3.

provisions in foraging-parties,[1] and not to wander about at random; so that you may preserve your lives; and that we, the officers, should have the regulation of these proceedings." These suggestions were approved. 8. "Attend also," he said, "to the following hints. Some of you will go out for plunder. I think it will be better, then, for any one that intends to go out, to give us notice, and say in what direction, that we may know the number of those who go, and of those who stay at home, and may take part in their projects if it should be necessary; and that, if it should be requisite to send succor to any party, we may know whither to send it; while if any of the less experienced make an attempt in any quarter, we may aid his views by trying to learn the strength of the enemy against whom he is going." To this proposal assent was likewise given. 9. "Consider this, too," added he; "the enemy have leisure to rob us; they meditate attacks upon us, and with justice, for we are in possession of their property. They are also posted above us; and it appears to me, therefore, that sentinels should be placed round the camp, so that, if, being divided into parties, we keep guard and watch by turns, the enemy will be less in a condition to catch us by surprise. 10. Take this also into consideration. If we knew for certain that Cheirisophus would come with a sufficient number of ships to transport us, there would be no occasion for what I am going to say; but, since this is uncertain, I think that we ought, in the mean time, to endeavor to provide ourselves with ships from hence; for, if he comes with ships, and vessels are ready here, we shall sail in a greater number of ships; and, if he brings none, we shall make use of what we have procured here. 11. I observe vessels frequently sailing past; and if therefore we should ask the people of Trebisond for ships of war, and bring them in to the shore and keep them under guard, unshipping their rudders till a sufficient number be collected to carry us, we shall possibly not fail of securing such conveyance as we require." This suggestion was also approved. 12. "Reflect also," said he, "whether it will not be proper to support the mariners whom we bring into harbor from the common stock, as long as they may stay

[1] Σὺτ προνομαῖς.] A military mode of expression, as it appears, signifying *instructo agmine pabulatum seu frumentatum exire.* Kühner. Compare Cyrop. vi. 1. 24; Hellen. iv. 1. 16. *Krüger.*

on our account, and to make an agreement with them about the passage-money, that by benefiting us they may also be benefited themselves." To this they also agreed. 13. "It appears to me further," he continued, "that if our efforts are not successful to procure vessels in sufficient number,[1] we should enjoin the towns lying on the sea to repair the roads, which, we hear, are scarcely passable; for they will obey such an injunction both from fear and from a wish to be rid of us." 14. At this point of his speech they cried out that there must be no traveling by land.

Xenophon, seeing their want of consideration, did not put that particular to the vote. But he afterward prevailed on the towns to mend the roads of their own accord, telling them that if the roads were made passable, they would so much the sooner be delivered from the Greeks. 15. They received also a fifty-oared galley from the people of Trebisond, over which they placed Dexippus, a Spartan, one of the periœci;[2] who, neglecting to get vessels together, went off with the galley clear out of the Euxine. He however met with a just retribution some time after; for being in Thrace, at the court of Seuthes, and engaging in some intrigue, he was killed by Nicander a Lacedæmonian. 16. They received too a thirty-oared galley, over which Polycrates an Athenian was appointed, who brought all the vessels that he could get to the shore before the camp; and the Greeks, taking out their cargoes, if they had any, set guards over them, that they might be secure, and reserved the vessels for their passage.

17. While these affairs were going on, the soldiers were making excursions for plunder; and some succeeded and others not; but Cleænetus, as he was leading out his own troop and another against some strong place, was killed, as well as several of those that were with him.

[1] Ὥστε ἀρκεῖν πλοῖα.] "So that vessels may be sufficient (for us)."

[2] Περίοικον.] The *periœci* were the free inhabitants of the towns around Sparta; they were excluded from civil offices, and held a middle place between the native Spartans (the ὅμοιοι of iv. 6. 14) and the Neodamods and Helots. See Thucyd. viii. 22; Arnold's Thucyd. i. 101; Valckenær. ad Herod. ix. 11.

CHAPTER II.

To augment their stock of provisions, Xenophon undertakes a foraging expedition against the Drilæ, who lay waste their fields, and shut themselves up in their chief fort, which the Greeks take and burn to the ground.

1. WHEN it was no longer possible for the foragers to get provisions, so as to return the same day to the camp, Xenophon, taking some of the people of Trebisond as guides, led out half the army against the Drilæ, leaving the other half to guard the camp; for the Colchians, having been driven from their homes, were collected in large numbers, and had posted themselves on the heights. 2. The guides from Trebisond, however, did not conduct them to places whence it was easy to get provisions, for the inhabitants of those parts were their friends, but led them with great eagerness into the territories of the Drilæ, from whom they had receievd injuries, into mountainous and difficult tracts, and against the most warlike of all the people on the shores of the Pontus Euxinus.

3. When the Greeks had got up into their country, the Drilæ retreated, having first set fire to such of their places as seemed easy to be taken; and there was nothing for the Greeks to capture but swine, or oxen, or any other cattle that had escaped the fire. But there was one place that constituted their metropolis; and to this they had all flocked. Around it there was an extremely deep ravine, and the ways of access to the place were difficult. 4. However the peltasts, having outstripped the heavy-armed men by five or six stadia, crossed the ravine, and getting sight of a great deal of cattle and other booty, made an attack upon the place; and many spear-men,[1] who had gone out for plunder, followed close upon them; so that the number of those who crossed the ravine amounted to more than two thousand. 5. As they found themselves unable to take the place by assault (for there was a broad trench round it, the earth from which had been thrown up as a rampart, and upon the rampart were palisades, and a number of wooden towers erected), they attempted to retire, but the enemy pressed hard upon them; 6. and as they could

[1] Δορυφόροι.] No particular class of troops is meant, but merely such of the foragers as had armed themselves with spears, either for defense, or to assist them in bringing home what they took.

not effect a retreat, (for the descent from the place to the ravine would allow only one to pass at a time), they sent for aid to Xenophon, who was at the head of the heavy-armed men. 7. The messenger said that the place was stored with abundance of things; "but," said he, "we are unable to take it, for it is strong; nor is it easy for us to retreat, for the enemy sally forth and assail our rear, and the way from it is difficult."

8. Xenophon, on hearing this account, brought up the heavy-armed to the ravine, and ordered them to halt there under arms, while he himself, crossing over with the captains, deliberated whether it would be better to bring off those that had already gone over, or to lead over the heavy-armed also, in the hope that the place might be taken; 9. for it seemed impossible to bring off the first party without the loss of many lives, and the captains were of opinion that they might take the place. Xenophon accordingly yielded to their judgment, placing some reliance at the same time, on the sacrifices; for the augurs had signified that there would be an action, and that the result of the excursion would be favorable. 10. He therefore dispatched the captains to bring over the heavy-armed men, while he himself remained where he was, keeping back the peltasts, and allowing none of them to skirmish with the enemy. 11. When the heavy-armed troops came up, he ordered each of the captains to form his company in such a manner as he might think most advantageous for fighting; for those captains, who were perpetually contending with one another in gallantry, were now standing close to each other. 12. They excuted his orders; and he then directed all the peltasts to advance holding their javelins by the thong,[1] as it would be necessary to hurl whenever he should give the signal, and the archers having their arrows resting on the string,[1] as, whenever he gave the signal, they would have to shoot; he ordered the skirmishers[2] also to have their bags full of stones, and commissioned proper persons to see these orders executed. 13. When every thing was ready, and the captains

[1] See on iv. 3. 28.

[2] The γυμνῆται are here distinguished from the archers, although γυμνῆται is a general name for both archers, javelin-men, and slingers. Compare iii. 4. 26. *Kühner.* The slingers are evidently meant here.

and lieutenants, and all those[1] who thought themselves not inferior to these, were in their places, and had a full view of each other (for the disposition of the troops, from the nature of the ground, was in the form of a crescent), the heavy-armed men, 14. after they had sung the pæan and the trumpet had sounded, raised the war-cry to Mars, and ran forward, while the missiles, consisting of lances, arrows, balls from slings, and numbers of stones flung from the hand, were hurled among the enemy; and some of the men, too, threw fire-brands at the place. 15. By reason, therefore, of the multitude of these missives, the enemy abandoned both the palisades and the towers; so that Agasias of Stymphalus and Philoxenus of Pellene, laying aside their armor,[2] mounted the ramparts in their tunics only; and then one drew up another, and others mounted by themselves, and the place, as it appeared, was taken. 16. The peltasts and light-armed men, accordingly, rushed in and laid hands on whatever they could find; while Xenophon, taking his stand at the gates, detained as many of the heavy-armed as he could outside of them, for other bodies of the enemy were showing themselves upon some strong positions among the hills. 17. After the lapse of a short interval of time, a cry arose within, and the men came fleeing out, some carrying what they had seized, and one or two perhaps wounded; and there was a great crowd about the gates. Those who rushed out, being questioned as to the cause, said that there was a citadel within, and a great number of the enemy, who sallied forth and fell upon our men who were in the place. 18. Xenophon then told Tolmides the crier to proclaim that whoever wished to get any plunder might go in; when many hastened to the entrance, and those who tried to push their way in got the better of those that were hurrying out, and shut up the enemy again within the citadel. 19. All the parts without the citadel were then ravaged, and the Greeks brought out the spoil; while the heavy-armed men ranged themselves under arms, some round the palisading, and some along the way leading to the citadel. 20. Xenophon and the captains then deliberated whether it would be possible to take the citadel, for, in that case, a safe retreat would be

[1] Halbkart supposes, with much reason, that we must understand the captains of fifty and twenty-five. See iii. 4. 21.

[2] In order to climb with more agility.

secured; otherwise it seemed a difficult matter to retire; and it appeared to them, upon consideration, that the citadel was altogether impregnable. 21. They accordingly began to prepare for a retreat; each of the men pulled up the palisades that were nearest to him; and the captains sent out of the place the useless hands,[1] and those who were loaded with plunder, but retained those in whom they severally confided.[2]

22. When they commenced their retreat, numbers of the enemy sallied forth upon them from within, armed with light shields, spears, greaves, and Paphlagonian helmets,[3] while others climbed upon the houses that were on each side of the road leading to the citadel, 23. so that it was not safe to pursue them toward the gate leading thither, for they hurled down large pieces of timber from above; and it was in consequence dangerous either to remain or retreat; and the night, which was coming on, increased their alarm. 24. But while they were thus engaged and in perplexity, some god gave them the means of saving themselves; for one of the houses on the right suddenly burst out in flames, whoever it was that set fire to it, and when it fell in, the enemy fled from all the houses on the right; 25. when Xenophon, having learned this expedient from fortune, gave orders to set fire to all the houses on the left, which were of wood, and soon in a blaze; and the enemy accordingly fled from these houses also. 26. Those who were directly over against them,[4] however, and those only, still continued to annoy them, and gave evident signs of an intention to fall upon them in their egress and descent. Xenophon in consequence ordered all who were out of reach of the missiles to bring wood into the space between them and the enemy; and when a considerable quantity was collected, they set fire to it, setting fire at the same time to the houses close to the palisading, in order that the enemy's at-

[1] Τοὺς ἀχρείους.] Whatever camp-followers there were, with the wounded, and those that were laden with spoil.

[2] They retained a trusty band, to cover the rear of the retreating Greeks.

[3] In ch. iv. sect. 13, these are said to be made of leather; by Herodotus, vii. 72, they are called πεπλεγμένα: whence Halbkart, who refers to Homer, Il. χ′ 258, concludes that these helmets were formed of pieces of leather interwoven. *Kühner.*

[4] Κατὰ τὸ στόμα.] Those in front of the assailants. Στόμα τὸ ἔμπροσθεν μέρος τοῦ στρατοῦ. *Suidas.*

tention might be engaged about these proceedings. 27. Thus, by interposing fire between themselves and the enemy, they effected, though with difficulty, a retreat from the place. The whole of the town, houses, towers, palisading, and every thing else except the citadel, was reduced to ashes.

28. The next day the Greeks marched away, carrying with them the provisions that they had taken; but as they had some fears with regard to the descent to Trebisond (for it was steep and narrow), they placed a pretended ambuscade. 29. A certain man, a Mysian by birth, and bearing that name,[1] took ten[2] Cretans with him and waited in a woody place, making it appear that he was endeavoring to conceal himself from the enemy; while their shields, which were of brass, glittered from time to time through the bushes. 30. The enemy accordingly, observing these indications, were afraid as of a real ambuscade; and in the mean time the army effected its descent. When it appeared to the Mysian that they were advanced far enough,[3] he gave a signal for them to flee with all speed, and he himself, and those that were with him, started up and hurried off. 31. The others, the Cretans, quitting the road (for they said[4] that they were gained upon in the race), threw themselves down among the wood into the bushy hollows, and got off safe; 32. but the Mysian himself, pursuing his flight along the road, was heard to call out for aid, when some ran to his relief, and brought him off wounded. The party who had rescued him then retreated step by step with their face toward the enemy, being exposed to their missiles, while some of the Cretans discharged their arrows in return. Thus they all returned in safety to the camp.

[1] He was a *Mysus* or Mysian by birth, and was called *Mysus*. Krüger aptly refers to Lucian Tox. 28: *οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ Σύρος καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα.*

[2] Schneider has "four or five," which is found in some manuscripts. Even *ten* seems to be but a small number.

[3] I have here deserted Dindorf's punctuation, who puts a comma before *τῷ Μυσῷ*. Krüger and Kühner agree in putting the comma after Μυσῷ.

[4] Ἔφασαν.] Commentators have made needless difficulties about this word. It is to be translated simply "they said;" *i. e.* they told their fellow-soldiers when they returned.

CHAPTER III.

Being unable, from want of provisions, to wait longer for Cheirisophus, the Greeks dispatch the camp-followers and baggage by sea, and proceed themselves by land to Cerasus, where the whole army is reviewed. They divide among themselves the money arising from the sale of the prisoners, the generals taking charge of the tenth part, which had been vowed to Apollo and Diana. Description of Xenophon's residence, and of the temple of Diana, at Scillus.

1. As Cheirisophus did not return, and a sufficient number of vessels were not collected, and as there was no longer a possibility of getting supplies, it appeared that they must take their departure. They accordingly put on board the sick persons, and those who were above forty years of age, with the women and children, and whatever baggage it was not necessary to retain, and appointed Philesius and Sophænetus, the eldest of the generals to go in the vessels and take charge of them. The rest of the army proceeded by land; for the road was now prepared. 2. Pursuing their march, they arrived on the third day at Cerasus, a Greek city upon the coast in the country of Colchis, and a colony from Sinope. 3. Here they staid ten days, and a review of the troops under arms was held, and their number taken; they were in all eight thousand six hundred. These were saved out of about ten thousand; the rest had been cut off by the enemy and the snow, and perhaps two or three by sickness.

4. Here also they distributed the money arising from the sale of the prisoners. The tenth part, which they set aside for Apollo and Diana of Ephesus, the generals took among them, each a portion to keep for those duties. Neon of Asina received that which was intended for Cheirisophus.

5. Xenophon, after causing an offering to be made for Apollo, deposited it in the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, inscribing on it his own name, and that of Proxenus, who was killed with Clearchus; for he had been his guest-friend. 6. The portion designed for Diana of Ephesus he left with Megabyzus, the warden of the goddess's temple, when he returned[1] with Agesilaus out of Asia on an expedi-

[1] Ὅτε ἀπῄει, κ. τ. λ.] Verte: quum redibat cum Agesilao ex Asiâ expeditionem cum eo in Bœotos faciens. Xen. Ages. i. 36, ii. 9; Hellen. iv. 3; Plutarch. Ages. c. 18. *Kühner.*

tion to Bœotia, because he seemed likely to incur some peril, and enjoined him, if he escaped, to return the money to him, but, if he met with an ill fate, to make such an offering as he thought would please the goddess, and dedicate it to her. 7. Afterward, when Xenophon was banished[1] from his country, and was living at Scillus, a colony settled by the Lacedæmonians near Olympia, Megabyzus came to Olympia to see the games, and restored him the deposit. Xenophon, on receiving it, purchased some land as an offering to the goddess where the god had directed him. The river Selinus happens to run through the midst of it; 8. and another river named Selinus runs close by the temple of Diana at Ephesus; and in both there are different kinds of fish, and shell-fish. On the land near Scillus, too, there is hunting, of all such beasts as are taken in the chase. 9. He built also an altar and a temple with the consecrated money, and continued afterward to make a sacrifice every year, always receiving a tenth of the produce of the seasons from the land; and all the people of the town, as well as the men and women of the neighborhood, took part in the festival; while the goddess supplied those in tents there with barley-meal, bread, wine, sweetmeats, and a share of the victims offered from the sacred pastures, and of those caught in hunting; 10. for the sons of Xenophon, and those of the other inhabitants, always made a general hunt against the festival, and such of the men as were willing hunted with them; and there were caught, partly on the sacred lands, and partly on Mount Pholoe, boars, and antelopes, and deer. 11. This piece of ground lies on the road from Lacedæmon to Olympia, about twenty stadia from the temple of Jupiter at Olympia. There are within the place groves and hills covered with trees, adapted for the breeding of swine, goats, oxen, and horses, so that the beasts of the persons coming to the festival are amply supplied with food. 12. Round the temple itself is planted a grove of cultivated trees, bearing whatever fruits are eatable in the different seasons. The edifice is similar, as far as a small can be to a great one, to that at Ephesus; and the statue is as like to that at Ephesus

[1] He was banished by the Athenians for having joined Cyrus in this expedition against the king of Persia, whom they then considered as a friend. Pausan. v. 6, 4; Diog. Laert. ii. 51. See iii. 1. 5; vii. 7. 57.

as a statue of cypress can be to that of gold. 13. A pillar stands near the temple, bearing this inscription: THIS GROUND IS SACRED TO DIANA. HE THAT POSSESSES AND REAPS THE FRUIT OF IT IS TO OFFER EVERY YEAR THE TENTH OF ITS PRODUCE, AND TO KEEP THE TEMPLE IN REPAIR FROM THE RESIDUE. IF ANY ONE FAIL TO PERFORM THESE CONDITIONS, THE GODDESS WILL TAKE NOTICE OF HIS NEGLECT.

CHAPTER IV.

The Greeks arrive at the country of the Mossynœci, who, relying on their strongholds, endeavor to stop their progress. But as they were divided into two parties, the Greeks defeat the one with the aid of the other, burn two fortresses, and plunder the chief city. Account of the barbarous manners of the Mossynœci.

1. FROM Cerasus those who had previously gone on board pursued their voyage by sea; the rest proceeded by land. 2. When they came to the confines of the Mossynœci, they sent to them Timesitheus, a native of Trapezus, and a guest-friend of the Mossynœci, to inquire whether they were to march through their country as one of friends or of enemies. The Mossynœci replied that "they would allow them no passage at all;" for they trusted to their strongholds. 3. Timesitheus then acquainted the Greeks that the Mossynœci in the country beyond were at enmity with these; and it was resolved accordingly to ask them whether they were willing to form an alliance with the Greeks. Timesitheus, being dispatched for that purpose, returned with their chiefs.

4. On their arrival, the chiefs of the Mossynœci and the generals of the Greeks held a conference, when Xenophon spoke, and Timesitheus interpreted. 5. "We are desirous," said he, "O Mossynœci, to effect a safe passage to Greece by land, as we have no ships; but these people, who, as we hear, are your enemies, oppose our way. 6. It is in your power, therefore, if you think proper, to take us for your allies, and to avenge yourselves for whatever injury they have done you, and make them subject to you for the future.[1] 7. But if you

[1] Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὑμῶν ὑπηκόους εἶναι τούτους.] Supply ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν, after which it would have been more straightforward to say ἔχειν in-

reject our application, consider whence you will again procure so efficient a power to support you." 8. To this the head chief of the Mossynœci answered that they were pleased with the proposal, and would consent to the alliance. 9. "Well, then," said Xenophon, "for what purpose will you want to make use of us, if we become your allies, and how far will you be able to assist us with regard to our passage through the country?" 10. They replied, "We shall be able to make an irruption, from the further side, into the country of those who are enemies to both you and us, and to send hither for you, both ships and men, who will be your auxiliaries, and guide you on your way." 11. Having given and received pledges on these terms, they departed.

The next day they returned with three hundred canoes,[1] and three men in each, of whom two disembarked, and formed in line under arms, while the third remained on board. 12. The latter sailed off with the canoes, and those who were left behind, ranged themselves in the following manner. They drew up in lines, of about a hundred men in each, like rows of dancers fronting one another, all bearing shields made of the hides of white oxen, with the hair on, shaped like an ivy-leaf, and in their right hand a spear six cubits long, with a point at the upper end, and at the lower a round knob formed from the wood of the shaft. 13. They were clad in short tunics, that did not reach to their knees, of the thickness of a linen bag for bed-clothes,[2] and had on their heads helmets made of leather like those of the Paphlagonians, with a plait of hair round the middle, nearly resembling a tiara; they had also battle-axes of iron. 14. One of them next went forward, and all the rest following him, singing to a tune; and then, passing through the lines and heavy-armed troops of the Greeks, they proceeded straight toward the enemy, to attack a fortress, which appeared easy to be assailed, 15. and which was situated in front of the city which they call their metropolis, occupying the highest point in the country of the Mos-

stead of *εἶναι*: but *ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν* easily leads us to the conception of the verb *διαπράξεσθε*. *Kühner*.

[1] *Πλοῖα μονόξυλα.*] Boats made of the trunk of a single tree hollowed out.

[2] *Λινοῦ στρωματοδέσμου.*] A bag or sack in which slaves had to pack up bed-clothes, *e. g.* for their master, when he was going to travel. Aristoph. Fr. 249; Plato Theæt. § 84, ubi vide Heindorf.

synœci. It was about this stronghold that the present war had arisen; for those who for the time being held this position, were regarded as chief of all the Mossynœci; and they said that the other party had seized it unjustly, and, by appropriating to themselves a common possession, had gained the ascendency over them. 16. Some of the Greeks followed these men, not by orders from their officers, but for the sake of plunder. While they were advancing, the enemy were quiet for a time, but, as they drew near the fort, they sallied out and put them to flight, killing several of the Barbarians, and some few of the Greeks that went up with them, and continued the pursuit until they saw the main body of the Greeks coming to the rescue. 17. They then turned and fled, and, cutting off the heads of the slain, exhibited them to the Greeks and their own enemies, dancing and singing, at the same time, to some kind of tune.

18. The Greeks were much vexed on this occasion, because they had rendered the enemy bolder, and because their own men, who had gone out with the party in considerable numbers, had run away; a circumstance which had never before happened during the expedition. 19. Xenophon, however, calling the Greeks together, said, "Do not be cast down, soldiers, at what has happened, for be assured that the good which has occurred is not less than the evil. 20. In the first place, you are now convinced that those who are to guide us, are in reality enemies to those to whom it is necessary for us also to be enemies. In the next, those of the Greeks who were regardless of our discipline, and thought themselvas able to do as much in conjunction with the Barbarians as with us, have paid the penalty of their rashness; so that on any other occasion they will be less inclined to desert our body. 21. And it is now incumbent on you so to prepare yourselves, that you may appear to such of the Barbarians as are your friends to be superior to them in courage, and to prove to your enemies that they will not fight with the same kind of men now, as when they fought with those who were in disorder."

22. Thus they rested for that day. On the next, when they had sacrificed, and found favorable omens, and had taken their breakfast, they formed themselves into columns, ranging the Barbarians on the left in the same way, and marched forward with the archers between the columns, keep-

ing a little within the front ranks of the heavy-armed troops, for some of the enemy's light-armed men ran down and hurled stones at them. 23. These the archers and peltasts tried to keep in check; the rest of the Greeks proceeded at a slow pace, in the first place, toward the fortress, from which the Barbarians, and the Greeks who were with them, had been repulsed the day before; for here the enemy were drawn up to oppose them. 24. The Barbarians awaited the charge of the peltasts, and engaged with them; but when the heavy-armed came up, they took to flight, when the peltasts immediately pursued them up the hill to the metropolis, and the heavy-armed followed in order. 25. As soon as they had reached the top, and were close to the houses in the metropolis, the enemy, being now collected in a body, encountered and hurled lances at them; and, using other spears of great thickness and length, such as a man could hardly carry, they endeavored to defend themselves with them hand to hand.

26. As the Greeks however did not give way, but engaged them in close combat, they fled also from this part, abandoning the place entirely. But their king who resided in a wooden tower,[1] built upon an eminence, and whom, while he lives there, they all maintain and guard[2] in common, would not consent to come out, nor would those who were in the fortress that was first taken,[3] but were burned there together with the towers. 27. The Greeks, in ransacking the place, found in the houses stores[4] of bread, laid up, as the Mossynœci themselves said, according to their hereditary practice, and the new corn put by in the straw; the most of it was spelt. 28. Sliced flesh of dolphins,[5] too, was found pickled in jars, and fat of dolphins also in other vessels, which

[1] Μόσσυνι.] *Μόσσυν, ξύλινος, πῦργος*, as appears from Diod. Sic. xiv. 30. Apoll. Rhodius lengthens the *υ*, ii. 1018, 1019, as well as Dionysius Periegetes, v. 766. The form *μοσσύνοις* from *μόσσυνος* occurs below; but Schneider, on the suggestion of Buttmann, reads *μοσσύνοιν*, that Xenophon may be consistent with himself.

[2] *Φυλάττουσι.*] This reading is adopted by Dindorf from a conjecture of Brunck, ad Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1030, which was approved by Porson, and is supported by Pomponius Mela, i. 19: "The Mossyni maintain their king shut up in a tower."

[3] That which is mentioned in sect. 15. *Kühner.*

[4] *Θησαυρούς.*] *Apothecas, receptacula, cellas.* Zeune.

[5] The Chalybes also are said to pickle dolphins, and use their fat, by Strabo, xii. 3, p. 27.

the Mossynœci used as the Greeks use oil. 29. In the upper part of the houses were vast stores of chestnuts,[1] of the broad kind, without any fissure; these they use in great quantities for food, boiling them and baking loaves of them. Wine was likewise found, which, when unmixed, seemed sour to the taste by reason of its roughness, but mixed with water, was both fragrant and sweet.

30. The Greeks, after dining here, proceeded on their march, delivering up the place to the tribe of Mossynœci that had become their allies. As for the other towns at which they arrived, belonging to the people on that side of the enemy, the Barbarians deserted such as were most accessible, while the inhabitants of others willingly came over to them. 31. Most of these places were situated thus: they were distant from one another about eighty stadia, some more, some less; yet the inhabitants could hear each other calling out from one town to another; so mountainous and hollow is the country.

32. When the Greeks, advancing onward, arrived in the country of their friends they showed them some boys, sons of the richer sort of people, extremely fat (having been fed on boiled chestnuts), very soft and fair-skinned, and not far from being equal in height and breadth, painted also on their backs with various colors, and tattooed all over their fore-parts with flowers.[2] 33. They wanted to have intercourse in public with the mistresses that the Greeks had with them; for such is their custom. Both the men and women were very fair. 34. Those engaged in this expedition said that these were the most barbarous of all the people they passed through, and furthest removed from the manners of the Greeks; for they do those things in a crowd which other men would do in private, or would not venture to do at all; and they acted, when alone, just as they would have acted in company with others;

[1] Κάρυα] The commentators rightly understand *castaneæ nuces*, chestnuts, of which the name was taken from Castana, a city of Thessaly, where they were first cultivated by the Greeks: see Pollux, i. 233; Salmas. Exercit. Plin. p. 425. *Kühner*.

[2] Ἀνθέμιον.] So Leunclavius, Schneider, Kühner, and most of the commentators interpret. Zeune, from Hesychius's definition of *ἀνθέμιον*, "*γραμμή τις ἑλικοειδής ἐν τοῖς κίοσι*," is disposed to think that the people were *tattooed in front with spiral lines*, but this notion, says Kühner, *minimè placet*.

they talked to themselves, laughed to themselves, and stopped and danced wherever they happened to be, as if they were exhibiting themselves to others.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks pass through the territories of the Chalybes, and arrive at Cotyora, a colony from Sinope, in those of the Tibareni. Not being hospitably received, they subsist by plundering the neighboring country, and that of the Paphlagonians. The people of Sinope complain of these depredations, but are appeased by the reply of Xenophon.

1. Through this country, partly hostile and partly friendly, the Greeks proceeded eight days' journey, and arrived among the Chalybes. This people are few in number, and subject to the Mossynœci; and the subsistence of most of them is procured by working in iron. 2. They next came to the Tibareni, whose country was much more level, and contained some towns on the sea-coast, not very strongly fortified. Upon these places the generals were inclined to make an attack, and thus in some degree to benefit the army; and accordingly they did not receive the offerings of hospitality that were sent them from the Tibareni, but ordered those who brought them to wait till they had considered how to act, and then proceeded to sacrifice. 3. After offering several victims, all the augurs at last gave their opinion that the gods by no means approved of war. They then accepted the presents, and, marching on, as through a country belonging to friends, they arrived in two days at Cotyora, a Greek city, a colony from Sinope, situated in the territory of the Tibareni.

4. Thus far the army had proceeded by land. The length of their journey down the country, from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, was a hundred and twenty-two days' march, six hundred and twenty parasangs, or eighteen thousand six hundred stadia; and the length of time spent in it was eight months.

5. Here they staid forty-five days; during which they first sacrificed to the gods, and then each of the Greeks, according to their tribes, celebrated processions and gymnastic

games. 6. Their provisions, meanwhile, they took partly from Paphlagonia, and partly from the lands of the Cotyorites; for they refused to permit them to purchase, or to receive their sick within the walls.

7. During this state of things embassadors came from the people of Sinope, who were in fear about the city of Cotyora (for it belonged to them, and the inhabitants paid them tribute), and about the land, as they had heard that it was being ravaged. Having arrived at the camp, they said (Hieronymus, who was thought a man of eloquence, speaking for the rest), 8. "The people of Sinope, soldiers, have sent us hither, first of all, to offer you commendation, because, being Greeks, you have overcome the Barbarians, and next to congratulate you on having arrived here safe, as we hear, through many and great struggles. 9. But we think it right that, as we ourselves are Greeks, we should receive favor, and not injury at the hands of you who are Greeks; for we have certainly never been aggressors in doing you any ill. 10. The people of Cotyora are colonists of ours, and we gave them this land after having taking it from the Barbarians; on which account they pay us as an appointed tribute, in the same manner as the people of Cerasus and Trebisond; so that whatever evil you do to them, the city of Sinope will consider itself aggrieved by it. 11. We are now informed that, having entered the town by force, you are quartered, some of you, in the houses, and are taking whatever you want from the neighborhood without having obtained the people's consent. 12. These proceedings we can not approve, and, if you continue to act thus, it will be necessary for us to make friends of Corylas and the Paphlagonians, and whomsoever else we may be able to attach to us."

13. In reply to these complaints Xenophon rose up and spoke in behalf of the army as follows: "We, O men of Sinope, have come hither, content with having preserved our persons and our arms; for to bring away spoil with us, and at the same time to fight with our enemies, was impossible; 14. and now, since we arrived among the Greek cities (at Trebisond for example, for there they allowed us to buy), we have got our provisions by purchase; and in return for the honors which they did us, and the presents which they gave to the army, we paid them every respect, and abstained from

injuring any of the Barbarians that were their friends, while to their enemies, against whom they led us, we did as much harm as we could. 15. Inquire of them (for the men, whom, through friendship, the city sent along with us as guides, are present here), what sort of persons they found us. 16. But whithersoever we come and find no opportunity of purchasing, whether to a country of Barbarians or of Greeks, we take provisions for ourselves, not tyrannically, but from necessity. 17. Thus we made the Carduchi, the Taochi, and the Chaldæans (not subjects of the king indeed, but very formidable people), our enemies, by being under the necessity of taking provisions from them, as they gave us no opportunity to buy; 18. but the Macrones, since they afforded us every facility for purchasing that they could, we regarded, though Barbarians, as friends, and took nothing from them by force. 19. But as for the people of Cotyora (who, you say, are your subjects), for whatever we have taken from them they themselves are to be blamed; for they did not make advances to us as friends, but, shutting their gates, would neither admit us within their walls, nor offer us provisions for sale without; and they alleged that the governor appointed by you was the cause of these proceedings. 20. With regard to your remark that we have entered the city and lodged ourselves in it by force, we requested them to receive our sick under their roofs; but, when they would not open their gates, we, effecting an entrance where the place itself would admit us,[1] committed no further act of violence; and the sick now lodge in the houses, living upon their own means; while we place a guard at the gates, only that our disabled soldiers may not be in the hands of your governor, but that it may be in our power to remove them when we wish. 21. The rest of us, as you see, are encamped in order in the open air, prepared, if any one does us a service, to do him a service in return; if an injury, to defend ourselves against him. 22. And as to your threat that, if you think proper, you will make Corylas and the Paphlagonians your allies against us, be assured that we, if it be necessary, will fight with you both (for we have already fought with

[1] Ἐδέχετο αὐτὸ τὸ χωρίον.] *Quà nos ipse locus recipiebat:* h. e. *quà nobis per ipsius loci naturam licebat urbem intrare.* Kühner. Schneider's text has *οὐκ ἐδέχοντο*, but all the modern editors concur with Dindorf.

enemies much more numerous than you), or, if we think fit, we will make the Paphlagonian leader our friend, 23. for we have heard that he covets both your city and all the other places on the sea. We shall try to become his friends by assisting him in the attainment of what he desires."

24. After this speech the colleagues of Hecatonymus testified manifest displeasure at what he had said, and another of them, coming forward, said that they were not come to make war, but to declare that they were friends. "And if you come," he continued, "to the city of Sinope, we will receive you there, with tokens of friendship, and, for the present, we will desire the people here to supply you with what they can; for we see that all you state is true." 25. The people of Cotyora then sent presents to the army, and the generals of the Greeks entertained the embassadors from Sinope; and they conversed with one another about many other things that concerned them, and inquired about such particulars as each party wanted to know respecting the remainder of the route.

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks, by the advice of Hecatonymus, resolved to proceed by sea, if the people of Sinope will send them ships enough for their conveyance. A project of Xenophon's to build a city in Pontus is frustrated by the treachery of Silanus. Several of the Greeks are inclined to settle in Pontus.

1. SUCH was the end of that day. On the next, the generals assembled the soldiers, and it was resolved to call in the embassadors from Sinope and consult them about the rest of their journey; for, if it should be necessary to proceed by land, the Sinopeans seemed likely to prove useful as guides, as they were well acquainted with Paphlagonia; or if by sea, it appeared that they would want the aid of the Sinopeans, for they were the only people that seemed able to furnish a sufficient number of ships for transporting the army. 2. Having requested the attendance of the embassadors, therefore, they asked their opinion, and desired that, being Greeks, they would in the first place receive them well[1] both by being

[1] The student will find the original, in this passage, somewhat ob-

kind to them as Greeks, and by advising them for the best.

3. Hecatonymus, rising up, first stated in apology for his observation "that they would make the Paphlagonian their friend," that he had said this, not to imply that they were going to make war upon the Greeks, but that they would prefer the friendship of the Greeks though they had the option of becoming friends to the Barbarians. When they called upon him to give them his advice, he spoke, with an appeal to the gods, to the following effect; 4. "If I advise you what seems to me to be best, may many good things befall me; if not, things of a contrary nature; for that sort of counsel, which is said to be *sacred*,[1] appears now to be required; and, if I shall be thought to have advised you well, there will be many of you to applaud me, and if ill, many of you to execrate me. 5. I am aware, then, that we ourselves shall have much more trouble if you proceed by sea, for it will be necessary for us to furnish the vessels; while, if you go by land, it will fall upon you to fight your way. 6. However, I must tell you what I know; for I am well acquainted both with the country of the Paphlagonians and with their strength. As for the country, it presents many beautiful plains, and mountains of a very great height; 7. and I know, in the first place, the part where you must certainly make your entrance into it, for it is impossible to enter it at any other point than where the peaks of a mountain rise to a vast height on each side of the road, which a handful of men in possession of them would be able to defend;[2] and, if they are pre-occupied, not even all the

scure, as the accusative that *δέχεσθαι* should govern is wanting, and *Ἕλλησι* is given in anticipation of *εὔνους*, on which it undoubtedly depends. To make it depend on *ὄντας*, with Henry Stephens, is manifestly erroneous.

[1] An allusion, without doubt, to the proverb *ἱερὸν χρῆμα ἡ σύμβουλή*, or *ἱερὰ ἡ συμβουλή*, concerning which see Hesychius, Suidas, and Phavorinus; also Zenobii Proverbb. 4. 20, ibique Schottus; also Erasmi Chiliadd. 2. 1. 47. Erasmus cites Plato, Epist. 5, and observes that *ἱερά* is also applied to the anchor which the sailors cast out as their last resort in danger. Zeune remarks that *ἱερόν* is applied to whatever is great and distinguished in its kind, so that Xonophon may mean the best and most important counsel. *Sturz.* Lex. Xenoph. s. v. *συμβουλή*.

[2] *Κρατεῖν*.] Krüger makes this verb equivalent to *defendere*. Kühner understands with it *τῶν πολεμίων*, "to prove superior to their enemies."

men in the world would be able to force a passage. These I could show you, if you would send any body with me. 8. Beyond, I know that there are plains, and a body of cavalry which the Barbarians themselves think superior to all the king's cavalry; and, on a recent occasion, they did not join him when he summoned them, as their leader[1] has too high a spirit to do so. 9. But if you could even pass the mountains unobserved, or anticipate the enemy in taking possession of them, and could defeat their cavalry, as well as more than a hundred and twenty thousand infanty, in battle on the plain, you would in the next place come to rivers, first to the Thermodon, three hundred feet in breadth, which I consider difficult to pass, especially with a large number of enemies before you, and an equal number following you behind; next to the Iris, three hundred feet broad also; and, thirdly, to the Halys, not less than two furlongs in breadth, which you would be unable to cross without boats; and with boats who would supply you? The Parthenius, too, at which you would arrive if you were to pass the Halys, is equally impassable. 10. I consider this way, therefore, not merely as difficult, but as absolutely impracticable. But if you go by sea, you may sail along the coast from hence to Sinope, and from Sinope to Heraclea; and from Heraclea there will be no difficulty in proceeding either by land or sea, as there are plenty of vessels at Heraclea."

11. When he had given this advice, some suspected that he had given it through friendship for Corylas, as he was a public guest-friend of his; others thought that he was to receive a reward for his counsel; and others, again, imagined that he had thus advised them, in order that they might not, by marching through the territory of the Sinopeans, do any damage to it. The Greeks, however, gave their votes for going by sea.

12. Xenophon then said, "O men of Sinope, the soldiers have chosen the mode of traveling which you advise; and the matter now stands thus: if the vessels are to be furnished

Krüger's method is the more simple. "This pass appears to be situated in the range of mountains which extends northward into the sea, to form the cape Jasonium, now *Yasun Burnu.*" Ainsworth, p. 205.

[1] Corylas.

in sufficient numbers, so that not a man of us be left here, we will sail; but if some of us are to be left here, and others to sail, we shall not go on board the vessels at all; 13. for we are sure that wherever we are the stronger, we shall be able both to save ourselves and to get provisions, but that if we are any where found weaker than our enemies, it is quite clear we shall be in the condition of slaves." 14. The embassadors, on hearing this statement, desired the Greeks to send an embassy to Sinope. They accordingly sent Callimachus an Arcadian, Ariston an Athenian, and Samolas an Achæn; all of whom immediately set out.

15. In the mean time, when Xenophon contemplated the numerous body of heavy-armed Greeks, as well as the great number of peltasts, archers, slingers, and cavalry, rendered extremely efficient by exercise, that were now in Pontus, where so large a force could not be collected without great expense, it appeared to him that it would be an honorable undertaking to acquire territory and power for Greece by founding a city there. 16. He thought that such a city might become great, when he considered both the number of the Greeks themselves, and that of the surrounding inhabitants of Pontus. With reference to this project he offered a sacrifice, summoning to it Silanus of Ambracia, who had been augur to Cyrus, before he spoke on the subject to any one of the soldiers. 17. Silanus, fearing that the scheme might take effect, and that the army might form a settlement somewhere, spread a report through the army that Xenophon wanted them all to remain there, and form a city, and thus give him fame and power. 18. But what Silanus himself wished, was to set off for Greece as soon as possible, as he had saved the three thousand darics that he had received from Cyrus, when, sacrificing for him, he gave a true prediction concerning the ten days.[1] 19. As to the soldiers, when they heard of the matter, some thought it best to stay there, but the majority were of a different opinion; and Timasion the Dardanian and Thorax the Bœotian told some merchants of Heraclea and Sinope who happened to be there, that if they did not procure pay for the troops so that they might have provisions on the voyage, there would be danger of so great an army

[1] i. 7. 18.

remaining in Pontus; for Xenophon, said they, is forming this project, and desires us, when the vessels have arrived, suddenly to say to the army, 20. "Soldiers, we observe that we are now at a loss both how to get provisions for our voyage, and how to benefit our families on returning home. But if you are inclined to select some spot, wherever you please, in the inhabited country around the Euxine, and to take possession of it, allowing those to go home who are desirous to go, and those who are willing, to settle here, you have ships at command, so that you may make a sudden descent upon any part you may think proper." 21. The merchants, on hearing this account, communicated it to their cities; and Timasion the Dardanian sent with them Eurymachus, also a Dardanian, and Thorax the Bœotian, to make the same statement. The people of Sinope and Heraclea, as soon as they learned this, sent to Timasion, and engaged him, on receipt of a certain sum of money, to use his influence in bringing it to pass that the army might sail out of the Euxine. 22. He willingly listened to this proposal, and made a speech, in an assembly of the soldiers to the following purport: "We ought not to give our thoughts, soldiers, to remaining here; or to esteem any other country as preferable to Greece. I hear, however, that certain persons are sacrificing with a view to this object, without informing you of it. 23. But, if you will sail out of the Euxine, I engage to give each of you monthly a stater of Cyzicus[1] as pay, computing from the first day of the month; and I will then conduct you to Troas, from whence I am an exile, and my city shall aid you, for my countrymen will gladly receive me. 24. I will also guide you to places from which you may get wealth, for I am well acquainted with Æolia, Phrygia, Troas, and all the satrapy of Pharnabazus, partly from being a native of that quarter, and partly from having served there with Clearchus and Dercyllidas.

25. Thorax the Bœotian, who was always contending with Xenophon for the chief command, immediately[2] stood up, and said, that if they sailed out of the Euxine, there would be

[1] Worth about 22*s.* 9*d.* according to Hussey, ch. vi. sect. 4.

[2] Dindorf, with most other editors, has αὖθις. I have thought proper to follow Schneider in reading εὐθύς, which occurs in two manuscripts.

before them the Chersonese,[1] a fine and rich country; so that such as wished might settle there, and such as were unwilling to do so might return home; adding that it was ridiculous, when there was abundance of rich land in Greece, to seek settlements in a country of Barbarians. 26. "And until you arrive there," said he, "I, as well as Timasion, engage that you shall have pay." This he said from having learned what the people of Heraclea and Sinope had promised on condition that they sailed away. Xenophon, in the mean time, was silent. 27. Philesius and Lycon, however, both Achæans, rose up and observed that it was intolerable that Xenophon should privately persuade the soldiers to remain, and sacrifice with a view to their stay, not allowing the army to participate in the sacrifice, and saying nothing on the subject to the general council. Xenophon was in consequence obliged to rise and speak as follows:

28. "I sacrifice, as you see, soldiers, to the best of my ability, both for you and for myself, in order that I may say, and think, and do such things as may be most honorable and advantageous both for yourselves and me; and I was just now sacrificing about this very consideration, whether it would be better to proceed to speak and treat with you on this subject, or not to touch on the point at all. 29. Silanus the augur informed me, what was the most important particular, that the victims were favorable, but added (for he knew that I was not unskilled in such matters, from being constantly present at the sacrifices), that some fraud and treachery was indicated against me by the sacrifices, as being conscious, forsooth, that he himself was treacherously purposing to calumniate me to you; for he it was that spread the report that I intended to carry this scheme into execution without gaining your consent. 30. If indeed I had seen you in want, I should have meditated some scheme, of which the result might have been that you, after possessing yourselves of some town,[2] might sail home, such of you as were inclined, immediately, and such as were not so, after they had acquired sufficient to be of some benefit to their families. 31. But since I see the people of Heraclea and Sinope sending you vessels to sail in, and

[1] The Thracian Chersonese.

[2] Πόλιν.] Haken thinks that Xenophon meditated taking possession of the city of Cotyora. Comp. sect. 15.

individuals here promising you pay from the beginning of the month, it appears to me an excellent thing for us, after getting safe where we wish to be, to receive pay for allowing ourselves to be preserved;[1] and I myself, accordingly, give up this project, and think that all who have come to me saying that we ought to act in this manner, should give it up likewise. 32. For what I think is this; that while you continue together, as at present, in large numbers, you are likely to be held in honor, and to find provisions (since in superior strength lies the privilege of taking what belongs to the weaker); but if you are divided, and your force broken into small bodies, you will neither be able to procure subsistence, nor effect a departure to your satisfaction. 33. My opinion, consequently, is the same with your own, that we ought to set out for Greece, and that if any one remain here, or be found leaving any one behind, before the whole army is in a place of safety, he be brought to trial as a criminal. And by whomsoever," he added, "these sentiments are approved, let him hold up his hand." They all held them up.

34. But Silanus cried out in opposition, and attempted to show that such as wished to leave the army ought to be allowed to do so. This proposition, however, the soldiers would not endure, but threatened that, if they caught him running away, they would inflict punishment on him. 35. Soon after, when the Heracleans learned that it was resolved to sail out of the Euxine, and that it was Xenophon who had put the matter to the vote they sent the ships; but about the money for pay, which they had promised to Timasion and Thorax, they broke their word. 36. In consequence, those who had engaged for its payment were confounded, and in dread of the army. Taking with them, therefore, the rest of the

[1] *Μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας λαμβάνειν.*] An elegant expression, with a certain irony, for if one person is saved by another, he does not receive, but give, a reward for his preservation. Compare vii. 6. 30: *μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας*, "he gave you in addition a reward for the safety which he secured you." With like humor Xenophon says in his Memorabil. ii. 6. 4, *εὖ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται*: and so v. 8. 13, *δσόις σῴζεσθαι μὲν ἤρκει δι' ὑμᾶς.* That this very nicety of language has led to corruption of the passage, is not at all surprising. *Kühner.* Hutchinson and Leunclavius read *πορείας*, which occurs in some manuscripts, and which Bornemann is inclined to prefer.

generals, those at least to whom they had communicated what they were previously attempting (and these were all except Neon of Asina,[1] who commanded under Cheirisophus, and Cheirisophus had not yet returned), they went to Xenophon, and told him that they were sorry for what had been done, and that it seemed the best course to them, since they had vessels, to sail to the river Phasis, and take possession of the country of the Phasians, of whom a grandson of Æetes[2] happened then to be king. 37. Xenophon replied that he would propose nothing of the sort to the troops, "but assemble them yourselves," said he, "and lay the matter before them if you please." Timasion the Dardanian then gave his opinion that they should not call a general assembly, but that each of the leaders should endeavor, in the first place, to persuade his own men. They accordingly went off and put this plan in execution.

CHAPTER VII.

Xenophon, being accused of encouraging the army to sail to the Phasis, defends himself in a formal speech, and is the means of bringing certain of the soldiers, who had some time before insulted the embassadors from Cerasus, to punishment.

1. THE soldiers now learned that these matters were in agitation; and Neon of Asina told them that Xenophon, having brought the other generals over to his side, was resolved to deceive the army and take them back again to the Phasis. 2. The soldiers, on hearing this account, were greatly displeased, meetings began to be held, and knots collected among them; and they gave great reason to fear that they would act as they had done to the heralds of the Colchians and the commissaries of the market; for as many of them as had not escaped to the sea had been stoned.[3] 3. As soon as

[1] A town of Laconia; he is accordingly called Λακωνικός, vii. 2. 29.

[2] Æetes was a common name of the kings of Colchis. Strabo, i. 2, p. 71.

[3] Of this affair no account has been given; but it is told below, sect

Xenophon observed this state of things, he thought proper to call the army immediately together, and not to leave them to collect of their own accord. He therefore ordered the herald to summon a general assembly, 4. and the troops, when they heard the herald's voice, hastened to the meeting with the greatest alacrity. Xenophon did not accuse the other generals of having come to him,[1] but addressed the troops thus:

5. "I hear, soldiers, that some one accuses me of intending to deceive you, and to take you to the Phasis. Hear me therefore, in the name of the gods, and if I appear to have done wrong, I ought not to depart hence till I have suffered due punishment; but if, on the contrary, my accusers are proved to be in the wrong, treat them, I beseech you, as they deserve. 6. You doubtless know," he continued, "where the sun rises and where it sets, and that whoever intends to go to Greece must proceed toward the west, and whoever would go to the Barbarians, in the contrary direction, toward the east; and is there any one, then, who would be able deceitfully to persuade you that the sun rises in this quarter and sets in that, sets here, and rises there?[2] 7. You also know that the north wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea toward Greece, and the south wind inward toward the Phasis; and you exclaim, when the north wind blows, that it is fair sailing for Greece. Is it possible, then, that any one could deceive you with regard to this, to induce you to embark when the south wind is blowing? But you will say, perhaps, I shall put you on board when it is calm. 8. I however shall sail but in one ship, and you in a hundred at least; and how then could I force you to sail with me against your will, or lead you away by deceit? 9. But I will suppose that you are deceived and bewitched by me, and arrive at the Phasis; we then land in the country; you will know very well that you are not in Greece, and I, who have deceived you, shall be but one, while

13–25. Weiske blames Xenophon for this omission, if it be not rather, he says, the fault of transcribers. Krüger defends Xenophon on the ground that he wished to avoid repetition.

[1] Of having come to him to propose an invasion of the country of the Phasians, c. 6, sect. 36.

[2] We must suppose the speaker to point to the different quarters as he alluded to them. Schæfer (Meletem. Crit. p. 3), and Weiske have proposed other readings of the passage, but there seems to be no just cause for disturbing it

you who have been deceived, will be nearly ten thousand, with arms in your hands; and how could one individual more effectually bring vengeance on himself than by planning thus concerning himself and you? 10. But these charges proceed from foolish men, and men who are jealous of me because I am honored by you; though indeed they are jealous without reason; for which of them do I hinder from speaking before you, if he has any thing to propose for your advantage, or from fighting, if he wishes, for you and himself, or from watching, if he cares to do so, for your safety? When you choose officers, do I stand in the way of any one? I am ready to resign; let another[1] take the command; only let him show that he would do something for your advantage. 11. What I have said, however, upon this point, is sufficient. But if any one of you thinks that he could of himself have been deceived in this matter, or that any other person could have deceived him in it,[2] let him speak and make known his thoughts to us.

12. "When you are satisfied on this head, do not disperse until you have heard something of a sort of conduct, which, I perceive, is beginning to show itself among the troops; for if it goes on, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is time for us to consider about ourselves, that we may not appear in the sight of gods and men, of enemies and friends, to be the basest and most infamous of all men, and bring ourselves utterly into contempt." 13. The soldiers, on hearing these words, wondered what the matter could be, and desired him to proceed. He accordingly resumed his speech: "You are aware that there were some places upon the mountains belonging to the Barbarians, and in alliance with the people of Cerasus, from which some of the inhabitants came down to us, and offered to sell us cattle for sacrifice, and such other things as they had. Some of you seem to have gone to the nearest of these places, and to have made some purchases and returned. 14. Clearchus, one of the captains, understanding that this place was small and unguarded, because the people supposed that they were in friendship with us, went against

[1] He seems to allude to Thorax, the Bœotian, mention c. 6, sect. 19. *Hutchinson.*

[2] Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, κ. τ. λ.] *Si quis verò vestrûm putet vel fieri posse aut ut ipse se ita deceperit, aut alius ipsum ita deceperit.* Bornemann.

it in the night to plunder it, without telling any of us of his intention. 15. He had purposed, if he should take the place, not to return again to the army, but, embarking in a vessel, in which his comrades were sailing along the coast, and putting on board whatever he got, to sail clear away out of the Euxine. His companions in the vessel had concerted all this with him, as I now learn. 16. Assembling therefore as many as he could induce to follow him, he led them toward the place. But daylight overtook him on his way, and the inhabitants collecting together, and hurling missiles, and using other weapons, from their places of defense, killed Clearchus and several of the rest; some few of them retreated to Cerasus. 17. These occurrences happened on the day on which we set out hither from Cerasus by land, and while some of those who were to sail[1] along the coast were still at Cerasus, not having as yet weighed anchor. After this, as the people of Cerasus state, three of the older men came from the place, desiring to have an interview with our common assembly. 18. As they did not find us, they told the people of Cerasus that they wondered why we had thought of attacking them. The people of Cerasus, however, said that when they told them that the outrage had not been committed by public authority, they were delighted, and were going to sail hither to give us an account of what had happened, and to invite those who wished it to take their dead and bury them. 19. But some of the Greeks that had fled happened to be still at Cerasus, and discovering whither the Barbarians were going, had the daring to throw stones at them themselves, and encouraged others to do the same. Thus these men, the three deputies, were stoned to death.

20. "When this crime was committed, some of the people of Cerasus came to us, and gave us an account of the affair. We, the generals, on listening to it, were greatly concerned at what had happened, and consulted with the men from Cerasus how the dead Greeks might be buried. 21. As we were sitting in council, outside the quarters of the heavy-armed men, we suddenly heard a great outcry of voices, 'Strike, strike, throw, throw!' and immediately saw a great number of men running together with stones in their hands, and others pick-

[1] Τῶν πλεόντων.] See c. 4, sect. 1; c. 3, sect. 1.

ing them up. 22. The people of Cerasus, as having witnessed what had happened among themselves, retreated in fear to their vessels; and there were some of us, by Jove, who were also in fear. 23. I, for my part, went up to them, and asked them what the matter was. Some of them knew nothing about it; and yet had stones in their hands. When at length I met with one who did know, he told me that the commissaries of the market were treating the army in a manner not to be endured. 24. At this moment one of the soldiers perceived the commissary Zelarchus retreating toward the sea, and called out; the rest, hearing the cry, rushed toward him as if a wild boar or a stag had appeared. 25. The men of Cerasus, seeing the soldiers hurrying in their direction, and thinking that they were coming to attack them, fled in all haste, and threw themselves into the sea; when some of our men threw themselves in likewise, and such as did not know how to swim were drowned. 26. Why do you think that these men fled? They had done no wrong; but they were afraid that some madness, like that of dogs, must have seized our men. If things are to go on thus, consider what will be the state of our army. 27. You, as a body, will not have the privilege either of commencing war with whom you please, or of breaking it off, but every man that chooses may lead off troops of his own will, on whatever enterprise he thinks proper. And if any deputies come to you, to ask for peace or any thing else, whoever pleases may, by putting them to death, prevent you from hearing the requests of those who apply to you. 28. Besides, those whom you have all elected generals, will then be of no authority, but whoever may elect himself general, and be inclined to cry 'Throw, throw,' will be able to put to death either officer or private among you, whomsoever he pleases, without a trial, at least if men be found, as in this recent instance, to obey him.

29. "Consider, too, what these self-elected leaders have done for you. If Zelarchus the commissary has done you any wrong, he has sailed off without making any atonement to you; if he has done you none, he has fled from the camp for fear of being put to death unjustly and without trial. 30. Those who stoned the deputies have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerasus, unless with a powerful force; and with regard to the dead, whom, previously,

those that killed them invited you to bury, they have rendered it no longer safe for you to carry them off, even though attended with a herald's staff. Who, indeed, that has killed heralds, will be willing to go as a herald? However, we have requested the people of Cerasus to bury them.

31. "If these proceedings be right, let them be sanctioned by you, in order that, as such conduct is to be pursued, every man may procure a guard for himself, and endeavor to pitch his tent in a strong and advantageous position.[1] 32. But if such acts appear to you rather those of wild beasts than of men, contrive some mode of putting a stop to them; or, if you do not, how, in the name of Jupiter, shall we sacrifice to the gods with any satisfaction, while we are guilty of impious deeds? Or how shall we fight with our enemies, if we kill one another?[2] 33. Or what city will receive us with friendship, that sees such lawlessness among us? Or who, with any confidence, will offer us provisions for sale, if we are found to offend in things of such moment?[3] Or, in the country where we expected to obtain the praise of all, who will praise us if we bear such a character? For I am very certain that we should pronounce others, who should be guilty of such acts, to be bad men."

34. In consequence they all stood up and said that the leaders in these proceedings should suffer punishment; that for the future it should be forbidden to enter upon any lawlessness of the kind, and that whoever attempted any, should be put to death; that the generals should bring all such persons to trial; and that there should be trials also in case any person had been wronged in any way since Cyrus was killed. The captains they appointed to be judges. On the motion of

[1] Τὰ ἐρυμνὰ ὑπερδέξια—ἔχων σκηνοῦν.] *Munita et edita loca.* Bornemann. *Tutum præsidium quærat. Kühner.* Ὑπερδέξιος is properly *high on the right,* hence taken to signify *cammanding, advantageous.* Krüger, however, thinks that either ἐρυμνά or ὑπερδέξια should be struck out of the text. But it is not likely that ὑπερδέξια was interpolated. Perhaps Xenophon, as he pronounced the word, pointed to some strong position on his right.

[2] Referring to the treatment of the Greeks of Cerasus, sect. 15–23.

[3] Περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τοιαῦτα.] This appears principally to allude to the murder of the heralds, which was the most grievous violation of the rights of nations, and of the ordinances of religion; but in some measure also to the ill-treatment of the ἀγορανόμος. *Balfour.*

Xenophon, too, and with the concurrence of the augurs, it was resolved to purify the army. The purification accordingly took place.

CHAPTER VIII.

A resolution is passed that the generals shall give an account of their conduct. Xenophon is accused by some of the soldiers of having inflicted stripes upon them. Xenophon acknowledges the facts, but amply justifies his conduct.

1. It was resolved also that the generals should give an account of their conduct during the time past; and when they gave it, Philesius and Xanthicles were condemned, for their negligent custody of the cargoes of the merchant ships,[1] to pay the sum that was deficient, namely, each twenty minæ;[2] and Sophænetus was fined ten minæ, because, being chosen a general, he had neglected his duty.

Some also brought accusations against Xenophon, alleging that they had been beaten by him; and made their charges on the ground that his conduct had been tyrannical. 2. Xenophon, standing up, called upon him who had spoken first,[3] to say where he had been beaten. He replied, "Where we were perishing with the cold, and where the greatest fall of snow was." 3. Xenophon rejoined, "If, during such severe weather as you mention, when provisions were failing us, when we had not wine even to smell to,[4] when many of us were exhausted with fatigue, and the enemy were close behind us, if, I say, I acted tyrannically at such a time, I acknowledge that I must have been more spiteful even than asses,[5] in which they say that from spite fatigue is not pro-

[1] See v. 1. 16.

[2] About £81 5*s.*, the mina being valued at £4 1*s.* 3*d.* Hussey, ch. iii. sect. 12.

[3] The word *πρῶτον* occurs twice in Dindorf's and most other texts. Bornemann and Kühner judiciously omit the second.

[4] *Οἴνου δὲ μηδ' ὀσφραίνεσθαι παρόν.*] "And it not being in our power even to smell to wine." Krüger would read *παρόντος*, which would be an improvement, though certainly no change is necessary.

[5] *Τῶν ὄνων ὑβριστότερος.*] A proverbial expression. The commentators adduce Lucian, Pseudologist. 3: *εἰδέναι ὄνων ἁπάντων ὑβριστότατόν*

duced. 4. Tell us, however, for what cause you were beaten. Did I ask you for any thing, and beat you when you would not give it me? Or did I demand any thing back from you, or was I fighting about any object of affection, or did I abuse you in a fit of intoxication?" 5. As he said that there was nothing of this kind, Xenophon asked him whether he was one of the heavy-armed men? He answered, "No." Whether he was one of the peltasts? He said that he was not, but was a free-man, set to drive a mule by his comrades. 6. Xenophon now recognized him, and asked him, "Are you the man that was carrying the sick person?" "I certainly am," replied he, "for you compelled me to do so, and scattered about the baggage of my comrades." 7. "The scattering," rejoined Xenophon, "was something in this way; I distributed it to others to carry, and directed them to bring it to me again; and, on receiving it, I restored it all safe to you, after you had produced the man that I gave you in charge. But hear," he continued, "how the affair happened; for it is worth your while. 8. A man was left behind because he was no longer able to continue his march; I knew nothing of the man but that he was one of us; and I obliged you to carry him, that he might not perish; for, as I believe, the enemy were in pursuit of us." This the man acknowledged. 9. "Then," said Xenophon, "after I had ordered you to go before, I soon overtook you, and found you, as I came up with the rear-guard, digging a pit for the purpose of burying the man; when I stopped and commended you. 10. But as the man, while we stood by, drew in his leg, all who were present cried out that he was alive; and you said, 'He may be as much alive as he likes, for I shall not carry him.' Upon this I struck you; you say but the truth; for you seemed to me to have been aware[1] that the man *was* alive." 11. "What

σε ὄντα. Piscat. 34; ἀσελγεστέρους τῶν ὄνων. *Kühner*. The latter quotation, however, is to be understood *de libidine*, with which, as Schneider observes, we have nothing to do here, the allusion being only to the malice of the animal, which it will exhibit even under the greatest sufferings. "Every body knows," says Spelman, "that asses, and mules their offspring, have such an inbred viciousness, that no fatigue can subdue it." Spelman may be rather too positive in saying that *every body knows;* but the proverb shows that such notion must have prevailed among the Greeks.

[1] Ἔδοξας—εἰδότι ἐοικέναι.] "You seemed to me to be like one knowing."

then," exclaimed the accuser, "did he the less die, after I had shown him to you?" "We shall all die," rejoined Xenophon, "but must we for that reason be buried alive?" 12. At this all the assembly cried out that Xenophon had not beaten him enough.

He then called upon the rest to state on what account each of them had been struck. 13. But as none of them stood forward, he said, "I acknowledge, fellow-soldiers, that I have beaten men for leaving their ranks; such men as were content to be saved by our exertions, and, while we marched in order and fought where it was necessary, tried, by quitting their places, and hurrying on before us, to get plunder, and gain in that respect an advantage over us. Had we all acted in this way, we should all have perished. 14. I also struck some, and forced them to march, who were giving way to inaction, unwilling to rise, and abandoning themselves to the enemy; for I myself, when I was once waiting, during the excessive cold, for some of the men to pack up their baggage, and had sat for a considerable time, found that I could hardly get up and stretch my legs. 15. Having therefore had experience in my own person, whenever afterward I saw any other sitting down and indulging in sloth, I drove him on; for motion and manful exertion created a certain warmth and suppleness, but sitting and inaction, I observed, contributed to the congealing of the blood, and the mortification of the toes, which you know that many have suffered. 16. Others, perhaps, who had loitered behind from indolence, and who hindered both you who were in front, and us who were in the rear, from advancing, I may have struck with my fist, that they might not be struck with the spear of the enemy. 17. Those, therefore, who have thus been preserved, may now, if they have suffered any thing from me contrary to justice, obtain redress; but if they had fallen into the hands of the enemy, what injury could they have suffered of such magnitude, as that they would ever have claimed to get satisfaction for it![1] 18. My case," he proceeded, "is plain; for if I have

[1] Τί *μέγα ἂν οὕτως ἔπαθον ὅτου δίκην ἂν ἠξίουν λαμβάνειν*;] The sense of this passage is excellently given by Amasæus: *Quid tam grave passi essent, ut eo nominè eum, à quo violati essent, judicio persequi possent?* *i. e.* they would not have been able to get satisfaction even for the severest injury. *Kühner.* If they had fallen into the hands of the ene-

punished any one for his good, I am willing to make such atonement as parents make to their children and masters to their scholars. Surgeons, too, cut and cauterize for the good of their patients. 19. But if you imagine that I acted thus from a love of tyranny, consider that I have now, through the favor of the gods, more spirit than I had then, and am bolder now than I then was, and drink a greater quantity of wine, and yet strike no one; for I see you now in a calm; 20. but when a storm rises, and a great sea sets in, do you not observe that the commander in the prow,[1] even for a mere nod, is angry with those in the fore-part of the vessel, and the steersman angry with those in the stern, because, in such circumstances, even small mistakes are sufficient to ruin every thing? 21. Even you yourselves, however, have pronounced that I struck these men, on those occasions, with justice, for you stood by with swords, not voting-pebbles, in your hands, and might have taken their part if you had thought proper. But, by Jupiter, you neither took their part, nor joined with me in punishing the disorderly; 22. and you have in consequence, by letting them alone, given encouragement to the bad men among them to grow audacious; for you will find, I think, if you will but examine, that those who were then the worst, are now the most audacious characters. 23. Boiscus, for instance, the Thessalian boxer, strove earnestly, on pretense of sickness, not to carry his shield; and now, as I hear, he has robbed many of the people of Cotyora. 24. If therefore you are wise, you will treat this man in a way, the reverse of that in which they treat dogs; for dogs, when they are spiteful, men tie up in the day, and let loose in the night; but him, if you exercise your judgment, you will tie up in the night, and let loose only by day. 25. But I wonder," he added, "why, if I gave offense to any of you, you bear it in mind, and do not fail to speak of it, while, if I relieved any

my, they would have been unable to get redress for any injury, however great.

[1] Πρωρεύς.] The *proreta*, he who had the command of the rowers in the fore-part of the vessel, and who was next in rank to the *gubernator*. *Kühner*. An officer whose business it was to keep a look-out, as the sailors call it, at the head of the ship. I am informed that we have no term, in our naval institution, that properly explains it; that of *pilot*, the gentlemen of the navy tell me, comes the nearest to it. *Spelman*.

of you during the cold, or kept off any enemy from you, or supplied any of you, in any way, when sick and in want, no one makes mention of these services; nor, if I have commended any one for good conduct in any case, or have honored any man, as far as I could, for valiant exertion, does any of you remember these occurrences. 26. Yet is it more honorable, and just, and upright, and pleasing, to treasure in the memory good acts than bad."

They accordingly rose up, and called to mind his services;[1] and the result was[2] that things were settled satisfactorily.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

The Greeks receive an embassy from the satrap of Paphlagonia, with whom they make peace. They sail from Cotyora to Sinope, where they determine to elect a commander-in-chief, and fix upon Xenophon, who declines the office; and they then choose Cheirisophus, who had just returned with vessels from Anaxibius.

1. From this time the Greeks, during their stay here, subsisted partly by purchasing provisions, and partly by plundering the country of Paphlagonia; while the Paphlagonians, on their part, secretly intercepted, and with great adroitness, the straggling soldiers, and made attempts, during the night, to annoy those who were encamped at the outposts. In con-

[1] Ἀνεμίμνησκον.] As this verb has no substantive dependent on it, the critics have been in doubt what turn to give it. Schneider's method has obtained most favor: "Commemorabant beneficia Xenophontis." Amasæus gives "se memores esse testificati sunt," which is much to the same purpose. There is no other suggestion worth notice.

[2] Περιεγένετο.] *Res ista hunc exitum habuit* (*huc evasit*) *ut pulchrè se haberent omnia.* Stephanus. So Brodæus, Schneider, Poppo, and the majority of the commentators. Schneider happily refers to Thucyd. vi. 24; i. 32; iv. 12; to which Kühner adds Demosth. Ol. i. 10. 4. Some have given to περιεγένετο the sense of *vicit*, and referred it to Xenophon; as Muretus: *Et vicit Xenophon eos, qui sibi calumniam intendebant.* But the judgment of recent editors has completely set aside this view of the passage.

sequence of these proceedings they conceived the most hostile feelings toward each other. 2. Corylas, however, who was then governor of Paphlagonia, sent deputies to the Greeks with horses and beautiful robes, to say that "Corylas was desirous neither to injure the Greeks nor to receive injury from them." 3. The generals replied, that "they would consider of the matter with the army;" but received them at the same time with hospitality, and invited such of the officers as they thought most eligible[1] to meet them; 4. when, having killed some of the oxen that they had captured, and other cattle, they set before them a plentiful entertainment, of which they partook reclining on mats made of grass,[2] and drank out of horn cups which they had found in the country.

5. As soon as the libations were over, and they had sung the pæan, two Thracians rose up, and danced in full armor, to the sound of a pipe; they leaped very high, and with great agility, and wielded their swords; and at last one struck the other, in such a manner that every one thought he had killed him, 6. (he fell, however, artfully) and the Paphlagonians cried out; the other, having despoiled him of his arms, went out singing the Sitalces;[3] while other Thracians carried off the man as if he had been dead; though indeed he had suffered no hurt. 7. Afterward some Ænians and Magnesians stood up, and danced what they call the Carpæan[4] dance, in heavy arms. 8. The nature of the dance was as follows: one man, having laid aside his arms, sows, and drives a yoke of oxen, frequently turning to look back as if he were afraid.

[1] Δικαιοτάτους.] Such as *had the best claim or title* to be invited, δίκαιοι being here used in the sense of *dignus*, "deserving," as in the phrase δίκαιός εἰμι, on which see Kühner ad h. l., and Bornemann ad Conviv. iv. 15.

[2] Στιβάσιν.] Kühner reads σκίμποσιν, "low couches," which occurs in five manuscripts, and of which, being a rarer word, he considers στιβάσιν to be a mere interpretation. I follow the definition of Hesychius.

[3] A song in which they seem to have celebrated the praises of one of their kings named Sitalces. There were many Thracian kings of that name; see Herod. iv. 80; Thucyd. ii. 29.

[4] Τὴν καρπαίαν.] Perhaps from καρπός, fruit, one of the parties being a sower; or from καρπός, the wrist, the wrists of one being bound. The former derivation appears the more plausible. This dance is also described by Maximus Tyrius, Diss. xii. p. 128, ed. Davies, though not so fully as by Xenophon.

A robber then approaches, and the other man, when he perceives him, snatches up his arms and runs to meet him, and fights with him in defense of his yoke of oxen (and the men acted all this keeping time to the pipe); but at last the robber, binding the other man, leads him off with his oxen. Sometimes, however, the plowman binds the robber, and then, having fastened him to his oxen, drives him off with his hands tied behind him.

9. Next came forward a Mysian, with a light shield in each hand, and danced, sometimes acting as if two adversaries were attacking him; sometimes he used his shields as if engaged with only one; sometimes he whirled about, and threw a summerset, still keeping the shields in his hands, presenting an interesting spectacle. 10. At last he danced the Persian dance,[1] clashing his shields together, sinking on his knees, and rising again; and all this he performed in time to the pipe.

11. After him some Mantineans, and others of the Arcadians, coming forward and taking their stand, armed as handsomely as they could equip themselves, moved along in time, accompanied by a pipe tuned for the war-movement,[2] and sung the pæan, and danced in the same manner as in the processions to the gods. The Paphlagonians, looking on, testified their astonishment that all the dances were performed in armor. 12. The Mysian, observing that they were surprised at the exhibition, and prevailing on one of the Arcadians, who had a female dancer, to let her come in, brought her forward, equipping her as handsomely as he could, and giving her a light buckler. She danced the Pyrrhic dance[3] with great agility, and a general clapping followed; 13. and the Paphla-

[1] Τὸ Περσικόν.] This Persian dance, from the frequent bendings of the knee in it, they called *ὄκλασμα*, according to Pollux, iv. 100. *Zeune.* Brunck ad Aristoph. Thesmoph. 1175, refers to Meursii Orchestra in *ὄκλασμα* and Περσική.

[2] Πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμόν.] To a tune adapted for a dance in armor. The commentators adduce Schol. Aristoph. Nub. 651; Sturz, Lex. Xenoph.; and Phavorinus in *ἐμμέλεια* and *κατενόπλιον*. *Kühner.*

[3] A kind of dance in arms which was sometimes performed to the sound of trumpets and timbrels, and accompanied with every gesture of the body used in giving and avoiding blows. See Sturz, Lex. Xen.; Beck ad Aristoph. Av. 1169; Gronov. Thesaur. i. p. 1280 and 1525; Ast ad Plat. Legg. p. 352; Müller's Dorians, vol. ii. p. 337. *Kühner.*

gonians asked whether the women fought along with the men; when they replied that it was the women who had driven the king from his camp.[1] This was the conclusion of the entertainments for that night.

14. Next day the generals brought the deputies before the army; and it was resolved by the soldiers that "they would neither injure the Paphlagonians nor suffer any injury from them." The deputies then took their departure; and the Greeks, as a sufficient number of ships seemed to be ready, went on board, and sailed all that day and the following night, with a fair wind, keeping Paphlagonia on the left; 15. and the day after, they arrived at Sinope, and cast anchor in Harmene, the harbor of that city. The Sinopeans are situate in the Paphlagonian territory, but are colonists of the Milesians. They sent the Greeks, as a mark of hospitality, three thousand medimni[2] of flour, and fifteen hundred ceramia[3] of wine. 16. Here Cheirisophus now arrived with some galleys: the soldiers expected that he was bringing them something; but he brought them nothing. He announced, however, that Anaxibius the admiral, and the rest of the Lacedæmonians, gave them great praise; and that Anaxibius[4] engaged, if they would come away from the Euxine, that they should have pay.

17. The troops staid five days at Harmene; and as they considered that they were now near Greece, it became an object with them, even more than before, to return home with some booty in their possession. 18. And they thought that, if they made choice of one general, that single person would be better able to manage the army, whether by night or day, than it was managed under the existing government of several; so that if it should be necessary for them, in any case, to conceal their designs, they would be concealed more effectually, and if to anticipate the movements of the enemy, they would be less likely to be behind-hand; as there would then be no need of conferences, but whatever was determined by the one commander would be put in execution; whereas the generals

[1] An extravagant allusion, says Krüger, to what is said in i. 10. 3.

[2] The medimnus is estimated as equal to 11 gallons, 7.1456 pints, English, in Smith's Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant. art. *Medimnus.*

[3] The κεράμιαν is considered by Hussey, xiii. 4, as equal to the Roman *amphora*, or 5 gallons, 7.577 pints, English.

[4] See v. 1. 4.

had hitherto done every thing by the vote of the majority.[1] 19. While they were contemplating this scheme, they turned their thoughts to Xenophon; and the captains came to him and said that the army was of this opinion, and each, expressing his good-will toward him, endeavored to induce him to undertake the command. 20. Xenophon was in some degree inclined to listen to the proposal, when he reflected that, by this means, greater honor would fall to him, that his name would reach his friends and his country with greater glory, and that possibly he might also be the cause of some advantage to the army. 21. Such considerations influenced him to desire to become commander-in-chief. But when, on the other hand, he remembered how uncertain it is to all men what the future will produce, and that, consequently, he would be in danger of losing the reputation which he had already acquired, he felt uncertain how to act.

22. While he was perplexed as to his decision, it appeared to him that the best thing that he could do was to lay the matter before the gods; and having placed by the altar two victims,[2] he sacrificed to Jupiter the King, who had been pointed out to him as the god that he should consult, by the oracle at Delphi; and he thought that he had received from that god the dream which he saw, when he was first appointed to take charge of the army. 23. He called to mind also, that when he was going from Ephesus to join Cyrus, an eagle cried on his right, in a sitting posture however, which, as the augur, who accompanied him, said, was an omen portending something great, above the fortunes of a private individual; foretelling what was honorable, but toilsome, since other birds attack the eagle chiefly when sitting; and he added that the omen was not at all indicative of gain, as the eagle mostly secured prey when flying. 24. While he was sacrificing on the present occasion, the god clearly directed him not to seek any additional command, and not to accept it if they should elect him; and this was the issue of the matter. 25. The army however came together, and all suggested that one commander should be chosen; and, as it was resolved to

[1] Ἐκ τῆς νικώσης.] Sc. γνώμης, from the prevailing opinion or vote.

[2] Two victims were brought, that if favorable omens were not obtained from the first, the second might be used. *Zeune.*

do so, they proposed Xenophon. As it seemed evident too that they would elect him, if any one should put it to the vote, he rose up and spoke as follows: 26. "My fellow-soldiers, I am delighted, as I have the feelings of a man, at receiving honor from you, and am grateful for it, and pray that the gods may grant me to be the author of some advantage to you; but that I should be preferred to be your leader, when a Lacedæmonian is present, appears likely to be of no advantage either to you or me; on the contrary, it seems probable that if you should require assistance from them, you would on this very account be less likely to obtain it. I moreover think such a dignity by no means safe for me; 27. for I see that the Lacedæmonians never ceased making war on my country until they made the whole people acknowledge that the Lacedæmonians were masters of them as well as of others;[1] 28. though, when they made this confession, they at once desisted from hostilities, and no longer besieged the city. If therefore, seeing this state of things, I should seem, where I have the power, to render their supremacy uninfluential, I am apprehensive lest I should very soon be reminded of my duty. 29. As to your opinion, that there will be less faction among you under one commander than under many, be assured that, if you choose another, you will not find me factious; for I consider that he who in war quarrels with his commander, quarrels with his own safety; whereas, if you should elect me, I should not wonder if you should find people show resentment against both you and myself."

30. After he had thus spoken, far more persons than before rose up, and said that he ought to take upon him the command. Agasias of Stymphalus said that it would be ridiculous if things should be in such a state, since the Lacedæmonians might then be enraged even if a party met to sup together did not choose a Lacedæmonian as president of their banquet. "If such be the case," added he, "it is not proper even for us, it would seem, to be captains, because we are Arcadians." Upon this the assembly showed by a murmur their opinion that Agasias had spoken well.

31. Xenophon, seeing that there was need of something

[1] Alluding to the consequences of the Peloponnesian war, by which the supreme power over Greece fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. *Kühner.*

additional on his part, came forward and said, "But, my fellow-soldiers, that you may be fully informed on this subject, I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses, that after I learned your inclination, I sought to ascertain by sacrifice whether it would be better for you to confer this command upon me, and for me to undertake it, or not; and they gave me such manifest signs, by the victims, that even an untaught person[1] would have understood that I ought to decline the command." 32. They in consequence chose Cheirisophus, who, when he was elected, stood forward and said, "Be assured of this, my fellow-soldiers, that I should have made no factious opposition, if you had chosen another. However," added he, "you have done a service to Xenophon by not electing him, as Dexippus[2] has recently been accusing him to Anaxibius, as far as he could, although I tried as much as possible to silence him. Dexippus[3] also said that he thought Xenophon[3] would rather be joined in command with Timasion, a Dardanian, over the army of Clearchus, than with himself, a Lacedæmonian. 33. But," he continued, "since you have chosen me, I will endeavor, on my part, to do you all the service that I can. Prepare yourselves, accordingly, to sail to-morrow, if it be weather for sailing. Our course will be for Heraclea, and it is incumbent on you all to do your utmost to reach it. Of other matters we will consider when we have arrived there."

CHAPTER II.

The Greeks sail to Heraclea, where disagreements arise among them, and they separate into three parties; one, the most numerous, formed of Arcadians and Achæans, who create for themselves ten captains; a second attached to Cheirisophus; and a third to Xenophon.

1. Weighing anchor from hence the next day, they sailed with a fair wind along the coast for two days. In their

[1] Ἰδιώτην.] A private person; a person who was not a professional sacrificer or augur.

[2] v. i. 15.

[3] Ὁ δὲ——αὐτόν.] I take these pronouns, with Bornemann and Kühner, to mean Dexippus and Xenophon. Timasion had been elected in the place of Clearchus, iii. 1. 47. Xenophon appears to show his willingness to act with Clearchus in what is related, iii. 2. 37.

course they saw the Beach of Jason, where the Argo is said to have been moored; and the mouths of certain rivers, first that of the Thermodon, then that of the Iris, next that of the Halys, and finally that of the Parthenius. After sailing by the last, they arrived at Heraclea, a Greek city, a colony of Megara, situate in the territory of the Maryandyni. 2. They came to anchor near the Acherusian Peninsula, where Hercules is said to have gone down to bring up the dog Cerberus, and where they now show marks of his descent to the depth of more than two stadia. 3. The people of Heraclea sent the Greeks, as tokens of hospitality, three thousand medimni[1] of barley-meal, and two thousand ceramia[2] of wine, with twenty oxen and a hundred sheep. Here a river named Lycus runs through the plain, in breadth about two hundred feet.

4. The soldiers, assembling together, began to deliberate, with regard to the rest of the way, whether it were proper to proceed by land or sea, until they were beyond the Euxine. Lycon, an Achæan, rising up, said, "I wonder at the generals, my fellow-soldiers, for not endeavoring to procure us money to buy provisions; for the presents received will not furnish subsistence to the army for three days; nor is there any place from whence we can get provisions as we proceed on our journey. It appears to me, therefore, that we ought to ask of the people of Heraclea not less than three throusand Cyzicene staters."[3] 5. Another exclaimed, "Not less than ten thousand," and proposed that, having chosen deputies, we should send them at once to the city, while we were sitting there, and hear what report they brought, and take measures accordingly. 6. They then proposed, as deputies, first Cheirisophus, because he was general-in-chief, and others then named Xenophon; but both resolutely refused; for they concurred in opinion that they ought not to compel a Greek city, and one in friendship with them, to supply them with any thing that the inhabitants did not offer of their own accord. 7. As they showed themselves resolved, therefore, not to go, the army sent Lycon the Achæan, Callimachus a Parrhasian, and Agasias of Stymphalus; who, going to the town, informed the people of the resolutions just passed. It was said, too, that Lycon even threatened them with violence,

[1] vi. 1. 15. [2] vi. 1. 15. [3] v. 6. 23.

if they did not comply with these demands. 8. The Heracleans listened to them, and said that they would consider of the matter, and then immediately collected their property out of the fields, and conveyed the provisions exposed for sale into the city. At the same time the gates were shut, and armed men appeared upon the walls.

9. In consequence the authors of these dissensions accused the generals of having defeated their plan; and the Arcadians and Achæans began to hold meetings together, Callimachus the Parrhasian and Lycon the Achæan being mostly at their head. 10. The remarks among them were, that it was disgraceful that one Athenian, who had brought no force to the army, should have the command of Peloponnesians and Lacedæmonians; that they had the labor, and others the profit, although they themselves had secured the general safety; for that those who had accomplished this object were Arcadians and Achæans, and that the rest of the army was comparatively nothing (and in reality more than half the army were Arcadians and Achæans); 11. and therefore these, they said, if they were wise, should unite together, and, choosing leaders for themselves, should proceed on their way separately, and endeavor to secure themselves something to their profit. 12. To this proposal assent was given; and whatever Arcadians and Achæans were with Cheirisophus, leaving him and Xenophon, united with the rest, and all chose ten captains of their own; and they appointed that these should carry into execution whatever should be decided by the vote of the majority. The command of Cheirisophus over the whole army was thus ended on the sixth or seventh day after he had been elected.

13. Xenophon was inclined to pursue his way in company with them, thinking that this method would be safer than for each to proceed separately. But Neon persuaded him to go by himself, as having heard from Cheirisophus that Cleander the governor of Byzantium had said that he would come with some galleys to the harbor of Calpe; 14. and he gave Xenophon this advice, therefore, in order that no one else might take advantage of this opportunity, but that they themselves only, and their own soldiers, might sail on board these galleys. As for Cheirisophus, who was both disheartened at what had occurred, and who from that time conceived a disgust at the

army, he allowed Xenophon to act as he thought proper. 15. Xenophon was also inclined to detach himself from the army altogether, and to sail away; but as he was sacrificing to Hercules the Conductor, and consulting him whether it would be better or more advisable to march in company with such of the soldiers as remained, or to take leave of them, the god signified by the victims that he should march with them. 16. The army was thus divided into three bodies; the Arcadians and Achæans, to the number of more than four thousand five hundred men, all heavy-armed; the heavy-armed with Cheirisophus, in number fourteen hundred, with seven hundred peltasts, the Thracians of Clearchus; and seventeen hundred heavy-armed men, with three hundred peltasts, under Xenophon, who was the only one that had any cavalry, a body of about forty horsemen.

17. The Arcadians, having procured ships from the people of Heraclea, were the first to set sail with the view of getting as much booty as they could by making a sudden descent upon the Bithynians, and accordingly disembarked at the harbor of Calpe, somewhere about the middle of Thrace. 18. Cheirisophus, proceeding straight from the city of Heraclea, marched through the territory belonging to it; but when he entered Thrace, he kept along near the sea, for he was then in ill-health. 19. Xenophon, having obtained vessels, landed on the confines of Thrace and the region of Heraclea, and pursued his way through the inland parts.

CHAPTER III.

The Arcadians land at Calpe, and make an incursion into the territory of the Bithynians, where they are defeated by the enemy, and in danger of being cut to pieces; Xenophon proceeds to rescue them. All the Greeks join Cheirisophus at Calpe.

[1] 1. EACH of these three parties fared as follows. The Arcadians, disembarking by night at the port of Calpe, marched

[1] Two or three lines, which occur in some copies at the beginning of this chapter, are not translated. They are not found in the best manuscripts, and are rejected by Bornemann, Dindorf, and Kühner.

off to attack the nearest villages, lying about thirty stadia from the sea. As soon as it was light, each of the officers led his own division against a village; but against any village that appeared larger than the rest, they led two divisions together. 2. They fixed also upon a hill on which they were all to re-assemble. As they fell upon the people unexpectedly, they seized a great number of slaves and surrounded several flocks of cattle.

4. But the Thracians,[1] as fast as they escaped, collected themselves into a body; and, as they were light armed, the number that escaped, even from the very hands of the heavy-armed men, was great. As soon as they were collected, they proceeded, in the first place, to fall upon the division of Smicres, one of the Arcadian captains, who was marching away to the place agreed upon, and carrying with him considerable booty. 5. For a while the Greeks defended themselves as they pursued their march, but, as they were crossing a ravine, the Thracians put them to the rout, and killed Smicres and all his party. Of another division of the ten captains, too, that of Hegesander, they left only eight men alive, Hegesander himself being one of those that escaped. 6. The other captains joined him at the appointed spot, some with difficulty, and others without any.[2] The Thracians, however, in consequence of having met with this success, cheered on one another, and assembled in great spirits during the night. At day-break, numbers of horsemen and peltasts ranged themselves in a circle round the hill upon which the Greeks had encamped; 7. and as more came flocking to them, they attacked the heavy-armed men without danger, for the Greeks had neither archers, nor javelin-men, nor a single horseman, while the Thracians, running and riding up, hurled their darts among them, and when the Greeks offered to attack them, retreated with ease. 8. Some attempted one part, and some another; and many of the assailed were wounded, but none of the assailants. The Greeks were in consequence unable to move from the spot, and at last the Thracians cut

[1] The Asiatic or Bithynian Thracians, who inhabited the villages which the Arcadians had attacked. See c. 2, sect. 17.

[2] *Σὺν πράγμασιν—ἄνευ πραγμάτων.*] *Difficulter——sine negotio.* Kühner. So Leunclavius and Bornemann. I mention this, because Schneider, following Amasæus, makes *πράγματα* equivalent to *χρήματα*, *præda.*

them off even from water. 9. As their distress was great, they began to speak of terms of surrender; and other points were agreed upon between them, but when the Greeks demanded hostages, the Thracians refused to give them; and upon this the treaty was stopped. Such were the fortunes of the Arcadians.

10. Cheirisophus, meanwhile, advancing unmolested along the coast, arrived at the harbor of Calpe. As for Xenophon, while he was marching through the middle of the country, his horsemen riding on before him, fell in with some embassadors who were on their journey to some place. As they were conducted to Xenophon, he inquired of them whether they had any where heard of another Greek army. 11. They gave him, in reply, an account of all that had occurred, saying that the Greeks were then besieged upon a hill, and that the whole force of the Thracians was collected round them. He therefore had these men strictly guarded, that they might act as guides wherever it might be necessary, and then, after stationing scouts, he called together his soldiers and addressed them thus:

12. "Soldiers, some of the Arcadians are killed, and others are besieged upon a hill; and I think that, if they are destroyed, there will be no hope of safety for us, the enemy being so numerous and so daring. 13. It seems best for us, therefore, to march to their relief with all possible speed, that, if they still survive, we may join with them in their struggle, and not, being left alone, meet danger alone. 14. Let us for the present, then, pitch our camp, marching on, however, until it seems time to sup,[1] and while we are on the march, let Timasion, with the horse, ride on before, but keeping us still in sight, and let him reconnoiter the country in front, that nothing may take us by surprise." 15. He dispatched, at the same time, some of the most active of the light-armed men to the parts on either flank, and to the hills, that if they saw any thing threatening in any quarter, they might give notice of it.

[1] *Ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καιρὸς εἶναι εἰς τὸ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι.*] Only so far, that they would not be fatigued or exhausted before they went to supper. This is Weiske's interpretation, and better than Krüger's, who supposes that Xenophon was thinking of a place for pitching the camp, not too near to the enemy, lest the troops should be obliged to fight before they could take their supper.

He ordered them also to burn whatever combustible matter they met with; 16. "for," said he, "we could not flee from hence to any place of refuge; since it is a long way to go back to Heraclea, and a long way to go over to Chrysopolis; and the enemy are close at hand. To the harbor of Calpe, indeed, where we suppose Cheirisophus to be, if he is safe, the distance is but short; but even there, there are neither vessels in which we can sail from the place, nor subsistence, if we remain, even for a single day. 17. Should those who are besieged, however, be left to perish, it will be less advantageous for us to face danger in conjunction with the troops of Cheirisophus only, than if the besieged are preserved, to unite all our forces, and struggle for our safety together. But we must go resolved in mind that we have now either to die gloriously, or achieve a most honorable exploit in the preservation of so many Greeks. 18. Perhaps some divinity orders it thus, who wishes to humble those who spoke boastfully, as if they were superior to us in wisdom, and to render us, who commence all our proceedings by consulting the gods, more honored than they are. You must follow, then, your leaders, and pay attention to them, that you may be ready to execute what they order."

19. Having spoken thus, he led them forward. The cavalry, scattering themselves about as far as was safe, spread fire wherever they went, while the peltasts, marching abreast of them along the heights, burned whatever they found that was combustible, as did the main body also, if they met with any thing left unburned by the others; so that the whole country seemed to be on fire, and the Greek force to be very numerous. 20. As soon as it was time, they mounted a hill and encamped, when they caught sight of the enemy's fires, which were distant about forty stadia; and they themselves then made as many fires as they could. 21. But as soon as they had supped, orders were given to put out all the fires; and, having appointed sentinels, they went to sleep for the night. At dawn of day, after praying to the gods, and arranging themselves for battle, they continued their march with as much haste as they could. 22. Timasion and the cavalry, taking the guides with them, and riding on before the rest, found themselves, before they were aware, upon the hill where the Greeks had been besieged, but saw no troops, either

of friends or enemies, but only some old men and women, and a few sheep and oxen that had been left behind; and this state of things they reported to Xenophon and the army. 23. At first they wondered what could have happened; but at length they learned from the people who were left that the Thracians had gone off at the close of the evening and the Greeks in the morning, but whither they did not know.

24. Xenophon and his party, on hearing this account, packed up their baggage, after they had breakfasted, and pursued their journey, wishing, as soon as possible, to join the rest of the Greeks at the harbor of Calpe. As they proceeded, they perceived the track of the Arcadians and Achæans on the way to Calpe; and when they met, they were pleased to see one another, and embraced like brothers. 25. The Arcadians then asked Xenophon's men why they had put out their fires,[1] "for we," said they, "thought at first, when we saw no more fires, that you were coming to attack the enemy in the night; (and the enemy themselves, as they appeared to us, went off under this apprehension, for they disappeared about that time); 26. but as you did not come, and the time passed by, we concluded that you, hearing of our situation, had been seized with alarm, and had retreated to the sea-coast; and we determined not to be far behind you. Accordingly we also marched in this direction.

CHAPTER IV.

Description of Calpe. The army resolve that it shall be a capital offense to propose another separation. Neon leads out a party of two thousand men to get provisions, contrary to the omens; he is attacked by Pharnabazus, and obliged to retire with the loss of five hundred men. Xenophon covers his retreat.

1. This day they remained encamped upon the shore near the port. The spot which is called the harbor of Calpe, is situate in Asiatic Thrace; and this division of Thrace, beginning from the mouth of the Euxine Sea, extends on the right of a person sailing into the Euxine, as far as Heraclea. 2. From Byzantium to Heraclea it is a long day's passage for a

[1] This question is not answered. See sect. 21.

galley with oars; and in the space between these cities there is no other town belonging to the Greeks or their allies; but the Bithynian Thracians occupy it; and whatever Greeks they capture, cast ashore by shipwreck or any other accident, they are said to treat with great cruelty. 3. The harbor of Calpe itself lies half-way between Heraclea and Byzantium, as people sail from either side.[1] On the sea there is a promontory jutting out; that part of it which reaches down into the water is a steep rock,[2] in height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty fathoms; the neck of the promontory, which reaches up to the mainland, is in breadth about four hundred feet; and the space within the neck is large enough to afford accommodation for ten thousand men. 4. The harbor lies close under the rock, with its coast toward the west. A spring of fresh water, flowing copiously, is close by the sea, and under cover of the promontory. Abundance of wood, of various other sorts, but especially of such as is good for ship-building,[3] grows along the coast. 5. The mountain[4] at the harbor[5] extends inland about twenty stadia, and this part of it has a soil of mold, free from stones; the other part along the sea, to the distance of more than twenty stadia, is covered with plenty of large trees of every kind. 6. The surrounding country is beautiful and of great extent, and there are in it many populous villages; for the soil produces barley, wheat, all kinds of leguminous vegetables, millet, sesame, figs in abundance, plenty of vines yielding a sweet wine, and every thing else but olive-trees. 7. Such is the nature of the country.

The Greeks took up their quarters on the shore by the sea. In the part which might have been ground for a city[6] they

[1] Ἐν μέσῳ μὲν κεῖται ἑκατέρωθεν πλεόντων, κ. τ. λ.] "Lies in the middle of those sailing from either side, from Heraclea and Byzantium."

[2] Πέτρα ἀπορρώξ.] Now called *Kirpê*, or *Kefken Adasi*, according to Ainsworth, p. 218.

[3] "This is so much the case now, that it is designated by the Turks as the *Aghaj Denizi*, or 'sea of trees.'" Ainsworth, p. 218.

[4] Now *Kefken Tagh*, according to Ainsworth.

[5] Τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι.] Bornemann and Kühner regard these words as a mere gloss, and have included them in brackets.

[6] Εἰς δὲ τὸ πόλισμα ἂν γενόμενον, κ. τ. λ.] *In locum qui facilè oppidum futurus fuisset*, seu *ubi facilè oppidum condi potuisset, noluerunt castra transferre.* Zeune. A general suspicion seems to have pre-

were unwilling to encamp; for even their approach to it appeared to have been the effect of some insidious design, from the belief that certain persons were desirous to found a city there. 8. For most of the soldiers had sailed from home upon this service, not from want of subsistence, but from having heard of the merit of Cyrus, some even bringing men with them, others having spent money on the enterprise, others having left their fathers and mothers, others their children, in hope of returning when they had collected money for them, for they heard that other Greeks who were with Cyrus were acquiring considerable wealth.[1] Being men of such character, they longed to return in safety to Greece.

9. When the day after their meeting together began to dawn, Xenophon offered sacrifice with regard to an expedition, for it was necessary to lead out the troops to get provisions: and he was also thinking of burying the dead. As the victims were favorable, the Arcadians also accompanied him, and buried the greatest part of the dead where they had severally fallen; for they had now lain five days, and it was no longer possible to bring them away; some of them however they gathered together out of the roads, and buried as becomingly as they could with the means at their command; while for those, whom they could not find, they erected a large cenotaph, [with a great funeral pile,][2] and put garlands upon it. 10. Having performed these rites, they returned to their camp, and, after they had supped, went to rest.

Next day all the soldiers held a meeting; (Agasias of Stymphalus, one of the captains, and Hieronymus of Elis, also a captain, and others, the oldest of the Arcadian officers, were the most active in bringing them together;) 11. and they passed a resolution, that if any one for the future should pro-

vailed among the troops that Xenophon was desirous to detain them there, for the purpose of founding a city. Compare sect. 14, and 23, *init.*; also c. 6, sect. 4. See Thirlwall's History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 352.

[1] Πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ πράττειν.] "Were doing (for themselves) many and good things;" were faring abundantly and well.

[2] Καὶ πυρὰν μεγάλην.] These words are preserved as genuine by Dindorf (who observes, however, that they are wanting in three manuscripts), but are thought spurious by Zeune and Schneider, and utterly ejected from the text by Poppo and Kühner. Zeune remarks that he had never read of a funeral pile being erected in conjunction with a cenotaph.

pose to divide the army, he should be punished with death; and that the army should return homeward in the same order in which it was before,[1] and that the former leaders should resume the command. Cheirisophus was now dead, from having taken some drug[2] during a fever; and Neon of Asina took his place.

12. After this Xenophon stood up and said, "It seems evident, fellow-soldiers, that we must pursue our journey by land, for we have no ships; and it is necessary for us to set out at once, for there are no provisions for us if we remain. We will therefore," he continued, "offer sacrifice; and you must prepare yourselves, if ever you did so, to fight; for the enemy have recovered their spirit." 13. The generals then offered sacrifice; and Arexion the Arcadian assisted as augur; for Silanus of Ambracia had already fled, having hired a vessel from Heraclea. They sacrificed with a view to their departure, but the victims were not favorable. 14. This day therefore they rested. Some had the boldness to say that Xenophon, from a desire to settle a colony in the place, had prevailed on the augur to say that the victims were unfavorable to their departure. 15. Xenophon, in consequence, having made proclamation that whoever wished might be present at a sacrifice on the morrow, and having given notice also, that if there was any augur among the soldiers, he should attend to inspect the victims with them, made another sacrifice, and a great number of persons were present at it; 16. but though they sacrificed again three times with reference to their departure, the victims were still unfavorable to it. The soldiers were on this account extremely uneasy, for the provisions which they had brought with them were exhausted, and there was no place near for them to purchase any.

17. They therefore held another meeting, and Xenophon said, "The victims, as you see, fellow-soldiers, are not yet favorable for our departure; and I see that you are in want of provisions. It seems to me necessary, therefore, to offer sacrifice with regard to this matter." 18. Here some one rose

[1] That is, that the soldiers should severally return to the companies in which they were serving before the secession of the Arcadians and Achæans took place, and that thus each officer should have his own men again.

[2] *Φάρμακον.*] Some interpret *φάρμακον* "poison." *Kühner.*

up and said, "It is with good reason, indeed, that the victims are unfavorable; for, as I heard from a person belonging to a vessel that came in yesterday by accident, Cleander, the governor of Byzantium, is on the point of coming hither with transport vessels and galleys." 19. In consequence they all resolved to stay. But it was necessary to go out for provisions; and to this end sacrifice was again offered three times, but the victims were still unfavorable.

The soldiers now came to Xenophon's tent, and told him that they had no provisions. He, however replied, that he would not lead them out while the victims were adverse. 20. The next day sacrifice was offered again, and, as all were concerned, almost the whole army crowded around the sacrifice; and the victims fell short. Still the generals did not lead out the troops, but called them, however, together; 21. and Xenophon said, "Perhaps the enemy may be assembled in a body, and it may be necessary for us to fight: if, therefore, leaving our baggage in the strong part of the ground, we march out prepared for battle, the victims may possibly prove more favorable to us." 22. But the soldiers, on hearing this observation, cried out that it was of no use to lead them to the part that he mentioned, but that they ought to sacrifice without delay. Sheep were no longer to be had, but they bought an ox that was yoked to a wagon, and sacrificed it; and Xenophon begged Cleanor the Arcadian to be on the alert if any thing in the sacrifice should appear propitious.[1] But not even on this occasion were the signs favorable.

23. Neon was now general in the place of Cheirisophus, and when he saw how the men were suffering from want of food, was desirous to get them relief, and having found a man of Heraclea, who said that he knew of some villages in the neighborhood, from which it might be possible to procure provisions, he made proclamation that whoever was willing might go out to get a supply, as there would be a guide to conduct them. A party accordingly proceeded from the camp, to the number of two

[1] *Προθυμεῖσθαι εἴ τι ἐν τούτῳ εἴη.*] "Studiosè rem urgere, si exta nunc (boni) aliquid portenderent." *Zeune.* This seems to be the best of the various explanations that have been attempted of this passage. Bornemann and Krüger conjecture *προθύεσθαι*, which Kühner highly approves. No alteration, however, is necessary. Zeune supposes that Xenophon withdrew from the sacrifice to prevent any suspicion of unfair play on his part.

thousand, equipped with spears, leather bags, sacks, and other things for holding what they might find. 24. But when they had reached the villages, and had dispersed themselves to plunder, the cavalry of Pharnabazus first[1] fell upon them, for they had come to aid the Bithynians, designing, if they could, in conjunction with them, to prevent the Greeks from penetrating into Phrygia. These horsemen cut off not less than five hundred of the Greeks; the rest fled to the mountain.

25. One of those who escaped immediately carried the news of the occurrence to the camp; and Xenophon, as the victims had not been propitious that day, took an ox from a wagon (for there were no other cattle), and, after sacrificing it, went forth to give aid, with all the other soldiers not above thirty years of age. 26. They brought off the rest of the party and returned to the camp.

It was now about sunset, and the Greeks were taking their supper in great despondency, when some of the Bithynians, coming suddenly upon the advanced guard through the thickets, killed part of them, and pursued the rest to the camp. 27. A great outcry arising, all the Greeks ran to their arms; but it did not seem safe to pursue the enemy, or break up their camp, in the night, for the country was full of wood; and they therefore passed the night under arms, covered by sufficient out-posts.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks, moved by their previous dangers, at length consent to encamp in the strong part of the ground. Xenophon, having sacrificed, and placed a guard in the camp, led out the troops, who, after burying the dead that they found on the way, and possessing themselves of some booty from the villages, perceive the Barbarians posted upon a hill. They proceed to attack them, and though obstructed by a valley difficult to cross, are animated by the valor and eloquence of Xenophon to achieve a successful issue.

1. In this manner they passed the night. At daybreak the generals proceeded to the strong part of the ground;[2]

[1] Πρῶτοι.] Afterward some of the Bithynians, as is related in sect. 26.

[2] Τὸ ἐρυμνὸν χωρίον.] See c. 4, sect. 3, 7, 21.

and the men followed, bringing with them their arms and baggage. Before it was time for dinner, they completed a trench on the side where the entrance to the place was, and fenced the whole length with palisades, leaving three gates. A vessel meanwhile had arrived from Heraclea, bringing barley-meal, cattle, and wine.

2. Xenophon, rising early, had sacrificed with reference to an excursion, and in the first victim the omens were favorable. Just as the sacrifice came to a conclusion, Arexion of Parrhasia, the augur, saw a lucky eagle, and encouraged Xenophon to lead forth. 3. The men, therefore, crossing the trench, ranged themselves under arms; and the heralds made proclamation that the soldiers, after taking their dinner, should march out equipped for battle, and leave the camp-followers and slaves where they were. 4. All the rest accordingly went out, except Neon; for it was thought best to leave him in guard of the people in the camp. But when the captains and soldiers had left them, they were ashamed not to follow where the others went, and in consequence left only those who were above forty-five years of age; these therefore remained, and the rest went forth. 5. But before they had proceeded fifteen stadia, they began to meet with dead bodies, and bringing up the rear of their line opposite the corpses that were first seen, they buried all to which the line extended. 6. When they had interred this first set, they marched on, and again bringing up their rear against the first of those that they next found unburied, they buried in like manner as many as the line took in. When they came to the road that led to the villages, where the dead bodies lay in great numbers, they brought them all together and buried them.

7. It was now past mid-day, and having marched quite through[2] the villages, the men were engaged in taking whatever provisions they found within reach of the line, when, on a sudden, they caught sight of the enemy marching over some hills that were facing them, disposed in a line, consisting of a large number of both cavalry and infantry; for Spithri-

[1] Ἀετὸν αἴσιον.] An eagle on the right. *Æsch Prom.* 498.

[2] Ἔξω.] The troops in front seem to have marched quite through the villages, and out beyond them; those in the rear appear to have collected the provisions, keeping themselves, at the same time, under cover of those in front.

dates and Rathines had now arrived with a considerable force from Pharnabazus. 8. As soon as the enemy perceived the Greeks, they halted at the distance of about fifteen stadia. Upon this Arexion, the augur of the Greeks, immediately offered sacrifice, and in the very first victim the omens were favorable. 9. Xenophon then said, "It appears to me, fellow-captains, that we ought to station some divisions on the watch behind the main body, in order that, if it should any where be necessary, there may be troops to support that body, and that the enemy, when thrown into disorder, may be received by men in array and full vigor." This proposal was approved by all. 10. "Advance, then," he continued, "on the road toward the enemy, that, since we have been seen by them, and have seen them, we may not stand still; and I, after having arranged the divisions in the rear, as you have sanctioned, will join you."

11. The others then advanced quietly forward, and Xenophon, detaching from the main body the three hindmost companies, consisting of about two hundred men each, ordered one of them to follow on the right, at the distance of about a hundred feet behind; this company Samólas the Achæan commanded. The second he directed to follow in the center; this company Pyrrhias the Arcadian headed. The other he stationed on the left; this Phrasias the Athenian led. 12. As the front line, in marching on, came to a woody ravine, of great extent and difficult to pass, they halted, not knowing whether it were possible to cross it, and passed the word for the generals and captains to come to the front. 13. Xenophon, wondering what it was that stopped their progress, but soon hearing the word passed, rode up as fast as he could. When the officers came together, Sophænetus, the oldest of the generals, said that it was not worth consideration whether a ravine of such a nature were passable or not. 14. But Xenophon, eagerly seizing an opportunity to speak, said,

"You are certain, my fellow-soldiers, that I have never voluntarily brought danger upon you, for I see that you do not want reputation for valor, but safety. 15. But now the matter stands thus with us: it is not possible for us to move from hence without fighting; for if we do not advance upon the en-

[1] That is, that no deliberation was necessary; that they ought certainly to cross the ravine.

emy, the enemy will pursue and attack us when we retreat. 16. Consider, then, whether it is better for us to proceed against the foe holding out our arms in front of us, or, when we have turned them back, to find the enemy following behind us. 17. You know, assuredly, that to flee from an enemy has no semblance of honor, but that pursuit puts courage even into cowards. For my own part, I had rather pursue with half the number of men than retreat with twice as many. As for these enemies, I know that you yourselves do not expect them to make a stand against us, if we charge them; but we are all aware that if we draw back they will have courage enough to follow us.

18. "But that we, by crossing, should place a difficult ravine in our rear, when we are going to engage, is not this an advantage worth securing? As for the enemy, I should wish every spot of ground to appear passable to them, so that they may retreat; but it is for us to be instructed by the nature of our position that there is no safety for us unless we conquer. 19. I wonder, too, whether any of us thinks this ravine more formidable than many other places that we have passed.

"How, indeed, will the plain be passable unless we defeat the cavalry? How will the hills that we have traversed be passable, if so many peltasts pursue us? 20. Even if we arrive safe at the sea, how large a ravine will the Euxine prove to us, where there are neither vessels to convey us away, nor provisions to support us if we remain; and the more haste we should make thither, the more haste must we make to go out again to find subsistence. 21. It is better therefore for us to fight now, when we have dined, than to-morrow, when we may be without a dinner. The sacrifices,[1] soldiers, are favorable, the omens encouraging, the victims most auspicious. Let us march against the foe. Since they have certainly seen us, they ought not now to sup at their ease, or to encamp where they like."

22. The captains then bade him lead on, and no one made any objection. He accordingly put himself at their head, ordering each to cross at that part of the ravine where he happened to be; for he thought that the army would thus sooner get over the ravine in a body than if they defiled over the

[1] Τά τε ἱερὰ——τά τε σφάγια.] i. 8. 15.

bridge[1] that lay across it. 23. When they had passed over, he said, as he passed along the line, "Remember, soldiers, how many battles, with the assistance of the gods, you have gained by coming to close quarters with the enemy, and how those fare who turn their backs upon their adversaries. Reflect also that you are at the very gates of Greece.[2] 24. Follow, then, Hercules your Conductor,[3] and exhort one another by name.[4] It is pleasing to reflect, that he who now says and does any thing brave and honorable, will preserve a remembrance of himself among those with whom he would wish to preserve it."

25. These exhortations he uttered as he rode along, and at the same time proceeded to lead forward the troops in column; and with the peltasts on each flank, they marched upon the enemy. He gave orders that they should carry their spears upon the right shoulder until a signal should be given with the trumpet, and that then, lowering them for a charge, they should follow their leaders at a steady pace, and that none should advance running. The word was immediately after given, JUPITER THE PRESERVER AND HERCULES THE CONDUCTOR. The enemy, meanwhile, kept their position, thinking that they had the ground in their favor. 26. As the Greeks approached them, the peltasts shouted, and ran forward to charge them before any one gave orders; and the enemy rushed to meet them, both the horse and the mass of the Bithynians, and put them to flight. 27. But when the body of heavy-armed men came up, advancing at a quick pace, and when the trumpet sounded, and the men sang the pæan and shouted, and lowered their spears, the enemy then no longer awaited their charge, but took to flight. 28. Timasion and the cavalry pursued them, and killed as many as they could, being but few. The enemy's left wing, to which the Greek cavalry were opposed, was at once dispersed, but the right, not being closely pursued, rallied upon a hill. 29. As soon as the Greeks, how-

[1] Krüger supposes that the ravine (νάπος) was the bed of a mountain torrent, and that the bridge was constructed to afford a passage over it when it was inundated by rains in winter. From what Xenophon says above, it would hardly have been conceived that there was a bridge.

[2] That is, close upon Greece. Compare ii. 4. 4.

[3] See ch. 2. sect. 15. See also below, sect. 25.

[4] As in Il. x. 68.

ever, saw them making a stand, it appeared to them the easiest and safest thing they could do, to charge them without delay. Singing the pæan, therefore, they immediately advanced upon them; and the enemy withdrew. The peltasts then pursued them till the right wing was also dispersed; but only a small number were killed; for the enemy's cavalry, being numerous, kept the Greeks in awe. 30. But when they observed the cavalry of Pharnabazus still standing in a body, and the Bithynian cavalry flocking to join them, and looking down from an eminence on what was going on, they determined, tired as they were, to make an assault upon them as vigorously as possible, that they might not take breath and recover their courage. 31. Drawing up in close order, therefore, they advanced; when the enemy's horse fled down the hill as if they had been pursued by cavalry; for there was a valley to receive them, of which the Greeks were not aware, as they had desisted from the pursuit before they reached it, it being now late. 32. Returning then to the place where the first encounter occurred, they erected a trophy, and went off toward the sea about sunset. The distance to their camp was about sixty stadia.

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks plunder Bithynia. Cleander, the Spartan governor of Byzantium, arrives, and is prejudiced against the Greeks by Dexippus, but reconciled to them by the efforts of Xenophon. Cleander declines the chief command, which is offered him, and the army march under their former generals through Bithynia to Chrysopolis.

1. THE enemy now employed themselves about their own affairs, and removed their families and effects as far off as they could. The Greeks, in the mean time, waited for Cleander and the galleys and transport vessels that were to come, and, going out every day with their baggage-cattle and slaves, brought in, without fear of danger, wheat, barley, wine, leguminous vegetables, millet, and figs; for the country afforded every useful production except olives.

2. While the army lay at rest in the camp, the men had liberty, individually, to go out for spoil, and those only who

went out had a share of it; but when the whole army went out, and any one, straggling from the rest, took any booty, it was adjudged to be public property.

3. They had now abundance of every thing; for provisions for sale were brought from the Greek cities in every direction, and people who were sailing along the coast, hearing that a city was going to be built and a harbor formed, willingly put in there. 4. Such of the enemy, too, as lived in the neighborhood, sent to Xenophon, hearing that he had the management of the intended settlement, to ask what they should do in order to become his friends; and he introduced them among the soldiers.[1]

5. Cleander now arrived with two galleys, but no transport vessel. At the time of his coming, it happened that the body of the army was gone out; while some stragglers, going over the mountain for plunder, some one way, some another, had taken a great number of sheep, and being afraid that they would be taken from them,[2] informed Dexippus of the matter (the same that had run away with the fifty-oared galley from Trebisond), and requested him to keep the sheep for them, taking part for himself, and giving them back the rest. 6. Dexippus immediately drove off the soldiers[3] that stood round, and who said that the sheep were public property, and, going to Cleander, told him that they were endeavoring to seize them as plunder for themselves. Cleander desired him to bring whoever should seize them before him. 7. Dexippus accordingly laid hold on one of the men, and was taking him off, when Agasias, meeting him, rescued the man; the prisoner being a private of his own troop. The rest of the soldiers that were there began to throw stones at Dexippus, calling him again and again, "the traitor." Not only he, in consequence, but also many of the men belonging to his galleys, were struck with terror, and fled toward the sea; and Cleander fled likewise. 8. But Xenophon, and the other generals, endeavored to stop their flight, and told Cleander that there was no reason for alarm,[4] but that the resolution passed by the army was

[1] Xenophon, therefore, had not yet given up hopes of being able to persuade the troops to stay there and found a city. *Schneider.*

[2] As being public property. See sect. 2 and 6.

[3] Not the soldiers that had taken the sheep, but others that had gathered round.

[4] *Ὅτι οὐδὲν εἴη πρᾶγμα.*] *Πρᾶγμα* is often used to signify some-

the cause of the occurrence. 9. Cleander, however, being instigated by Dexippus, and vexed with himself for having shown so much fear, said that he would sail off and make proclamation that none of the cities should receive them, as being public enemies. The Lacedæmonians were at that time masters of all Greece.

10. This affair appeared to the Greeks to threaten evil, and they entreated Cleander not to do so; but he said that it could not be otherwise, unless somebody should give up to him the man that began to throw stones, and the person that rescued him. 11. The person that he wanted was Agasias, the constant friend of Xenophon, for which reason Dexippus had accused him. As there was much perplexity, therefore, the generals called together the soldiers; and some of them made light of Cleander's menaces, but to Xenophon the affair appeared of no small importance. Rising up, he said,

12. "It seems to me, soldiers, a matter of no trifling moment, if Cleander goes away, as he threatens, cherishing these feelings toward us; for the Greek cities are close at hand, the Lacedæmonians are the chief people of Greece, and each individual Lacedæmonian is able to do what he pleases in these cities. 13. If, therfeore, he first shuts us out of Byzantium, and then gives notice to the other governors not to admit us into their cities, as persons refusing obedience to the Lacedæmonians and submitting to no law, and this character of us reaches the ear of Anaxibius the Admiral, it will be difficult for us either to remain or to sail away, for at this moment the Lacedæmonians are masters both by land and sea. 14. We ought not, therefore, for the sake of one or two men, to exclude ourselves from Greece, but to do whatever they direct; for the cities, from which we come yield them obedience. 15. I, for my own part (for I hear that Dexippus assures Cleander that Agasias would have done nothing in the matter, if I had not instigated him), for my part, I say, I am ready to clear you and Agasias from blame, if Agasias himself shall say that I was at all the cause of these proceedings, and I am prepared to condemn myself, if I encouraged stone-throwing or any other act of violence, as deserving of the severest punishment, and that punishment I will

thing dangerous, or, at any rate, something of great moment. *Kühner.*

submit to suffer. 16. I say, too, that if Dexippus accuses any other person, he ought to surrender himself to Cleander to be tried; for by this means you may be exonerated from all censure. Under the present complexion of the case, it will be hard, if, when we expect applause and honor in Greece, we shall, instead of obtaining them, be not even on an equality with the rest of our countrymen, but be excluded from the Greek cities."

17. Agasias then stood up and said, "I swear, my fellow-soldiers, by all the gods and goddesses, that neither Xenophon, nor any other person among you, desired me to rescue the man; but, when I saw a brave fellow, one of my own troop, led off by Dexippus (who, you are aware, has played the traitor toward you), it seemed to me, I own, intolerable, and I set him free. 18. You need not, then, deliver me up, for I will surrender myself, as Xenophon recommends, to Cleander, to do to me, after having tried me, whatever he pleases. As far as this matter is concerned enter into no contention with the Lacedæmonians. May each of you return in safety to whatever place he would reach! Make choice, however, of some of your own number, and send them with me to Cleander, that, if I omit any thing, they may speak and act for me." 19. Upon this the army allowed him to choose whomsover he would, and to go. He chose the generals.

Agasias, and the generals, and the man that had been released by Agasias, accordingly proceeded to Cleander; and the generals said, 20. "The army has sent us to you, O Cleander, and requests that if you accuse them all, you will yourself be the judge of them all, and treat them as you may think fit; or, if you accuse one or two more, they think it right that they should surrender themselves to you for judgment. If, therefore, you accuse any one of us, we are here before you; if any other, let us know; for no man, who is willing to obey us, shall refuse to submit to you."

21. Agasias next stood forward, and said, "I am the person, O Cleander, that rescued this man when Dexippus was carrying him off, and that incited the men to stone Dexippus; 22. for I knew that the soldier was a deserving man, and I knew also that Dexippus, after having been chosen by the army to command the galley which we begged of the people of Trebisond, for the purpose of collecting transport vessels to

save ourselves, had run away and betrayed the soldiers in common with whom he had preserved his life. 23. Through his misconduct, therefore, we have both deprived the people of Trebisond of their galley, and seem to have acted dishonestly; and, as far as depended upon him, we were utterly undone; for he had heard, as well as we, that it would be impracticable for us, going by land, to cross the rivers and get safe to Greece. 24. It was from such a character as this that I rescued the man. If you had been leading him away, or any one of those belonging to you, and not one of our own deserters, be assured that I should have done nothing of the kind. Consider, then, that if you put me to death, you will put to death a man of honor for the sake of a coward and a villain."

25. Cleander, on hearing this statement, said that he could not approve of the conduct of Dexippus, if he had acted in such a way, but observed, at the same time, that even if Dexippus were the worst of villains, he ought not to suffer any violence, but to be tried ("as you yourselves," said he, "now propose"), and to have his deserts. 26. "For the present, then," he continued, "retire, leaving Agasias with me, and, when I give you notice, come to witness his trial. I neither accuse the army, nor any one else, since Agasias himself confesses that it was he who released the man." 27. The man who had been released then said, "If you suppose, O Cleander that I was apprehended for doing something wrong, be assured that I neither struck nor threw stones at any one, but merely said that the sheep were public property; for it was a resolution passed by the soldiers, that if, when the whole army went out, any particular person made any capture by himself, that capture should go to the public store. 28. This was what I said; and Dexippus, in consequence, seized me and was leading me off, so that no one might utter a syllable,[1] but that he himself, securing a share of the booty, might keep the rest for the plunderers, contrary to the resolution of the army." To this Cleander replied, "Since you are that sort of person, stay here, that we may consider respecting you likewise."

29. Cleander and his party then went to dinner; and Xen-

[1] Ἵνα μὴ φθέγγοιτο μηδείς.] That no one might report any thing about him (Dexippus). *Kühner.* Dexippus (as the man intimates) supposed that the apprehension of one would be a terror to the rest.

ophon assembled the troops, and advised them to send some persons to Cleander to make intercession for the men. 30. They accordingly resolved to depute the generals and captains, with Dracontius[1] the Spartan, and such of the rest as seemed eligible, to entreat Cleander by all means to set the two men free. 31. Xenophon, going to him, said "You have the men in your hands, O Cleander, and the army has allowed you to do what you please with regard both to them and to their whole force. They now, however, request and entreat of you to give up the two men to them, and not to put them to death; for they exerted themselves greatly, in time past, to be of service to the army. 32. Should they obtain this favor from you, they promise you, in return for it, that if you are willing to be their leader, and the gods are propitious, they will let you see both how well-disciplined they are, and how incapable, when obedient to their general, and aided by superior powers, of fearing an enemy. 33. They also beg of you, that when you have come and taken the command of them, you will make trial of Dexippus and the rest of them, ascertain what sort of person each is, and give every one his desert."

34. Cleander on hearing this application replied, "By the twin gods,[2] I will give you an answer at once. I give up the men to you, and will come to you myself; and, if the gods permit, I will lead you into Greece. Your words are very different from the accounts that I heard of some of you, namely, that you were alienating the army from the Lacedæmonians." 35. The deputies then took their leave, applauding Cleander, and taking with them the two men.

Cleander offered a sacrifice with reference to the journey, and associated in a friendly way with Xenophon; and they contracted a bond of hospitality between them. When he saw the Greek soldiers, too, execute their orders with regularity, he grew still more desirous to become their commander. 36. But as the omens were not favorable to his wishes, though he offered sacrifices three days, he called the generals together, and said, "The victims have not been favorable for me[3] to

[1] iv. 8. 25.

[2] *Ναὶ τὼ σιώ.*] Castor and Pollux, by whom the Lacedæmonians were accustomed te swear. See Schol. on Aristoph. Lys. 81, Pac. 214; Xen. Hellen. iv. 4. 10.

[3] *'Εμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη τὰ ἱερὰ ἐξάγειν.*] "The sacrifices have not

lead you out; but be not discouraged on that account; for it is given to you, as it appears, to conduct the army home. Proceed then, and we will receive you at Byzantium, when you arrive there,[1] in the best manner that we can." 37. It was then resolved by the soldiers to make him a present of the sheep that were public property; and he, having accepted them, gave them back to the soldiers again, and then sailed off.

The army, having disposed of the corn which they had collected, and the other booty that they had captured, advanced through the territory of the Bithynians. 38. But as, while they pursued the straight road, they met with nothing to enable them to enter the country of their friends with a portion of spoil, they resolved upon marching back for a day and a night; and, having done so, they took great numbers both of slaves and cattle, and arrived, after six days' march, at Chrysopolis in Chalcedonia, where they staid seven days to sell their booty

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BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

Anaxibius, at the instigation of Pharnabazus, who wishes to get the Greeks out of his territory, allures them, with hopes of employment and pay, to Byzantium. They accordingly appear in arms before the city, but finding the gates shut against them, force an entrance, and are with great difficulty pacified by Xenophon. Cœratades, a Theban, offers to lead them into Thrace, and his proposal is accepted; but he soon shows his incapacity, and lays down the command.

1. WHAT the Greeks did in their march up the country with Cyrus, until the battle was fought, what they experienced in their retreat, after Cyrus was dead, till they reached the Euxine sea, and how they fared, in their progress by sea and land, from the time that they arrived at the Euxine until they got beyond the mouth of it to Chrysopolis

been concluded (so as to be favorable) for me," etc. Οὐκ ἐτελέσθη is a conjecture of Bornemann's, adopted by Dindorf, for the common reading οὐκ ἐθέλει, which Kühner prefers and retains.

[1] I follow Kühner in the interpretation of ἐκεῖσε in this passage. The speaker probably pointed toward Byzantium.

in Asia, has been related in the preceding part of the narrative.

2. Pharnabazus, fearing that the army of the Greeks might make an irruption into his province, sent to Anaxibius the Spartan admiral, who was at Byzantium, and begged him to transport the army out of Asia, promising to do for him in return whatever he might require of him. 3. Anaxibius, accordingly, sent for the generals and captains of the troops to Byzantium, engaging that if they came over to him, pay should be given to the men. 4. The rest of the officers said that they would give him an answer after they had considered of the matter; but Xenophon told him that he was going to leave the army, and wanted to sail away. Anaxibius, however, requested him to come across with the rest, and then to take his departure. Xenophon therefore said that he would do so.

5. In the mean time Seuthes[1] the Thracian sent Medosades to Xenophon, requesting that general to join with him in using his efforts that the army might cross over, and saying that he should have no cause to repent of assisting him in that object. 6. Xenophon replied, "The army will doubtless cross over; let him give nothing to me therefore, or to any one else, on that account. When it has crossed, I shall quit it; so let him address himself to those who stay, and who may seem able to serve him in such a manner as may appear likely to be successful."

7. Soon after the whole army of the Greeks crossed over to Byzantium. Anaxibius however gave them no pay, but made proclamation that the soldiers should take their arms and baggage, and go out of the city, signifying that he intended at once to send them away home, and to take their number. The soldiers were in consequence greatly troubled, because they had no money to get provisions for their journey, and packed up their baggage with reluctance.

8. Xenophon, who had become a guest-friend to Cleander the governor, went to take leave of him, with the intention of

[1] For some account of him, see c. 2, sect. 32. "He is not to be confounded with Seuthes the son of Sparadocus, who succeeded Sitalces as king of the Odrysæ, nor is to be altogether regarded as a king, though he is distinguished by this name in c. 7, sect. 22. He is with more propriety called *ἄρχων (τῶν) ἐπὶ θαλάταῃ*, c. 3, sect. 16. See Xen. Hellen. iv. 8. 26. Aristot. Polit. v. 8. 15." *Poppo.* He was at this time merely a commander in subjection to Medocus.

sailing away immediately. But Cleander said to him, "By no means do so, for, if you do, you will incur blame, since some people, indeed, already accuse you as the cause that the army proceeds out[1] so slowly." 9. Xenophon replied, "I am not the cause of this, but the soldiers, being in want of provisions, are for that reason, of themselves, reluctant to go out." 10. "However I advise you," rejoinded Cleander, "to go out with them, as if you intended to accompany them, and when the army is clear of the city, then to quit it." "We will then go to Anaxibius," said Xenophon, "and further the proceedings." They accordingly went, and told him that such was their intention. 11. He recommended that they should act in conformity with what they said, and that the troops should go out as soon as possible with their baggage packed up; desiring them to give notice, at the same time, that whoever should not be present at the review and numbering of the army, would have himself to blame. 12. The generals then went out first, and the rest of the army followed them.

They were now all out except a few, and Eteonicus[2] was standing by the gates, ready to shut them, and thrust in the bar, as soon as they were all outside, 13. when Anaxibius, summoning the generals and captains, said, "You may take provisions from the Thracian villages; for there is plenty of barley and wheat, and other necessaries, in them; and when you have supplied yourselves, proceed to the Chersonesus, and there Cyniscus[3] will give you pay." 14. Some of the soldiers that overheard this, or some one of the captains, communicated it to the army. The generals, meanwhile, inquired about Seuthes, whether he would prove hostile or friendly, and whether they must march over the Sacred Mountain,[4] or round about through the middle of Thrace.

[1] 'Εξέρπει.] Non celeriter, sed quasi rependo exit (ex urbe). *Hutchinson.* This notion of the word is condemned by Heiland, Dial. Xen. p. 7, who shows, with much learning, that *ἕρπειν* in the Doric dialect signifies *incedere, ire*, so that *ἐξέρπειν* in this passage is merely the same as *ἐκπορεύεσθαι*. *Kühner.*

[2] A Lacedæmonian of some rank. See Thucyd. viii. 23. *Krüger.*

[3] A Spartan commander, doubtless, who was then engaged in a war with the Thracians in the Chersonesus. *Zeune.*

[4] *Διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὄρους.*] To be distinguished from the mountain of the same name mentioned iv. 7. 21. *Schneider.* Its situation is uncertain, but there was a road by it into the Chersonesus, as is ap-

15. But while they were talking of these matters, the soldiers, snatching up their arms, ran in haste to the gates, with a design to make their way back within the walls. Eteonicus, however, and those about him, when they saw the heavy-armed men running toward them, shut the gates, and thrust in the bar. 16. The soldiers then knocked at the gates, and said that they were treated most unjustly, in being shut out as a prey to the enemy, and declared that they would split the gates asunder, if the people did not open them of their own accord. 17. Some ran off to the sea, and got over into the city by the pier of the wall; while others of them, who happened to be still in the town, when they perceived what was passing at the gates, cut the bars in twain with their axes, and set the gates wide open. They then all rushed in.

18. Xenophon, observing what was going on, and fearing lest the army should fall to plundering, and irreparable mischief be done not only to the city, but to himself and the men, ran and got within the gates along with the crowd. 19. The people of Byzantium, at the same time, when they saw the army entering by force, fled from the market-place, some to the ships, and some to their houses, while others, who happened to be within doors, ran out; some hauled down the galleys into the water, that they might save themselves in them; and all believed themselves ruined, regarding the city as captured. 20. Eteonicus fled to the citadel. Anaxibius, running down to the sea, sailed round to the same place in a fishing-boat, and immediately sent for men from the garrison at Chalcedon; for those in the citadel did not appear sufficient to repel the Greeks.

21. The soldiers, as soon as they saw Xenophon, ran up to him in great numbers, and cried, "You have now an opportunity, O Xenophon, to become a great man. You are in possession of a city, you have galleys, you have money, you have this large number of men. Now, therefore, if you are inclined, you may benefit us, and we may make you a distinguished man." 22. Xenophon replied, "You say well, and I will act accordingly; but if you aim at this object, range yourselves under arms as quickly as possible," for he wished to quiet

parent from c. 3, sect. 3. "The fort ἱερὸν ὄρος is mentioned by Demosth. de Hal. p. 85, extr.; Phil. iii. p. 114, and De Fals. Leg. p. 390." *Krüger.*

them, and not only gave these orders himself, but desired the other officers also to command the men to range themselves under arms. 23. As the men, too, began to march themselves, the heavy-armed troops soon formed eight deep, and the peltasts ran to take their station on each wing. 24. The ground, which was called the Thracian Area,[1] was excellent for the arrangement of troops, being clear of houses, and level. When the arms were in their places,[2] and the men somewhat tranquilized, Xenophon called the soldiers round him, and spoke as follows:

25. "That you are angry, soldiers, and think you have been treated strangely in being deceived, I am not at all surprised; but if we gratify our resentment, and not only take revenge on the Lacedæmonians, who are here, for their imposition, but plunder the city which is not at all to blame, consider what will be the consequences; 26. we shall be the declared enemies both of the Lacedæmonians and their allies. What will be the nature of a war with them, we may conjecture, as we have seen and remember what has recently occurred. 27. We the Athenians entered upon the contest with the Lacedæmonians and their allies, with not less than three hundred[3] galleys, some at sea and some in the docks, with a great sum of money in the Acropolis,[4] and with a yearly revenue from our customs at home and our territory abroad, of not less than a thousand talents; but though we were masters of all the islands, were possessed of many cities in Asia, and many others in Europe, and of this very Byzantium where we now are, yet we were reduced in the war to such a condition as you all know. 28. And what may we now expect to be our fate, when the

[1] Τὸ Θρᾴκιον.] Larcher has not inaptly supposed that this place was near the gates called the Thracian Gates, referring to Xen. Hellen. i. 3, extr., *τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον καλουμένας*. *Zeune.* The Thracian Gates of Byzantium, before which there were seven towers, are mentioned by Dio Cassius, lxxiv. 14. *Schneider.*—With *Θρᾴκιον* understand *χωρίον*: it was an open space, an area or square.

[2] Ἔκειτο τὰ ὅπλα.] Arma ordine disposita erant. *Hutchinson.* Leunclavius renders it *postquam in armis ordine constiterant*, but this is less suitable to the passage. The soldiers had laid down their arms, that they might listen to Xenophon more at ease. See iv. 2. 20.

[3] Thucyd. ii. 13.

[4] Ἐν τῇ πόλει.] The Athenians used to call their Ἀκρόπολις by the simple name *πόλις*: see Thucyd. ii. 15. The sum of money in the Acropolis was not less than six thousand talents, Thucyd. ii. 24.

Lacedæmonians and Achæans are in alliance; when the Athenians, and those who were then allied with them, have become an accession to the Spartan power; when Tissaphernes, and all the other Barbarians on the sea-coast, are our enemies, and the king of Persia himself our greatest enemy, whom we went to despoil of his throne, and, if we could, to deprive of life? When all these opponents are united against us, is there any body so senseless as to think that we could get the superiority? 29. Let us not, in the name of the gods, act like madmen, and perish with disgrace, by becoming enemies to our country, and to our friends and relations! For our connections are all in the cities that will make war upon us, and that will make war justly indeed, if, when we declined to possess ourselves of any Barbarian city, though we were superior in force, we should plunder the first Greek city at which we have arrived. 30. For my own part, I pray that before I see such an atrocity committed by you, I may be buried ten thousand fathoms under ground. I advise you, as you are Greeks, to endeavor to obtain justice by submitting to those who are masters of the Greeks. Should you be unable to obtain it, however, we ought not, though wronged, to deprive ourselves of all hope of returning to Greece. 31. It appears to me, therefore, that we should now send deputies to Anaxibius, with this message: 'We came into the city with no design to commit violence, but, if we could, to obtain some services from you; but, if we obtain none, we intend to show that we shall go out of it, not because we have been deceived, but because we are willing to obey you.'"

32. This proposal met with approbation; and they dispatched Hieronymus the Elean, Eurylochus the Arcadian, and Philesius the Achæan, to carry the message. They accordingly proceeded to deliver it.

33. But while the soldiers were still seated, Cœratades,[1] a Theban, came up to them; a man who was going about the country, not banished from Greece, but wanting to be a general, and offering his services wherever any city or people required a leader; and, as he came forward, he said that he

[1] He had been a commander of the Bœotians toward the end of the Peloponnesian war, and, at the surrender of Byzantium, fell into the hands of the Athenians, by whom he was carried prisoner to Athens, but contrived to escape. See Hellen. i. 3. 15. *Zeune.*

was prepared to conduct them to that part of Thrace called the Delta, where they would find plenty of good things, and that, till they should arrive there, he would supply them with meat and drink in abundance. 34. The soldiers listened to this offer, and heard, at the same time, the reply brought from Anaxibius, for he had sent an answer that "if they complied with his wishes, they should have no cause to repent; and that he would report their conduct to the authorities at Sparta, and would contrive to do for them whatever service he could." 35. The soldiers, in consequence, took Cœratades as their leader, and went out of the city, Cœratades engaging to come to the army next day with victims for sacrifice, an augur, and meat and drink for the troops. 36. As soon as they were gone out, Anaxibius caused the gates to be shut, and proclamation made, that whoever of the soldiers should be found within, should be sold as a slave.

37. Next day Cœratades came with the victims and the augur; and twenty men followed him carrying barley-meal, and other twenty carrying wine; three also with as large a load as they could bear of olives; one with as much as he could carry of garlic, and another of onions. Having ordered these things to be laid down, as if for distribution, he proceeded to offer sacrifice.

38. Xenophon, meanwhile, having sent for Cleander, urged him to obtain permission for him to enter the walls, and to sail away from Byzantium. 39. When Cleander arrived, he said, "I am come, after having obtained the permission with extreme difficulty; for Anaxibius says that it is not proper for the soldiers to be close to the walls, and Xenophon within; and that the Byzantines are split into factions, and at enmity one with another; yet he has desired you," he added, "to enter, if you intend[1] to sail with him." 40. Xenophon accordingly took leave of the soldiers, and went into the city with Cleander.

Cœratades, the first day, had no favorable omens from the sacrifice, and distributed nothing among the troops. The next day the victims were placed at the altar, and Cœratades

[1] I read εἰ μέλλοις, with Krüger, instead of εἰ μέλλοι, the common reading, which gives, "he has desired you to enter, if he (Xenophon) intends to sail with him (Anaxibius)," a confusion of persons at which Bornemann expresses his wonder.

took his station with a chaplet on his head, as if intending to offer sacrifice; when Timasion the Dardanian, Neon the Asinæan, and Cleanor the Orchomenian, came forward and told Cœratades not to sacrifice, as he should not lead the army, unless he supplied it with provisions. 41. He then ordered a distribution to be made. But as his supply fell far short of one day's subsistence for each of the soldiers, he went off, taking with him the victims, and renouncing the generalship.

CHAPTER II.

The generals disagreeing about the route, many of the soldiers desert. Anaxibius and Xenophon, on their voyage, are met at Cyzicus by Aristarchus, Cleander's successor; he sells four hundred of the Greeks for slaves. Xenophon returns to the army, and the Greeks, on his advice, agree to sail back to Asia, but are hindered by Aristarchus. Their services are solicited by Seuthes, and Xenophon goes to learn his terms.

1. But Neon the Asinæan, Phryniscus,[1] Philesius, Xanthicles, all Achæans, and Timasion the Dardanian, remained in command of the army, and marching forward to some villages of the Thracians, over against Byzantium, encamped there. 2. The generals had now some disagreement, Cleanor and Phryniscus wishing to lead the army to Seuthes (for he had gained them over to his interest, having presented a horse to the one, and a mistress to the other), and Neon desiring to take it to the Chersonesus, as he thought that if they came into the dominions of the Lacedæmonians, he himself would get the command of the whole army. Timasion, however, wanted to cross over again into Asia, expecting by this means to effect his return home. 3. The army were of the same mind; but, while time was wasted in the discussion, many of the soldiers deserted; some, selling their arms up and down the country, sailed away as they could; others joined[2] the

[1] He was one of the generals, as appears from sect. 29, and c. 5, sect. 10. "But at what time he was chosen, Xenophon has neglected to state." *Krüger.*

[2] The words *διδόντες τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ τοὺς χώρους*, which Dindorf and others inclose in brackets, are not translated. They appear to have arisen from the error of some copyist, whose eye was caught by nearly the same words above. Kühner preserves them, adopting the notion

people in the neigboring towns. 4. Anaxibius was pleased to hear these accounts of the dispersion of the army; for he thought that by such a state of things he should most gratify Pharnabazus.

5. As Anaxibius was on his voyage from Byzantium, Aristarchus, the successor of Cleander as governor of Byzantium, met him at Cyzicus, and said that Polus, the successor of Anaxibius as admiral, was on the point of entering the Hellespont. 6. Anaxibius desired Aristarchus to sell all the soldiers of Cyrus, whom he should find remaining in Byzantium, as slaves. As for Cleander, he had sold none, but had even attended, from compassion, to such as were sick, and obliged the inhabitants to receive them into their houses; but Aristarchus, as soon as he arrived, sold not less than four hundred.

7. Anaxibius, when he had sailed along the coast as far as Parium, sent to Pharnabazus according to an agreement between them. But Pharnabazus, when he found that Aristarchus was going as governor to Byzantium, and that Anaxibius was no longer admiral, neglected Anaxibius, and entered into a negotiation with Aristarchus about the army of Cyrus, similar to that which he had previously made with Anaxibius.

8. Soon after, Anaxibius called Xenophon to him, and urged him, by every means and contrivance, to sail back to the army as soon as possible, to keep it together, to collect as many of the dispersed soldiers as he could, and then, leading them along the coast to Perinthus, to transport them without delay into Asia. He gave him, at the same time, a thirty-oared galley and a letter, and sent a man with him to tell the people of Perinthus to dispatch Xenophon on horseback to the army as soon as possible. 9. Xenophon then sailed across,[1] and arrived at the army. The soldiers gladly welcomed him, and followed him at once with cheerfulness, in expectation of passing over from Thrace into Asia.

10. Seuthes, when he heard of his return, sent Medosades to him by sea, and begged him to bring the army to him, promising him whatever he thought likely to prevail on him. Xenophon told him in reply that nothing of the kind was pos-

of Sturz and Lion, that the soldiers gave away their arms among the country people, that they might enter the towns unarmed, so as not to alarm the inhabitants.

[1] Across the Propontis.

sible; 11. and Medosades, on receiving this answer, went away.

When the Greeks came to Perinthus, Neon, drawing off from the rest, encamped apart with about eight hundred men. All the other troops remained together under the walls of Perinthus.

12. Xenophon was next engaged in getting vessels, in order that they might cross over to Asia as soon as possible. But just at this time Aristarchus the govenor, instigated by Pharnabazus, came with two galleys from Byzantium, and forbade the masters of the ships to carry over the Greeks, and then, going to the army, desired the soldiers not to go across into Asia. 13. Xenophon told him that Anaxibius had orderd him to go, "and sent me thither," added he, "with that view." "Anaxibius," retorted Aristarchus, "is no longer admiral, and I am governor here; and if I find one of you on the sea, I will drown him." Having said this, he went off into the town.

14. Next day he sent for the generals and captains of the army; but, as they came up to the wall, somebody gave notice to Xenophon, that if he went in, he would be apprehended, and either suffer some injury there, or be delivered to Pharnabazus. Hearing this, he sent the others on before, and said that he himself had a mind to offer sacrifice. 15. Returning, accordingly, he sacrificed to know whether the gods would permit him to attempt to lead the army to Seuthes, for he saw that it was not safe to cross over into Asia, as he who would hinder him had galleys at his command, nor was he willing to go to the Chersonesus and be shut up there, or that the army should be in great want of every thing in a place where it would be necessary to obey the governor, and where the troops would be able to procure no supplies.

16. He was engaged about this matter, when the generals and captains returned from Aristarchus, and brought word that he had told them to go away for the present, and to come back to him in the evening. Hence his treacherous intentions became still more manifest. 17. Xenophon, therefore, as the sacrifices seemed favorable for himself and the army to go in security to Seuthes, took with him Polycrates the Athenian, one of the captains, and from each of the generals, except Neon, a person in whom they confided, and went in the night

to the camp of Seuthes, a distance of sixty stadia. 18. As he drew near it, he met with several watch-fires without guards, and thought that Seuthes had decamped; but, hearing a noise, and the men about Seuthes making signals to one another, he understood that these fires had been kindled by Seuthes in front of the night-posts, in order that the sentinels, being in the dark, might not be seen, or show how many or where they were, while those who approached might not be concealed, but be conspicuous in the light. 19. When he found that such was the case, he sent the interpreter whom he had with him, and told him to let Seuthes know that Xenophon was there, and desired a conference with him. They inquired if it was Xenophon the Athenian, from the Grecian army. 20. As he answered that it was he, they leaped upon their horses, and hastened off. A little after, about two hundred peltasts appeared, and conducted Xenophon and his party to Seuthes.

21. Seuthes was in a tower, strictly guarded, and round it stood horses ready bridled; for, through fear, he fed his horses during the day, and kept on guard with them bridled during the night. 22. For Teres, one of his ancestors, when he had once a large army in this country, was said to have lost great numbers of his men, and to have been stripped of his baggage by the natives, who are called Thynians, and are said to be the most formidable of all enemies, especially in the night.

23. When they approached, Seuthes gave notice that Xenophon, with any two of his attendants that he chose, might enter. As soon as they went in, they first saluted one another, and, according to the Thracian custom, drank to each other in horns full of wine; Medosades, who acted as the embassador of Seuthes on all occasions, being present with him. 24. Xenophon then began to speak as follows. "You sent Medosades, who is present here, to me, O Seuthes, for the first time at Chalcedon, requesting me to join my efforts to yours that the army might cross over out of Asia, and, promising, as Medosades here said, that if I succeeded, you would do me some service in return." 25. When he had said this, he asked Medosades if it was true; and he said that it was. "When I had gone over again to the army from Pari-
Medosades came to me a second time, assuring me, that if

I would bring the army to you, you would not only treat me as a friend and a brother in other respects but that the towns also along the sea, of which you are master, would be assigned to me from you." 26. He then again asked Medosades whether he said this, and Medosades acknowledged it. "Well then," said Xenophon, "tell Seuthes what answer I gave you, on the first occasion, at Chalcedon." 27. "You answered that the army was going to cross over to Byzantium, and that there would therefore be no occasion on that account to give any thing either to you or to any other person; you added that, as soon as you had crossed, you would quit the army; and all took place as you said." 28. "And what did I say," continued Xenophon, "when you came to Selybria?"[1] "You said that what I proposed was impracticable, but that the army was to go to Perinthus, and pass over into Asia." 29. "Well then," said Xenophon, "I am now present before you, with Phryniscus here, one of the generals, and Polycrates, one of the captains; and, without, are deputies from the other generals, the most confidential friends of each, except from Neon the Lacedæmonian. 30. If you wish the business to have greater sanction, call them in also; and do you, Polycrates, go and tell them that I desire them to leave their arms outside; and do you leave your sword there, and come in again."

31. Seuthes, on hearing this, said that he would distrust no one of the Athenians, for he knew that they were connected with him by lineage,[2] and regarded them as kind friends.

[1] I have adopted this mode of spelling the name with all the modern editors, though not without reluctance, for Selymbria is much more pleasing to the ear than Selybria. If Strabo's derivation is right, however (lib. vii. c. 6, p. 111, ἡ τοῦ Σήλυος πόλις, the city of Selys, βρία being the Thracian word for a city), it would appear that the letter *m* is an intruder. Yet, as Kühner observes, Stephanus of Byzantium has Σηλυμβρία, and Selymbria is the invariable mode of spelling among the Latins. I like Thimbron, too, much better than Thibron.

[2] Συγγενεῖς.] Valckenaer (ad Herod. iv. 80) deduces this *συγγένεια* from the circumstance of Sadocus, the son of Sitalces, having received the rights of citizenship from the Athenians. (Thucyd. ii. 29; Schol. ad Aristoph. Acharn. 145). Krüger (de Authent. p. 33) rejects this notion, observing that *συγγένεια* would not follow from *πολιτεία*. But as Procne, the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens, is said to have been married to Tereus, king of Thrace (see Apollod. iii. 14. 8, ibique Heyne),

Afterward, when those who were wanted had come in, Xenophon first asked Seuthes what use he proposed to make of the army. 32. Seuthes then proceeded to speak thus: "Mæsades was my father; and under his government were the Melanditæ, the Thynians, and the Tranipsæ. But when the power of the Odrysæ declined, my father, being driven from this country, died of a disease, and I, being left an orphan was bred up with Medocus, the present king. 33. As soon as I became a young man, however, I could not bear to subsist in dependence upon another person's table; and I sat on my seat[1] before him as a suppliant that he would give me as many troops as he could, in order that, if I found it at all in my power, I might inflict some evil on those who had expelled us, and might cease to live by looking, like a dog, to his table. 34. In compliance with my request he gave me the infantry and cavalry which you will see as soon as it is day. I now subsist with the aid of these troops, making depredations on my own hereditary dominions; and if you join me, I should expect, with the assistance of the gods, to recover my authority with ease. This is what I desire of you."

35. "If we should come, then," said Xenophon, "what would you be able to give to the soldiers, captains, and generals? Let me know, that these who are with me may carry word to them." 36. Seuthes then promised to give every soldier a Cyzicene stater,[2] twice as much to a captain, and four times as much to a general, with as much land as they should desire, yokes of oxen, and a walled town near the sea. 37. "But if," said Xenophon, "when we attempt this service, we should not succeed, but something to deter us should arise on the part of the Lacedæmonians, will you, if any of us should wish to take refuge with you, receive them into your country?" 38. "Nay, more," replied he, "I will even treat them as brothers, make them guests at my own table, and sharers of all that we may be able to acquire. To you, Xenophon, I will give my

is it not more probable that this is the συγγένεια to be here understood? See c. 3, sec. 39. *Kühner.*

[1] Ἐνδίφριος.] *In sellâ*, the same as ἐν δίφρῳ, c. 3, sect. 29. *Kühner.* The Thracians did not recline on couches at meals, but sat on seats. *Zeune.* But the exact meaning of ἐνδίφριος in this passage is uncertain. Sturz settles nothing. In sect. 38, the word is used in the sense of ὁμοτράπεζοι, table-companions.

[2] See v. 6. 23. 'Monthly' is to be understood: see on c. 3, sect. 10.

daughter; and, if you have a daughter, I will buy[1] her according to the Thracian custom, and will give you Bisanthe, which is the finest of my towns upon the sea, as a residence."

CHAPTER III.

All the Greeks, except Neon and his party, accept the proposals of Seuthes, and join him. They march with Seuthes against his enemies, whom they surprise unawares, and take a great number of slaves, and much spoil.

1. THE party having heard these offers, and having exchanged right hands, rode off. They got back to the camp before day-break, and made each his report to those who sent him. 2. As soon as it was light, Aristarchus sent again for the generals and captains, but they determined to decline going to him, and to call together the army. All the troops came, except those of Neon, who were about ten stadia distant. 3. When they were met, Xenophon stood up and spoke as follows:

"Soldiers! Aristarchus, having galleys at command, seeks to prevent us sailing whither we desire; and in consequence it is not safe for us to embark. He would have us make our way by force over the Sacred Mountain into the Chersonesus; and, if we should succeed in crossing that mountain, and arrive there, he says that he will not again sell any of you, as he did at Byzantium, or deceive you again, but that you shall receive pay, and that he will no longer suffer you, as at present to be in want of provisions. 4. Thus speaks Aristarchus. Seuthes, on the other hand, says that if you go to him, he will be of service to you. Consider, therefore, whether you will decide on this point while remaining here now, or after having gone back to get provisions. 5. My own opinion is, that since we have no money here to purchase, and since they will not allow us to take provisions without money, we should

[1] Ὠνήσομαι.] So Herodotus, v. 6: The Thracians buy their wives from their parents with large sums of money. *Kühner.* The people of the East, as is well known, had the same custom, as also the ancient Greeks: see Ariston. Polit. ii. 8. *Weiske.* See also Tacit. Germ. c. 13. *Lion.* Consult Mannert, vii. p. 24. *Bornemann.*

return to the villages where the inhabitants, being weaker than we are, permit us to take them, and that there when we have got supplies, and heard what each of them desires of you,[1] you may choose whatever may seem best. 6. To whomsoever this proposal is agreeable, let him hold up his hand." They all held up their hands. "Go then," continued he, "and prepare your baggage, and when any one gives the signal, follow your leader."

7. Soon after, Xenophon put himself at their head, and they followed him. Neon, however, and some other persons sent by Aristarchus, tried to persuade them to turn back; but they paid no regard to their words. When they had advanced about thirty stadia, Seuthes met them; and Xenophon, when he saw him, invited him to ride up that he might state to him, in the hearing of as many as possible what he thought for their advantage. 8. As he came forward, Xenophon said, "We are going to some place where the army will be likely to get provisions, and where, after hearing your proposals, and those of the Lacedæmonian, we shall determine upon that course which may seem best to us. If, therefore, you will conduct us to a place where provisions are in the greatest abundance, we shall consider ourselves as being your guests." 9. Seuthes replied, "I know of several villages lying close together, containing all sorts of provisions, and distant from us only so far that you may go over to them and dine in comfort." "Conduct us, then," said Xenophon.

10. When they had reached the villages, in the afternoon, the soldiers assembled, and Seuthes spoke thus: "I wish you, soldiers, to take service with me, and propose to give each of you a Cyzicene stater[2] monthly, and the captains and generals what is customary. In addition to this, I will do honor to every man that proves himself worthy of it. Meat and drink you shall have, as at present, by taking it from the country; but whatever spoil shall be taken, I shall think proper to keep myself, that, by disposing of it, I may provide pay for you.

[1] Ὅ τι τις ὑμῶν δεῖται.] *Ad quam rem uterque* (Seuthes et Aristarchus) *operâ vestrâ uti velit.* Zeune.

[2] See v. 6. 23. The words *τοῦ μηνός*, which occur in Hutchinson's and other old editions after *κυζικηνόν*, are omitted by Dindorf and Kühner. It appears better to preserve them. They are wanting in c. 2, sect. 36.

11. Such enemies as flee from us, and conceal themselves, we shall be able to pursue and discover;[1] and such as resist us, we shall endeavor, with your assistance, to overcome." 12. Xenophon then inquired, "How far from the sea shall you require the army to follow you?" He replied, "Never more than seven days' march, and often less."

13. Liberty was then given to any one that wished, to speak; and many concurred in saying that Seuthes made proposals of the greatest advantage, as it was winter, and no longer practicable, even for such as desired, to sail home; and as it was impossible for them to live, though in a country of friends, if they were to subsist by purchasing, while it would be safer for them to remain and find subsistence in an enemy's country jointly with Seuthes than by themselves, so many advantages offering themselves, and if, in addition to these, they also received pay, it appeared to them an unexpected piece of good fortune. 14. Xenophon then said, "If any one has aught to say against this opinion, let him speak at once; if not let him vote for it." As no one said any thing against it, he put it to the vote, and the decision was in favor of it. Xenophon immediately told Seuthes that they would take the field with him.

15. The soldiers then pitched their tents according to their divisions; the generals and captains, Seuthes, who occupied a neighboring village, invited to supper. 16. When they were at the entrance, going in to supper, a man named Heraclides, a native of Maronea,[2] presented himself before them. This man, addressing himself to every one whom he thought possessed of any thing to present to Seuthes, and first to certain people from Parium,[3] who were come to establish a friendship with Medocus, king of the Odrysæ, and had brought presents for Seuthes and his wife, said that Medocus resided up the country, twelve days' journey from the sea, and that Seuthes, since he had taken this force into his service, would be master on the coast; 17. "being your neighbor, therefore," he added

[1] *Διώκειν καὶ μαστεύειν.*] *Διώκειν, to pursue*, with the aid of the cavalry; *μαστεύειν, to search out*, through being well acquainted with the country. *Zeune.*

[2] A town of Thrace between Abdera and Doriscus, now called *Maronia.*

[3] A town of Mysia, mentioned c. 2, sect. 7.

"he will be greatly in a condition to do you both good and harm; and, if you are wise, you will accordingly give him what you have brought, and it will be bestowed to better account than if you were to give it to Medocus, who lives at a distance." 18. By these arguments he prevailed upon them. Accosting, in the next place, Timasion the Dardanian, as he had heard that he had cups and Persian carpets, he observed that it was customary, whenever Seuthes invited people to supper, for those who were invited to make him presents; "and," said he, "if he becomes powerful in this country, he will be able either to restore you to yours, or to make you rich here." In this manner he sued for Seuthes, addressing himself to each of the guests. 19. Advancing also toward Xenophon, he said, "You are of a most honorable city, and your name stands very high with Seuthes; and perhaps you will desire to have some place of strength, and a portion of land, in this country, as others[1] of your countrymen have. It will be proper for you, therefore, to honor Seuthes most magnificently; 20. and I give you this advice as your well-wisher; for I know that the greater presents you make him,[2] the greater benefits you will receive from him." Xenophon, on hearing this, was in some perplexity; for he had come over from Parium with only one servant, and just enough money for the journey.

21. When the company went in to supper, consisting of the chief Thracians who were there, the generals and captains of the Greeks, and such embassadors as had come from any city, the supper was prepared for them as they took their seats in a circle, and tables with three feet were then brought in for each. These tables were full of pieces of meat piled up, and large leavened loaves were attached to the meat. 22. The tables[3] were always placed near the strangers in preference to others; for such was their custom. Seuthes then first proceeded to act as follows: taking up the loaves that were set by him, he broke them into small portions, and distributed to

[1] He seems chiefly to allude to Alcibiades. See Corn. Nep. Arc. c. 7. *Zeune.* Consult Hellen. ii. 1. 25, where the *τείχη* of Alcibiades on the coast of Thrace are mentioned. *Schneider.*

[2] Τούτῳ.] Kühner, and most other editors, read *τούτων*, "than these," *i. e.* those of your countrymen to whom I have alluded.

[3] Αἱ *τράπεζαι.*] These are the same that are before called *τρίποδες*. *Kühner.*

those whom he pleased, and the flesh in a similar way, leaving for himself only just sufficient to taste. 23. The rest of those before whom tables were placed, followed his example. But a certain Arcadian, whose name was Arystas, an extraordinary eater, took no care about distributing, but taking in his hand a loaf of about three chœnices,[1] and placing some meat upon his knees, went on with his supper. 24. In the mean time they carried round horns of wine, and every body took some; but Arystas, when the cup-bearer came to him with the horn, and he observed that Xenophon had finished his supper, said, "Give it to him, for he is now at leisure; I am not so yet." 25. Seuthes, hearing the voice, asked the cup-bearer what he said; and the cup-bearer (for he knew the Greek language) told him. A laugh in consequence followed.

26. As the cup made its way, a Thracian entered leading a white horse, and, taking up a horn full of wine, said, "I drink to you, O Seuthes, and present you with this horse, mounted on which, and pursuing whomsoever you please, you will overtake him, and when retreating, you will have no cause to fear an enemy." 27. Another, bringing in a boy, presented him, drinking to Seuthes, in like manner, and another vestments for his wife. Timasion, drinking to him, made him a present of a silver cup, and a carpet worth ten minæ. 28. But one Gnesippus, an Athenian, rose up and said, that it was an excellent custom in old times, that those who had any thing should give presents to the king to do him honor, and that the king should give to those who have nothing; I, therefore, beg something of you,[2] that I may have something to present you, and to do you honor."

29. As for Xenophon, he was in doubt how to act, for he was seated, as a person held in honor, in the place next to Seuthes; and Heraclides now desired the cup-bearer to present him the horn. However, he stood up boldly (for he had by this time drunk rather copiously), and taking the horn, said, 30. "I present you, O Seuthes, myself, and these my comrades, to be your faithful friends, no one of them being reluctant, but all desiring, even more than myself, to be your adherents. 31. They are now here before you, asking nothing

[1] See i. 5. 7.

[2] Ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ, κ. τ. λ.] Sententia aliqua mente supplenda est, ut *dico tibi hoc*, aut *peto abs te hoc*. Kühner.

else of you, but desiring to labor for you, expressing their willingness to incur dangers for your sake; with whose assistance, if the gods are favorable, you will recover, on the one hand, a large portion of country which was your father's, and, on the other, acquire some in addition; and you will also become master of many men and women, whom it will not be necessary to take by force, but they themselves will come to you with presents in their hands." 32. Seuthes then stood up and drank with him,[1] and then joined with him in sprinkling what remained in the horn upon himself.[2]

Soon after some people came in that played on horns, such as they make signals with, and trumpets made of raw ox-hides, blowing regular tunes, and as if they were playing on the *magadis*.[3] 33. Seuthes himself rose up and uttered the war-

[1] Συνεξέπιε.] The preposition σὺν, says *Kühner*, shows that Seuthes received the address of Xenophon with pleasure. Porson (ed. Hutch.) reads συνέπιε, which is given by Suidas *sub voce* Καταοκεδάζειν. The use of the preposition ἐξ, indeed, is not very apparent, unless it be to signify that Seuthes drained the cup to the bottom.

[2] Καὶ κατεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας.] "It was a custom of the Thracians at their banquets, when the guests had drunk as much wine as they could, to pour the rest of the wine upon the garments of the guests, which they called κατασκεδάζειν." *Suidas.* "The Scythians and Thracians, iudulging in wine, both their wives and themselves, to excess, and pouring it over their garments, think that they observe an honorable and excellent custom." Plato de Legg. i. 9. The middle voice, in this passage of Xenophon, signifies that the Thracians poured whatever remained in the cup, after they had drunk, not on the garments of their guests, but on their own. *Kühner.* This critic accordingly rejects the emendation of Pierson and Mœrin, p. 217, though approved by Toup and Porson: συγκατέσκέδασε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κέρας, *quod reliquum erat vini, in convivas effudit.* But as Athenæus, iv. 35, Eustathius ad Hom. p. 707, Suidas sub voce κατασκεδάζειν and Phavorinus, all read μετ' αὐτοῦ instead of μετὰ τοῦτο, he has admitted that reading into his text, thus making the sense of the passage, "Seuthes joined with Xenophon in sprinkling the wine on himself," *i. e.* Seuthes sprinkled wine from his own goblet on his own garments, and Xenophon, imitating him, sprinkled wine from his own goblet on his own garments. This is, perhaps, the best way in which the passage can be read and interpreted, if the verb be kept in the middle voice, which is in accordance with the passage just cited from Plato, though somewhat at variance with what is said by Suidas. But whether they sprinkled the wine over their own clothes or those of others, or both, we may dismiss the passage with Spelman's observation, that it was a "ridiculous custom."

[3] Athenæus, iv. c. ult., says, Ὁ δὲ μάγαδις καλούμενος αὐλὸς—ὀξὺν

cry, and sprang out of his place with the utmost agility, like a man guarding against a missile. Buffoons also entered.

34. When the sun was near setting, the Greeks rose, and said that it was time to place the guards for the night, and to give out the watch-word. They requested Seuthes, at the same time, to give orders that none of the Thracians should enter the Greek camp by night; "for," said they, "both your enemies are Thracians, and so are you, our friends."[1] 35. As they were going out, Seuthes stood up, not at all like a man intoxicated, and, walking forth, and calling back the generals by themselves, said to them, "The enemy, my friends, know nothing as yet of our alliance; if, then, we should march upon them before they are on their guard against a surprise, or are prepared to make any defense, we should be very likely to take both prisoners and booty." 36. The generals expressed their assent to what he said, and desired him to lead them. "Prepare yourselves then," he replied, "and wait for me, and, when the proper time comes, I will come to you, and, taking the peltasts and yourselves, will, with the aid of the gods, conduct you." 37. "Consider, however, rejoined Xenophon, "whether, since we are to march in the night, the Greek practice is not preferable; for on the march, during the day, whatever part of the army be suitable for the ground, takes the lead, whether it be the heavy-armed men, or the peltasts, or the cavalry; but in the night it is the custom among the Greeks for the slowest part of the force to lead the way. 38. Thus the troops are least likely to be dispersed, and least in danger of straggling unobserved from one another; for bodies that have been separated often fall foul of each other, and both do and suffer injury unawares." 39. "You say well," replied Seuthes, "and I will conform to your custom; I will also provide you guides, some of the oldest men, best acquainted with the country; I will bring up the rear myself with the cavalry,

καὶ βαρὺν φθόγγον ἐπιδείκνυται: "The *magadis*, a pipe so called, gives forth a shrill and strong sound." This seems to be the instrument here meant, though the same author (ibid.) observes that there was another kind of *μάγαδις*, resembling a harp. Poppo refers to Boeck. Comment. Metr. in Pind. p. 261.

[1] Your enemies are Thracians, and you our friends are also Thracians, so that in the dark we might mistake you for our enemies. *Weiske.*

and, if there be occasion, will soon come up to the front." For the watch-word they fixed upon MINERVA, on account of their relationship.[1] After this conversation they went to rest.

40. When it was about midnight, Seuthes came to them with his cavalry clad in their corslets, and his peltasts equipped with their arms. After he had appointed the guides, the heavy-armed men took the lead, the peltasts followed, and the cavalry formed the rear-guard. 41. As soon as it was day, Seuthes rode up to the front, and extolled the Greek custom, for he said that he himself, when marching in the night, though but with a small force, had often been separated, along with the cavalry, from the infantry; "but now," he added, "we all appear in a body at break of day, as we ought to be. But halt here, and take some rest, and I, after having taken a survey of the country, will return to you." 42. When he said this, he rode off over a hill, taking a particular road. Having come to some deep snow, he examined whether there were any footsteps of men on it, pointing either forward or the contrary way. But as he found the way untrodden, he soon came back, and said, 43. "All will be well, my friends, if the gods be but favorable; for we shall fall upon the inhabitants unawares. For my own part, I will lead the way with the cavalry, in order that, if we come in sight of any person, he may not run off and give notice to the enemy. Follow me; and, if you are left behind, keep in the track of the cavalry. When we have crossed these hills, we shall come to a number of well-stored villages."

44. When it was mid-day, he had already reached the summit, and, after taking a view of the villages, came riding back to the heavy-armed men, and said, "I will now send off the horse to gallop down into the plain, and the peltasts to attack the villages. Follow therefore as fast as you can, that if any of the enemy offer resistance, you may give your support." 45. Xenophon, on hearing this, alighted from his horse. "Why do you alight," inquired Seuthes, "when it is necessary to make haste?" "I am sure," replied Xenophon, "that you do not want me only; and the heavy-armed men will hasten on with greater speed and alacrity, if I lead them on foot." 46. Seuthes then rode off, and Timasion, with about forty of the

[1] C. 2, sect. 31.

Greek cavalry, went with him. Xenophon called on the most active men of each company, such as were under thirty years of age, to come forward, and, taking these, he hurried on, while Cleanor led up the rest of the Greeks. 47. When they came to the villages, Seuthes, riding up to Xenophon, with about fifty horse, said, "What you said,[1] Xenophon, has happened; the inhabitants are captured; but my cavalry are gone off without a leader, pursuing the people some one way, some another; and I am afraid that the enemy, collecting in a body somewhere, may do us some mischief. It is necessary, too, that some of us should remain in the villages, for they are full of people." 48. "I then," said Xenophon, "with the force that I have, will possess myself of the heights; and do you, meanwhile, order Cleanor to extend his line along through the plain by the villages." When they had made this arrangement, about a thousand slaves, two thousand oxen, and ten thousand head of other cattle, were captured. They then took up their quarters there for the night.

CHAPTER IV.

Seuthes burns the villages, and takes more spoil. The Greeks suffer from cold. The Barbarians, who had fled, come down from the mountains on pretense of wishing to make a truce; they thus reconnoitre the camp, and then attack the Greeks in the night, by whom they are repulsed; they make submission to Seuthes, and their lives are spared.

1. The next day, Seuthes, having entirely burned the villages, and left not a single house standing (in order to strike terror into the rest of the people, when they saw what they would suffer if they did not submit), made a retreat. 2. The booty he sent Heraclides to sell at Perinthus, that pay might be raised for the soldiers. He himself and the Greeks en-

[1] To what this alludes, the critics are not agreed. Zeune refers it to sect. 38; Schneider to sect. 37; Bornemann, perhaps with more probability, to sect. 31, where Xenophon says, "You will become master of many men and women," to which he considers that the words of Seuthes, "the inhabitants are captured," refer. Halbkart, however, considers that it alludes to something which Xenophon has omitted to mention.

camped on the plain of the Thynians, who left their dwellings, and fled to the mountains.

3. There was now a great fall of snow, and such severe frost, that the water which the attendants brought in for dinner, and the wine in the vessels, were frozen, and the noses and ears of many of the Greeks were bitten off. 4. Hence it became evident why the Thracians wear the skins of foxes over their heads and ears, and coats that extend not only over their breasts, but round their thighs; and why, when on horseback, they wear wide garments,[1] not cloaks, reaching down to their feet.

5. Seuthes, sending some of the prisoners to the mountains, made it known that if the inhabitants did not come down and submit to him, he would burn both their villages and their corn, and that they would then perish with hunger. In consequence the women, children, and old men came down, but the younger sort encamped in the villages at the foot of the hills. 6. Seuthes, on receiving notice of their proceedings, desired Xenophon to take the youngest of the heavy-armed men, and to follow him. Starting, accordingly, in the night, they arrived at the villages by break of day. Most of the occupants fled, for the mountains were close at hand. All that Seuthes took, he put to the spear without mercy.

7. There was with him on this occasion one Episthenes,[2] an Olynthian, a great lover of boys, who, seeing a handsome youth, just in his bloom, with a shield in his hand, about to be put to death, ran up to Xenophon, and begged him to intercede for so beautiful a young man. 8. Xenophon, going up to Seuthes, begged him not to kill the youth, and made him acquainted, at the same time, with the character of Episthenes, telling him that he once raised a company in which he made it his sole object that the men should be handsome; and that at the head of these he proved himself a man of valor. 9.

[1] Ζειράς.] From what is said by Harpocration, that the *ζειραί* were put on *μετὰ τοὺς χιτῶνας, ὥσπερ ἐφαπτίδας*, Zeune concludes that the *ζειρά* was a *pænula* or outer garment, reaching to the feet, and fastened with a belt; referring also to what Herodotus (vii. 69) says of the Arabs, *ζειρὰς ὑπεζωσμένοι ἦσαν*. *Kühner*. The lower part seems to have been something of the nature of a petticoat. Spelman renders the word "cassocks."

[2] Not he that is mentioned i. 10. 7; iv. 6. 1.

Seuthes then put this question to Episthenes: "Would you be willing, Episthenes, to die for this youth?" Episthenes, stretching out his neck, replied, "Strike, if the youth desires it, and will feel grateful to me." 10. Seuthes next asked the youth whether he should kill Episthenes instead of him. The youth would not consent, but besought him to kill neither. Episthenes then embraced the youth, and said, "Now, Seuthes, you must fight with me for him; for I will not give up the youth." 11. Seuthes laughed, and did nothing further in the matter.

It was resolved by Seuthes that they should encamp where they were, in order that the people upon the mountains might not get subsistence from the villages. He himself, going down a little lower into the plain, pitched his camp there. Xenophon, with the select body of men,[1] fixed himself in the village highest up under the hills. The rest of the Greeks took up their quarters close by, among the people called the mountain Thracians.

12. Not many days had elapsed, when the Thracians, coming down from the hills to Seuthes, made a treaty with him about a peace, and the giving of hostages. Xenophon, at the same time, went and told Seuthes that they were encamped in a dangerous place, and that the enemy were near at hand, and said that he would rather encamp in some secure post abroad, than in a sheltered position with the danger of being cut off. Seuthes bade him fear nothing, and pointed to the hostages then in his hands. 13. Some of the people from the mountains, too, came down and begged Xenophon to assist them in effecting a treaty. Xenophon assented, told them to keep up their spirits, and engaged that they should suffer no harm if they submitted to Seuthes. But they had come with this request only for the purpose of acting as spies.

14. These things took place during the day. In the course of the following night the Thracians came down from the hills and attacked them. Each master of a house acted as a leader, for it would have been difficult for them, under any other arrangement, to find the houses in the villages in the dark, as they were surrounded with high palisades to secure the cattle. 15. When they came up to the door of each house, some hurled

[1] Ch. 3, sect. 46.

their spears in at them, others struck them with their clubs, which they carried, they said, to knock off the heads of the spears, while others set fire to the buildings, and calling for Xenophon by name, bade him come forth and be put to death; or else they declared that he should be burned to ashes upon the spot. 16. The fire soon began to show itself through the roof, and Xenophon and his men were within, with their corslets on, and their shields, swords, and helmets[1] in their hands, when Silanus, a native of Macestus,[2] about eighteen years of age,[3] blew a signal with a trumpet, and they immediately rushed out, with their swords drawn, as well as those from the neighboring houses. 17. The Thracians at once took to flight, slinging their shields, as was their custom, over their shoulders; and some of them, as they were trying to leap over the palisades, were caught and suspended, their shields sticking fast among the stakes; some were killed through missing the outlets; and the Greeks drove the rest out of the village. 18. A party of the Thynians, however, came back under cover of the darkness, and hurled their javelins at some of the Greeks that were running past a burning house, taking aim out of the darkness at those who were in the light; they wounded Hieronymus a Euodean,[4] and Theogenes a Locrian, both captains; but nobody was killed; though the clothes and baggage of some of them were burned. 19. Seuthes came to their relief with seven horsemen, the first that he met, bringing with him the Thracian trumpeter; and, when he saw how matters stood, the trumpet, by his orders, continued to sound as long as he was on the march to give aid; so that this noise also

[1] Perhaps they had been prevented by the lowness of the roofs from putting on their helmets.

[2] A town in the Triphylian district of Elis. *Steph. Byz.*

[3] Schneider supposes that the age of the youth is mentioned because it properly required a grown-up person to inflate a trumpet effectually; Halbkart, because he showed such presence of mind as would have been remarkable in one of maturer years.

[4] Ἱερώνυμόν τε Εὐοδέα.] The last word is generally regarded as corrupt. Kühner supposes that this is the same Hieronymus who is mentioned as a native of Elis, iii. 1. 34; vi. 4. 10; vii. 1. 32; and thinks that Xenophon here gives him an epithet from the particular town of Elis in which he was born. Some copies have Ἱερώνυμόν τε καὶ Εὐοδέα, as if Euodeus were the name of another man; but the καὶ is justly rejected by Bornemann; and Kühner, though he retains, does not defend it.

contributed to strike terror into the enemy. When he came up, he congratulated the Greeks, and said that he had expected to find many of them killed.

20. Xenophon then requested Seuthes to give up the hostages to him,[1] and to march with him, if he was willing, to the mountains; if not, to permit him to go himself. 21. The next day, accordingly, Seuthes gave him the hostages (who were men of advanced age, the most considerable persons, as they said, among the mountaineers), and joined him with his army. Seuthes had now a force three times as large as before;[2] for many of the Odrysæ, on hearing what he was doing, had come down to take the field with him. 22. The Thynians, when they beheld from the mountains so fast a force of heavy-armed men, peltasts, and cavalry, came down and besought him to make peace with them, engaging to serve him in every way, and requesting him to accept pledges from them. 23. Seuthes, calling in Xenophon, communicated to him what they said, and observed, at the same time, that he would not make peace, if Xenophon wished to take revenge on them for their attack. 24. Xenophon replied, "I consider myself sufficiently revenged, if these people, instead of remaining free, are to become slaves;" adding, however, that he advised him to take as hostages in future those who had most power to harm him, and to let the old men stay at home. All the people in this part of the country accordingly submitted to Seuthes.

CHAPTER V.

The Greeks are not paid in full, yet continue to serve Seuthes; the soldiers are dissatisfied, on this account, with Xenophon. Unfairness of Seuthes; the expedition to Salmydessus.

1. THEY now crossed over[3] to the Thracians above Byzantium, into what is called the Delta. This had not formed

[1] The reason for this request is not very clear.

[2] A force three times as great as he had before the Greeks joined him. *Zeune.*

[3] In the translation of the commencement of this chapter, I have adhered to the pointing of Dindorf, which makes ὑπερβάλλουσι the third

any part of the dominion of Mæsades,[1] though it had belonged to Teres, a son of Odryses,[2] some ancient king. 2. Here Heraclides met them with the price of the spoil.

Seuthes, selecting three pairs of mules (for there were no more), and others of oxen, sent for Xenophon and requested him to accept the first for himself, and to distribute the others among the generals and captains. 3. Xenophon replied, "For myself it will be sufficient to receive something another time; give these to the generals and captains that have followed you in company with me." 4. Timasion the Dardanian then received one of the pairs, Cleanor the Orchomenian another, and Phryniscus the Achæan the third; the pairs of oxen were divided among the captains. But Seuthes gave the army only twenty days' pay, though the month was expired; for Heraclides said that he had been unable to sell any more.[3] 5. Xenophon, being concerned at this deficiency, exclaimed, with an imprecation, "You seem to me, Heraclides, not to have such care for the interests of Seuthes as you ought to have; for, if you had such care, you would have brought the full pay, even though you had borrowed money to make it up, or sold your own clothes, if you could not raise the sum by any other means."

6. At this reproach Heraclides was extremely vexed, and feared that he should be deprived of the friendship of Seuthes; and, from that day, in whatever way he could, he labored to bring Xenophon into disgrace with Seuthes. 7. The soldiers, too, threw blame upon Xenophon because they did not receive their pay; and Seuthes was displeased with him because he was earnest in demanding it for them. 8. Until that time he had been constantly telling him that, when he arrived at the sea, he would put him in possession of Bisanthe, and Ganos,

person plural. Krüger and Kühner point the passage in such a way as to make *ὑπερβάλλουσι* the dative plural of the participle, dependent on *παρῆν*.

[1] The father of Seuthes, c. 2, sect. 32.

[2] The article *τοῦ* after *Τήρου* shows us that we should understand Xenophon as meaning *Teres the son of Odryses*, the old king from whom the Odrysæ were named. *Bornemann.* The sense of the passage seems to be that the Delta had formerly been part of the kingdom of the Odrysæ in the time of Teres, but had ceased to belong to it before or during the reign of Mæsades, the father of Seuthes.

[3] *Οὐ πλεῖον ἐμπολῆσαι.*] Not to be rendered with Leunclavius *non pluris*, but *non majorem prædæ partem.* Kühner

and Neontichos, but, after that period, he alluded to none of those places; for Heraclides had maliciously insinuated that it was not safe to intrust fortresses to a man at the head of an army.

9. Xenophon, in consequence, began to consider with himself what he ought to do about the expedition further up the country. Heraclides, meantime, was thrusting the other generals upon Seuthes, and urging them to say that they could lead the army not less effectively than Xenophon; he assured them also that, in a few days, their full pay for two months should be given them, and recommended them to continue in the service of Seuthes. 10. To this Timasion replied, "For my part, even if five months' pay were to be given me, I would not serve without Xenophon." Phryniscus and Cleanor expressed the same sentiments as Timasion.

11. Seuthes then blamed Heraclides for not calling in Xenophon with them; and they accordingly sent for him alone. But Xenophon, seeing that this was a trick of Heraclides, to render him unpopular with the rest of the generals, took with him, when he went, not only all the generals, but all the captains. 12. As they were all moved by the arguments of Seuthes, they joined him in an expedition, and proceeded through the country of the Thracians called Melinophagi, keeping the Euxine Sea on the right, to Salmydessus. Here many of the ships sailing into the Euxine are grounded and driven ashore; for a shoal there stretches far out into the sea. 13. The Thracians who live in those parts, set up pillars as boundaries, and each party plunder the wrecks stranded on their own portion of the coast; but for some time before they erected the pillars, it was said that they fell in great numbers by the hands of each other while engaged in plundering. 14. In this place were found couches, boxes, written books,[1] and

[1] *Πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι γεγραμμέναι.*] If *γεγραμμέναι* is genuine, as can not indeed be doubted, we must necessarily suppose that written books are meant. But some commentators have expressed great surprise at the mention of written books in this passage, because they were extremely scarce in those days, and because it was not at all likely that they would have been brought by merchants into those parts. This consideration induced Larcher to set aside the word *γεγραμμέναι*, and suggest that we should read *πολλὰ δὲ βυβλία*, that is, many *funiculi, restes, rudentes*, "ropes or cables." * * * On the traffic in books, see Becker's Charicles, tom. i. p. 207. *Kühner.* Some have

many other things, such as seamen carry in their wooden store-chests.[1] Having subdued this people, they went back again. 15. Seuthes had now an army superior in number to that of the Greeks; for many more of the Odrysæ had come down to him, and others, as fast as they submitted, joined his force. They encamped in a plain above Selybria, at the distance of about thirty stadia from the sea. 16. No pay as yet appeared; the soldiers were greatly dissatisfied with Xenophon; and Seuthes no longer treated him with familiarity, but, whenever he went to desire to speak with him, many engagements were pretended.

CHAPTER VI.

The Greeks are solicited by the Lacedæmonians to join them in a war with Tissaphernes, when a certain Arcadian brings a formal accusation against Xenophon; he defends himself, and is justified by others. He is requested by Seuthes to remain in his service with a thousand men, but resolves to depart.

1. At this time, when two months had nearly expired, Charminus, a Lacedæmonian, and Polynicus, came from Thibron, and stated that the Lacedæmonians had resolved to take the field against Tissaphernes, and that Thibron[2] had set sail

thought that βίβλοι here means merely *rolls of bark*, as Theophrastus (H. P. iv. 8. 4) says that the βίβλος was used for sails, ropes, mats, and other articles; but this notion, as well as that of Zeune and Weiske, who think that nothing but paper is meant, is irreconcilable with the word γεγραμμέναι, which, as Kühner observes, we have the strongest reason to think genuine. "And as so many books were written and read in Greece," says Krüger, "it is not at all surprising that some of them should have been transported to the Greek colonies." Hutchinson refers to a passage of Theopompus, similar to that of Xenophon, preserved by Longinus, sect. 43.

[1] Ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι.] These, in case of shipwreck, would not sink, but float to the shore. *Krüger.*

[2] Θίβρων.] See c. 2, sect. 28. Tissaphernes, unsuccessful in his attempts on the Ten Thousand Greeks, had returned to Asia Minor to assume Cyrus's authority, and take vengeance on such as had supported him. The cities of Ionia, fearing his resentment, had applied for protection to the Lacedæmonians, who had sent out Thibron thither as harmost, with an army of 4500 men. See Xen. Hellen. iii. 1. 3.

for the purpose of carrying on the war with him; adding that he was in want of this auxiliary force, and promised that a daric a month should be the pay for each common soldier, twice as much for the captains, and four times as much for the generals. 2. When these Lacedæmonians arrived, Heraclides, hearing that they were come for the army, remarked to Seuthes that it was a fortunate occurrence, "for the Lacedæmonians," said he, "are in want of the army, and you no longer require it; by resigning it, therefore, you will gratify them, and the soldiers will cease to ask you for pay, and will leave the country."

3. Seuthes, listening to these representations, desired him to bring the Lacedæmonians to him; and as they told him that they were come for the army, he said that he would give it up, and was willing to be their friend and ally, and invited them to a banquet, at which he entertained them magnificently, but did not invite Xenophon, or any of the other generals. 4. The Lacedæmonians inquiring what sort of a person Xenophon was, he replied, that in other respects he was not a bad man, but that he was a great friend to the soldiers, "and on that account," added he, "it is the worse for him."[1] "Does the man then," said they, "try to make himself popular with the soldiers?" "Certainly," replied Heraclides. 5. "Will he not then oppose us," said they, "respecting the removal of the army?" "But if you call the soldiers together," rejoined Heraclides, "and promise them pay, they will show little regard to him, and will hasten away with you." 6. "How, then," said they, "can they be assembled to hear us?" "To-morrow morning," answered Heraclides, "we will bring you to them, and I feel assured that, as soon as they see you, they will readily flock together." Thus ended that day.

7. Next morning Seuthes and Heraclides conducted the Lacedæmonians to the army, and the soldiers were called together. The Lacedæmonians then stated that it was resolved by their countrymen to go to war with Tissaphernes, "who," said they, "has injured you. If therefore you join with us, you will both revenge yourselves on an enemy, and will receive, each of you, a daric a month, a captain double, and a general fourfold." 8. The soldiers listened to this offer with

[1] He is in a worse condition than he would be, if he paid less regard to the soldiers. *Kühner*.

pleasure; and one of the Arcadians immediately rose up to make an accusation against Xenophon. Seuthes was also present, being desirous to know how the matter would end, and was standing where he could easily hear, attended by an interpreter, though he himself understood most of what was spoken in Greek. 9. The Arcadadian proceeded to say, "We should certainly, O Lacedæmonians, have been with you long ago, if Xenophon had not wrought upon us and led us hither, where, serving through a severe winter, we have had no rest[1] night or day; while he has the fruit of our labors, and Seuthes enriches him personally, and deprives us of our pay; 10. so that if I, who am the first to speak on this occasion, could see him stoned to death, and paying the penalty for what he has made us suffer in dragging us about, I should think that I had received my pay, and should cease to be concerned at what I have undergone." After him another stood up, and then another; when Xenophon proceeded to speak as follows:

11. "A man may well, indeed, expect any kind of fate, since I now meet with accusations from you, at a time when I am conscious of having displayed the utmost zeal to serve you. After I had set out homeward, I turned back, not certainly from learning that you were in a satisfactory condition, but rather from hearing that you were in difficulties, and with the intention of aiding you if I could.[2] 12. When I got back to the army, though Seuthes here sent many messengers to me, and promised me many advantages, if I would induce you to go to him, I made no attempt, as you yourselves know, to do so, but led you to a place[3] from which I thought you would have the quickest passage into Asia; for I considered that this course would be best for you, and knew that you desired it. 13. But when Aristarchus came with his galleys, and prevented you from sailing across, I then (as was doubtless proper) called you together, that we might consider what measures we ought to take. 14. After hearing then Aristarchus, on the one hand, desiring you to go to the Chersonesus,

[1] Πεπαύμεθα.] *Πεπάμεθα* has crept into many editions, Henry Stephens having said that it was found in some manuscripts. But Dindorf and Kühner declare that every manuscript that has yet been examined presents *πεπαύμεθα*.

[2] See c. 1, sect. 40, and c. 2, sect. 8.

[3] Perinthus: c. 2, sect. 10. *Kühner.*

and listening to Seuthes, on the other, urging you to take the field with him, you all said that you would go with Seuthes, and all gave your votes for that course. In what respect then did I wrong you on that occasion, by leading you whither you all resolved to go?

15. "Since Seuthes, however, has begun to break his word concerning your pay, you, if I were to express approbation of his conduct, would justly accuse and detest me; but if I, who was previously his greatest friend, and now most of all men at variance with him, with what reason can I, who have preferred your interest to that of Seuthes, incur censure from you for that very conduct through which I have brought upon me his enmity? 16. But perhaps you may say that I have received your pay from Seuthes, and am merely deluding you. This however is certain, that if Seuthes has paid me any thing, he did not pay it with a view of losing what he paid me, and of paying, at the same time, an additional sum to you; but, I should think, if he had given me any thing, he would have given it with this intention, that by bestowing on me a less sum, he might not have to pay you a greater. 17. If therefore you suppose that such is the case, it is in your power to render the compact profitless to both of us, by requiring from him your pay; for it is evident that Seuthes, if I have received any thing from him, will in that case demand it back from me, and will demand it justly, if I fail to fulfill the contract for which I was bribed? 18. But I am conscious of being far from possessing any thing that belongs to you; for I swear to you by all the gods and goddesses, that I have not even received what Seuthes promised me for myself; and he is himself present, and as he hears me, knows whether I commit perjury or not; 19. and, that you may be still more surprised, I swear that I have not even received as much as the other generals have received, no, nor even as much as some of the captains. 20. From what motive, then, did I act thus? I thought, my fellow-soldiers, that the more I participated in his poverty for the time, the more effectually should I render him my friend when he should be able to serve me. But I now see him at once in a state of prosperity, and understand his real disposition. 21. Possibly some one may say, 'Are you not ashamed, then, of having been thus foolishly deceived?' I should indeed be ashamed, if I had been thus deceived by an

enemy, but in a friend it appears far more disgraceful to deceive than to be deceived. 22. If however we are to be on our guard against friends, I know that we have been on the strictest guard not to give Seuthes any just pretense for refusing to pay us what he promised; for we have neither done him any harm, nor neglected his interests, nor shrunk from any undertaking to which he called us.

23. "But, you may say, I ought to have taken pledges at the time, that even if he had had the will, he might not have had the power to deceive. With regard to this point, hear what I should never have mentioned before him,[1] if you had not shown yourself either extremely inconsiderate or extremely ungrateful toward me. 24. For recollect in what circumstances you were placed, when I extricated you from them by conducting you to Seuthes. Did not[2] Aristarchus the Lacedæmonian prevent you from entering Perinthus, shutting the gates if you offered to approach the city? Did you not encamp without the wall in the open air? Was it not the middle of winter? Had you not to buy provisions, when you found but few commodities for sale, and had but little with which to buy? 25. Were you not obliged to remain in Thrace, because galleys at anchor prevented you from sailing across, while, whoever staid, had to stay in an enemy's country, where there were numbers of cavalry and numbers of peltasts to oppose you? 26. And though we had a heavy-armed force, with which, going to the villages in a body, we might perhaps have procured a moderate supply of food, we had no troops with which we could pursue or capture slaves or cattle; for I found neither cavalry not peltasts any longer existing in a body among you. 27. If, then, when you were in such straits, I had, without demanding any pay for you, procured you Seuthes for an ally, who had cavalry and peltasts, of which you were in want, should I have appeared to have consulted ill for you? 28. For, through having the aid

[1] He would not have said this in the presence and hearing of Seuthes, lest Seuthes might say, in justification of his conduct, that he had done the Greeks benefit, and that they had not been led to join him from any liking for his service, but from being compelled by the difficulties of their circumstances. *Weiske.*

[2] Most editors, I might perhaps say all, give this passage interrogatively, except Dindorf, who puts no note of interrogation. I have not thought proper to adhere to him on this occasion.

of these troops, you not only found a greater abundance of provisions in the villages, from the Thracians being obliged to flee with greater precipitation, but had a greater share of both cattle and slaves. 29. As for enemies, we no longer saw any after the cavalry was attached to us, though, before that time, they pursued us both with horse and peltasts, hindering us from dispersing any where in small parties, so as to get provisions in greater quantities. 30. And if he who offered you this security, did not give you, in addition, very high pay for the security,[1] is this the dreadful calamity of which you complain, and do you think that, on this account, you ought by no means to allow me to live?

31. "But under what circumstance is it that you are now leaving the country? Is it not after having passed the winter in the midst of abundance, and while you have in your possession, besides, whatever you have received from Seuthes? What you have consumed belonged to the enemy; and while faring thus, you have neither seen any of your number killed, nor lost any alive. 32. If any reputation had been gained by you against the Barbarians in Asia, have you not that still undiminished, and have you not added to it a new glory by subduing the Thracians, against whom you took the field, in Europe? I think, indeed, that you may justly return thanks to the gods, as for so many blessings, for those very things for which you are incensed against me.

33. "Such is the state of your affairs; and now, in the name of the gods, consider what is the condition of mine. When I first set sail for home, I went off with great praise from you, and with honor, through your means, from the rest of the Greeks. I was also trusted by the Lacedæmonians, or they would not have sent me back to you.[2] 34. But now I go away calumniated in the eyes of the Lacedæmonians by your statements, and at enmity with Seuthes upon your account, whom I hoped, by serving him in conjunction with you, to secure as an honorable protector both for myself and my children, if I should have any. 35. Yet you, for whose sake chiefly I have incurred hatred, and incurred it from people far more powerful than myself, and while I do not yet cease attempting whatever good I can for you, entertain such an

[1] Consult what is said on v. 6. 31. [2] C. 2, sect. 8.

opinion of me as you now express. 36. But you have me in your power, having neither found me fleeing nor attempting to flee; and, if you do what you say, you will put to death a man who has often watched for your safety; who has gone through many toils and dangers in company with you, according to his share and beyond his share; who, by the favor of the gods, has raised with you many trophies over the Barbarians; and who has exerted himself most strenuously for you,[1] in every way that he could, in order that you might not make yourselves enemies to any of the Greeks. 37. As it is, you are at liberty to go whither you please, by sea or land, without censure; and now, when abundance of every thing presents itself before you, when you are going to sail whither you have long desired to go, when those who are at the height of power solicit your services, when pay is offered, and when Lacedæmonians, who are thought to be the best of leaders, are come to take the command of you, does it seem to you to be a fit time for putting me at once to death? 38. You had no such inclination when we were in the midst of hardships, O men of admirable memories![2] You then called me father, and promised always to remember me as your benefactor. However, those, who are now come to request your services, are not void of judgment, so that, as I think, you will not, by being such as you are toward me, appear better in their estimation." Having spoken thus, he ceased.

39. Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, then stood up and said, "By the twin gods,[3] soldiers, you do not appear to be displeased with this man on any reasonable grounds; for I myself can bear testimony in his favor: since, when Polynicus and myself asked Seuthes about Xenophon, inquiring what sort of man he was, he had nothing else to lay to his charge,

[1] Πρὸς ὑμᾶς.] *Contra vos* or *apud vos*. The former is perhaps preferable. He alludes, v. gr. to vii. 1. 25, *seqq*. *Weiske*. Also to vi. 6. 11, *seqq*. *Kühner*. Weiske is right in interpreting "contra vos." *Schneider*. I follow those who are in favor of *vestrâ causâ*, "for your sake." *Bornemann*. I think Bornemann in the right. Yet *contra vos* might perhaps be Englished, "against your follies or caprices."

[2] Ὦ πάντων μνημονικώτατοι.] Must be understood ironically, Henry Stephens thinks that we should read *ἀμνημονικώτατοι*, which Jacobs approves, considering that irony is unsuitable to the passage.

[3] See on vi. 6. 34.

but, as he said, that he was a great friend to the soldiers, on which account, he observed, it was worse for him[1] both with us Lacedæmonians and with himself." 40. Eurylochus an Arcadian, a native of Lusia,[2] rising up after him, exclaimed, "It seems to me, Lacedæmonians, that your first act of generalship for us should be this, to exact our pay from Seuthes, either with his consent or against it, and that, till you do so, you ought not to lead us from hence. 41. Polycrates, the Athenian, next rose and spoke in favor of Xenophon:[3] "I see," said he, "soldiers, Heraclides also present here, who, after receiving the spoil which we obtained by our exertions, and having sold it, gave the proceeds neither to Seuthes nor to us, but having appropriated it to himself, still keeps possession of it. If therefore we are wise, we shall lay hold of him, for he is not a Thracian, but, being himself a Greek, acts dishonestly to Greeks."

42. Heraclides, on hearing this remark, was still more[4] alarmed, and, moving toward Seuthes, said, "If we are wise,[5] we shall withdraw from hence, out of the power of these men." Mounting their horses, accordingly, they rode off to their own

[1] See sect. 4. [2] iv. 2. 21.

[3] *Εἶπεν ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος.*] This is the reading which Dindorf's text exhibits, but to which most critics must surely prefer the common reading, *εἶπεν ἀναστὰς ὑπὲρ Ξενοφῶντος*, "arose and spoke on behalf of Xenophon," *i. e.* in favor and justification of Xenophon. "Eurylochus did not indeed speak undisguisedly," observes Kühner, "in behalf of Xenophon, but rather with a covert attempt to transfer the blame from Xenophon to Heraclides. It is, however, greatly to be doubted," he adds, "whether the received reading be genuine; for instead of *ἀναστὰς* three manuscripts exhibit *αἰνετῶς*, 'in a praiseworthy manner,' and two have *ἐνετὸς*, which Dindorf has admitted into his text, changing at the same time *ὑπὲρ* into *ὑπὸ*, so that *ἐνετὸς ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντος* will be 'suborned by Xenophon.' But a strong objection to this reading is, that *ἐνετός* is a word of the later age of the Greek language; it occurs in Appian; but Xenophon would rather have used *ὑπόπεμπτος*, as in iii. 3. 4. Nor is this word altogether suitable to the narrative. Some have objected to the order of the words *εἶπεν ἀναστάς*, instead of *ἀναστὰς εἶπεν*, which is more usual in Xenophon; but this is a matter of very small moment, and is completely nullified by the examples adduced in Bornemann's note and in Sturz's Lex. Xen. tom. i. p. 209, as well as by Cyrop. ii. 3. 4; De Rep. Ath. i. 6; and Hellen. i. 7. 7."

[4] Five manuscripts have *μᾶλλον*, instead of *μάλα*, which Dindorf has injudiciously adopted. *Kühner.*

[5] *Ἢν σωφρονῶμεν.*] This seems to be an intentional repetition of these words, which occur just above, in the speech of Polycrates.

camp; 43. from whence Seuthes sent Abrozelmes, his interpreter, to Xenophon, and begged him to remain in his service with a thousand heavy-armed men, engaging at the same time, to give him the fortresses on the sea, and the other things which he had promised him. He also told him, causing it to be communicated as a secret, that he had heard from Polynicus, that if he fell into the hands of the Lacedæmonians, he would certainly be put to death by Thibron. 44. Many other persons, too, sent notice to Xenophon that he had been made an object of calumny, and ought to be upon his guard. Xenophon, on receiving these communications, took two victims and sacrificed to Jupiter, consulting him whether it would be better for him to stay with Seuthes on the conditions that he proposed, or to go away with the army. Jupiter signified to him that he had better depart.

CHAPTER VII.

The Greeks go to get provisions from the villages. Medosades tries to send them away, and prevails on Xenophon to go and consult the Lacedæmonians. The Lacedæmonians refuse to take away the army till Seuthes has paid them. Xenophon's speech to Seuthes. Seuthes at last produces the money, which Xenophon gives to the Lacedæmonians to be distributed among the soldiers.

1. Seuthes then encamped at a great distance; and the Greeks quartered in villages from which they intended to get plenty of provisions, and then to march to the sea. These villages had been given by Seuthes to Medosades; 2. who, seeing his property in them consumed by the Greeks, was much displeased; and, taking with him one of the Odrysæ, the most influential of all those that had come down from the upper country, and about fifty horse, went and called Xenophon out of the Grecian camp. Xenophon, taking some of the captains, and other proper persons, came out to meet him. 3. Medosades then said, "You act unjustly, O Xenophon, in laying waste our villages. We give you notice therefore, I on the part of Seuthes, and this man on the part of Medocus the king of the upper country, to quit this district; if, however, you do not quit it, we shall not allow you to continue your depredations, but, if you do harm to our territories, we shall defend ourselves against you as enemies."

4. Xenophon, on hearing this warning, said, "To give you an answer, when you speak in such terms, is painful, yet for the information of this young man, I will reply to you, that he may know what sort of people you are, and what sort we are. 5. We," he continued, "before we became your allies, marched through this country whithersoever we thought fit, laying waste what we pleased, and burning what we pleased; 6. and you yourself when you came to us as an embassador, pitched your tent with us, without fear of any enemy; but your people never entered this region at all, or, if ever you did venture into it, used to encamp with your horses still bridled, as in the territory of those more powerful than yourselves. 7. But now, since you have become allied with us, and have by our means, and with the assistance of the gods, got possession of the country, you would drive us from that very land which you received from us, when we held it as our own by force of arms, for, as you are aware, the enemy were not strong enough to dispossess us. 8. And you would send us away, not only without offering us a present, or doing us any service in return for the benefits that you have received from us, but even without allowing us to encamp, as far as you are able to prevent us, when we are just taking our departure. 9. In addressing us thus, you show no respect either for the gods or for the man that accompanies you, who beholds you now abounding in wealth, but who saw you, before you were our ally, supporting your existence by plunder, as you yourself have acknowledged.[1] 10. But why do you address yourself thus to me," added Xenophon, "for I no longer hold the command, but the Lacedæmonians, to whom you gave the army that they might lead it away, and gave it, O most admirable of men, without calling on me to take part in the resignation of it, so that, as I incurred their disapprobation when I brought it to you, I might now do them a pleasure by restoring it to them."

11. When the Odrysian heard this account, he said, "I, O Medosades, am ready to sink into the earth with shame, as I listen to such a statement. Had I known this before, I should certainly not have accompanied you, and shall now take my departure; for Medocus, my king, would by no means approve my conduct, if I should assist in expelling his benefactors

[1] C. 2, sect. 34. *Kühner*.

from the country." 12. As he uttered these words, he mounted his horse and rode off, and all the other horsemen went with him, except four or five. But Medosades (for the devastation of the country made him uneasy) requested Xenophon to call to him the two Lacedæmonians. 13. Xenophon, taking the most eligible persons to attend him, went to Charminus and Polynicus, and told them that Medosades wished to speak with them, intending to warn them, as they had warned him, to quit the country. 14. "I think, therefore," continued Xenophon, "that you might secure the pay owing to the army, if you were to say that the troops have entreated you to support them in obtaining their dues from Seuthes, whether with his consent or without it; that they engage to follow you cheerfully if they gain their object; that they appear to you to say what is just; and that you have promised them not to depart until they have received their just demands." 15. The Lacedæmonians replied that they would say this, and whatever else they might be able to urge with the greatest effect; and immediately set out, with all proper persons accompanying them.

When they arrived, Charminus said, "If you have any thing to say to us, Medosades, speak; if not we have something to say to you." 16. Medosades replied, very submissively, "I have to say, and Seuthes says the same, that we desire that those who have become our friends may suffer no evil at your hands; for whatever harm you do to them, you do at the same time to us, as they are our allies." 17. "We, then," said the Lacedæmonians, "shall be ready to depart, when those who have effected such services for you, have received their pay; if they do not receive it, we are here even now to take their part, and to take vengeance on such as have wronged them in violation of their oaths. If you are of that number, it is from you that we shall begin to require justice for them." 18. "Would you be willing, Medosades," rejoined Xenophon, "to leave it to the people in whose country we are (as you say that they are your friends), to decide whether it is fit that you should quit the country, or we?" 19. To this proposal he would not consent, but urged the two Lacedæmonians by all means to go to Seuthes about the pay, and said that he thought they would succeed with Seuthes; if they did not, he requested them to send Xenophon with him, and promised to

support their application. In the mean time he begged them not to burn their villages.

20. They then deputed Xenophon, and those who appeared most eligible along with him. When he came to Seuthes, he said, "I am not come, O Seuthes, to ask any thing of you, but to convince you, if I am able, 21. that you had no just cause to be displeased with me for demanding, on behalf of the soldiers, the pay which you so readily promised them; since I thought it would be not less advantageous for you to pay it than for them to receive it; 22. for I knew that, next to the gods, they have been instrumental in placing you in a conspicuous position, by making you king over a large extent of country and great numbers of people, so that it is not possible for you to escape the notice of mankind, whether you do what is good or what is evil. 23. To a man in such a condition it seems to me to be of no small importance that he should not be thought to send away his benefactors without gratitude; of importance also to have the approbation of six thousand men; and most important of all to show that you are never to be distrusted in what you say. 24. For I observe the words of the faithless wander about without power, influence, or regard; while the words of those who are known to observe truth, are not less effectual, if they desire any thing, in accomplishing their desire, than the strength of other men; if they wish to recall any one to his duty, I know that the threats of such men are not less influential in producing reform than the actual punishments of others; and if men of such a character promise any thing, they produce no less effect by their promises than others by giving at the moment. 25. Consider with yourself; what did you pay us before you obtained our alliance? You know that you paid us nothing; but from confidence being placed in you that you would truly perform what you said, you induced such a number of men to join you in the field, and to conquer for you a kingdom not worth fifty talents merely, the sum which they now think they ought to receive from you, but many times that sum. 26. First of all, then, this confidence which was placed in you, and which secured you the kingdom, is bartered away by you for this sum of money.

27. "Consider, too, how great a matter you then thought it to obtain those dominions which you have now subjugated

and possess. I am well aware that you would have prayed for the accomplishment of what has now been done for you rather than for many times such a sum of money. 28. To me, then, it seems a greater disadvantage, as well as a greater disgrace, not to retain this power than not to have acquired it; just as it is more grievous to a man to become poor after being rich than never to have been rich at all, and as it is more afflicting to appear as a private man after having been a king, than never to have been on a throne. 29. You are sensible, moreover, that those who have now become your subjects, have not submitted to be governed by you from any affection for you personally, but from necessity, and that they would endeavor to make themselves free again, if there were no fear to restrain them. 30. Whether therefore do you think that they will be more under the restraint of fear, and act more sensibly for your interests, if they should see these troops so disposed toward you, as to be willing to stay now if you request them, or soon to return again if it should be necessary, and find that others, hearing many good accounts of you from these, are ready to join you at once whenever you wish; or if they should form an unfavorable opinion of you, and believe that no others will engage in your service through distrust arising from what has now happened, and that the Greeks are better affected toward your new subjects than yourself? 31. These people, besides, did not submit to you because they were inferior in number to us, but because they wanted leaders. It is now a matter of apprehension, then, that they may choose some of our men, who think themselves wronged by you, or the Lacedæmonians, who are still more powerful than they, as leaders, especially if, on the one hand, our soldiers promise to serve the Lacedæmonians with greater alacrity, on condition that they[1] exact what is due to them from you, and the Lacedæmonians on the other, assent to this condition from the need which they have of our army. 32. That the Thracians who have just become subject to you, would march against you much more willingly than with you, is indisputable; for, while you hold the mastery, servitude is their lot, but, if you are conquered, freedom.

33. "If, again, it be your business to take forethought for

[1] That is, the Lacedæmonians.

the country, as being your own property, whether you do think that it would be less exposed to harm, if these soldiers, after having received from you what they claim, should go away leaving peace behind them, or if they say in the country as in that of an enemy, and you, with other soldiers more numerous than they, who will be constantly in want of provisions, proceed to take the field against them? 34. Or whether will more money be expended by you, if what is due to the Greeks be paid, or if this be left due, and you have at the same time to take other troops, able to overcome them, into your service?

35. "But this sum, in the opinion of Heraclides (as he expressed himself to me), appears excessively large. It is doubtless, however, a much lighter matter for you either to receive or pay such a sum, than it was before we joined you, to receive or pay the tenth part of it. 36. For it is not the actual amount that defines the much or the little, but the ability of him who has to pay or to receive. But your annual income is now greater than the whole of the property which you formerly possessed.

37. "In these observations, O Seuthes, I have had regard to your interest as to that of a friend, in order that you may appear worthy of the advantages which the gods have bestowed upon you, and that I, at the same time, may not lose all reputation with the army. 38. For be assured, that if I now wished to do harm to an enemy, I should not be able to effect it with these troops, and that, if I desired again to give assistance to you, I should not be in a condition to do so; such is the feeling of the army toward me. 39. Yet I call both you yourself, and the gods who know the truth, to witness, that I have neither received any thing from you on account of the soldiers, nor have I ever asked of you, for my own private use, what was due to them nor have I claimed what you promised me. 40. I also swear to you, that, even though you had offered to pay me, I would not have received any thing from you, unless the soldiers had been at the same time to receive what was due to them; for it would have been disgraceful in me to have settled my own business, and to have allowed theirs to continue in an unsatisfactory condition, especially when I had received the honor from them.

41. "To Heraclides, however, every thing seems a trifle, in

comparison with the acquirement of money by whatever means. But I, O Seuthes, think no possession more honorable or more glorious to a man than that of virtue, and justice, and generosity. 42. He that has these qualities, is rich in the numerous friends that he has, and rich in the good-will of numbers that wish to become his friends; if he is prosperous, he has associates ready to rejoice with him; if he meets with a reverse of fortune, he is not in want of people to lend him aid.

43. "If you have neither understood from my actions that I am a friend to you at heart, nor are able to discover it from my words, yet consider, by all means, the expressions of the soldiers concerning me; for you were present and heard what those said who thought to asperse me. 44. They accused me to the Lacedæmonians of regarding you more than them; they also charged me with taking more care that your affairs might prosper than their own; and they added, that I had received presents from you. 45. Whether, then, do you think that they accused me of having received those presents from you, because they saw in me some ill-will toward you, or because they observed in me a great zeal for your good? 46. I consider, indeed, that all men are of opinion that gratitude ought to be cherished[1] toward him from whom they have received favors. You, before I did you any service, entertained me favorably with looks, and words, and demonstrations of hospitality, and were never satisfied with promising how great rewards should be mine; and now, when you have accomplished what you desired, and have become as great as I could assist you to become, have you the heart to allow me to be thus dishonored among the soldiers? 47. I have, nevertheless, confidence that time will yet teach you to resolve to pay, and that you, of yourself will not endure to

[1] 'Αποκεῖσθαι.] Two manuscripts have ἀποκεῖσθαι, which Dindorf, Poppo, and Krüger have admitted into their texts (instead of the common ἀποδείκνυσθαι). It can not be denied that there is much elegance in this reading, for ἀποκεῖσθαι, like κατατίθεσθαι and other similar verbs, are very frequently used in regard to favors and benefits, as is shown by Poppo, referring to Jacobs ad Achill. Tat. p. 678; yet this circumstance does not appear to me of sufficient weight to justify us in deserting that reading which is supported by the authority of almost all the manuscripts, and makes very good sense. See my note on the Mem. Soc. ii. 1. 21. *Kühner.*

see those who freely did you service,[1] loading you with reproaches. I entreat you, then, when you make the payment, to study to leave me in as much credit with the army as you found me."

48. Seuthes, on hearing this address, uttered imprecations on the man who had been the cause that the debt was not discharged long before (and every one surmised that Heraclides was meant), "for," said he, "I never meant to deprive the men of their pay, and will now give it to them." 49. Xenophon then said again, "Since, therefore, you are resolved to pay, I now beg you to make the payment through me, and not to suffer me, on your account, to bear a different character with the army from that which I bore when we came to you." 50. Seuthes replied, "You shall not lose more credit with the army by my means; and if you will stay with me with only a thousand heavy-armed men, I will give you the fortresses, and every thing else that I promised." 51. "It can not be so," rejoined Xenophon; "let us, therefore, depart." "Yet I know," replied Seuthes, "that it will be safer for you to remain with me than to go away." 52. "I commend[2] your care of me," rejoined Xenophon, "but it is impossible for me to stay; yet be assured that wherever I receive greater honor, there will be good attendant on it for you." 53. Seuthes then said, "I have but very little money, and that I give you, one talent;[3] but I have six hundred oxen, four thousand sheep, and a hundred and twenty slaves; take these, and the hostages[4] from those who were treacherous to you, and depart." 54. "And if these," said Xenophon, laughing, "are not sufficient to

[1] *Τούς σοι προεμένους εὐεργεσίαν.*] Schneider observes that the phrase *προέσθαι τινὶ εὐεργεσίαν* was used when a person conferred a benefit on another without being certain whether he should receive any return; and refers to Plato, Gorg. p. 520. "The Greeks," says Kühner, "had indeed bargained for a remuneration (c. 2, sect. 36), but, though it was not paid, they still continued to give their services to Seuthes." Krüger, however, observes that Xenophon certainly indulges in a little rhetorical exaggeration.

[2] *Ἐπαίνω.*] A similar mode of expression to that of people declining an invitation, "I thank you," "I am obliged to you," as in Latin *laudo*, *benignè*. See Bos. Ellips. p. 785, ed. Schæfer. *Kühner.*

[3] i. 7. 18.

[4] Weiske observes that these were Thynians, who had broken their word, by attacking Xenophon in the night, c. 4, sect. 14. See also sect. 13, 20, 21. *Poppo.*

make up the pay, for whom shall I say that I have the talent?[1] Will it not be better for me, since danger threatens me, to secure myself against stoning by taking my departure?[2] You heard the threats." The remainder of that day they continued there.

55. The next day Seuthes delivered to them the cattle he had promised, and sent men with them to drive them. The soldiers, in the mean time, began to say that Xenophon was gone to Seuthes to live with him, and to receive what Seuthes had promised him; but when they saw him returning, they were rejoiced, and ran to meet him. 56. As soon as Xenophon saw Charminus and Polynicus, he said, "This property has been saved for the army through your influence; I deliver it to you; dispose of it, and divide the proceeds among the soldiers." The Lacedæmonians accordingly received the cattle, and, appointing salesmen, sold it, and incurred much blame.[3] 57. As for Xenophon, he took no part in the proceeding, but openly prepared to return home; for a vote of banishment had not yet been passed against him at Athens.[4] But his friends in the camp came to him, and begged him not to desert them until he had led off the army and delivered it to Thibron.

[1] *Τσνος τάλαντον φήίω ἔχειν;*] "whose talent shall I say that I have?" Among which of the Greeks shall I divide this talent, when their number is so great? *Kühner.*

[2] Xenophon is to be considered as speaking with a sort of irony or sarcasm. If I return to the camp of the Greeks with this small sum of money, great danger will threaten me; it will, therefore, be better for me to go away than to return to the camp. *Kühner.*—The passage may be understood thus: Since danger threatens me, Seuthes, as you yourself observed (sect. 51), will it not be better for me to go away into my own country, and so escape stoning? *Bornemann.* Comp. c. vi. sect. 10.

[3] It being supposed that they had been guilty of fraud in the distribution. *Kühner.*

[4] See the biography of Xenophon prefixed to this volume.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Greeks pass over to Lampsacus. Xenophon, having received no pay, is obliged to sell his horse. He sacrifices to Jupiter Meilichius. The Greeks arrive at Pergamus. Xenophon is prevailed upon to attack Asidates, a Persian nobleman, and at length takes him prisoner, with a great quantity of booty, of which he receives a considerable share. He delivers the army into the hands of Thibron, to be incorporated with the forces assembled against Tissaphernes.

1. From hence they sailed across to Lampsacus, when Euclides the augur, a native of Phlius,[1] the son of Cleagoras, who wrote The Dreams in the Lyceum,[2] came to meet Xenophon. He congratulated Xenophon on having returned safe, and asked him how much gold he had. 2. Xenophon assured him, with an oath, that he should not have enough for his expenses in traveling home, unless he sold his horse, and what he had about him. Euclides did not believe him. 3. But after the people of Lampsacus had sent presents to Xenophon, and Xenophon was proceeding to sacrifice to Apollo, he made Euclides stand beside him at the time, who, on inspecting the victims, said that he was now convinced he had no money. "But I observe," added he, "that even if money should ever

[1] A city of Achaia in the Peloponnesus, between Sicyon and Argos.

[2] *Τοῦ τὰ ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ γεγραφότος.*] I interpret with Brodæus and Krüger, "he who wrote the Dreams in the Lyceum," *i. e.*, the book entitled "Dreams in the Lyceum." Whether the received reading be genuine, is uncertain; for three manuscripts read *τοῦ τὰ ἐνοίκια ἐν οἰκίῳ.* Several conjectures have been proposed by scholars, as *ἐντοίχια*, *εἰκόνια*, *ἐνώπια*, but these, as nothing is known of Cleagoras, can be of no service in leading us to a decision. The conjecture *ἐνώπια* (a Homeric word) was thrown out by Toup, Ep. Critic. p. 48, Lips., in the sense of "he who painted the front or façade of the Lyceum." Weiske defends *ἐνύπνια*, on the supposition that Cleagoras might have been a painter of such genius as to have given a striking representation of the dreams mentioned in the Odyssey, τ', 562, as going out of the horn and ivory gates; or of such as went on foot, Il. β', 8, 16; or of such as flew about, Eur. Hec. 71. Schneider remarks that there was a *statue of a dream* in the temple of Æsculapius, as is told by Pausanias, Corinth. 10. 2. Bornemann thinks the word *ἐνύπνια* suspicious, and incloses it in brackets. As to the omission of the article after *ἐνύπνια*, it can offend no one, if we consider, with Krüger, that *Ἐνύπνια ἐν Λυκείῳ*, was the title of the book.—I read *γεγραφηκότος*, instead of *γεγραφότος*, with four of the best manuscripts. See Lobeck. in Addend. ad Phryn. p. 764. *Kühner.*

The Lyceum was a sacred inclosure at Athens, dedicated to Apollo,

be likely to come to you, there will be some obstacle, and, if no other, that you will be an obstacle to yourself."[1] Xenophon assented to the justice of the observation. 4. "Jupiter Meilichius,[2] however," said Euclides, "is an obstacle in your way;" and then asked whether he had ever sacrificed to that god, "as I was accustomed," continued he, "to sacrifice and offer holocausts for you at home."[3] Xenophon replied, that since he had left home he had not sacrificed to that deity. Euclides then advised him to sacrifice as he had been used to do, and said that it would be for his advantage. 5. Next day, Xenophon, going on to Ophrynium, offered a sacrifice, burning whole hogs[4] after the custom of his country, and found the omens favorable.

6. The same day Biton and Euclides[5] came to bring pay for the army. These men were hospitably entertained[6] by

where the polemarch originally kept his court. It was decorated with fountains, plantations, and buildings, and became the usual place of exercise for the Athenian youth who devoted themselves to military pursuits. Nor was it less frequented by philosophers, and it was especially the favorite resort of Aristotle and his followers. Cramer's Ancient Greece, vol. ii. p. 340.

[1] By your disinterestedness and liberality. *Weiske.*

[2] That is, Jupiter *placabilis*, Jupiter that might be propitiated by sacrifices. This appellation is often given to Jupiter, as in Thucyd. i. 126, where see Duker. See the Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub. 407; and Meurs. in Thes. c. 7. But it appears from Pausanias, x. 38, that there were several gods to whom this title was given. *Hutchinson.*

[3] Εἰώθειν ἐγὼ ὑμῖν θύεσθαι καὶ ὁλοκαυτεῖν.] As I was accustomed at home (*i. e.* at Athens) to sacrifice and burn for you whole victims, the καὶ being explicative, and equivalent to *namely.* * * * This mode of sacrificing is to be distinguished from the common method, in which only the best parts of the victims were burned in sacrifice to the gods. *Kühner.* Hence it appears that Euclides lived at Athens with Xenophon, and was accustomed to assist at his sacrifices as an augur or priest; and thus a friendship and familiarity had arisen between them. *Schneider.*

[4] Χοίρους.] Larcher, referring to Thucyd. i. 126, and the scholiast on that passage, conjectures that these were not real swine, but loaves baked in the shape of swine; a conjecture which Schneider justly repudiates; for as there is nothing in the text to indicate that the word is used in that signification, it is our business to take it in its ordinary sense.

[5] Not the Euclides mentioned in sect. 1. Kühner thinks the name corrupt.

[6] Ξενοῦνται.] The phrase ξενοῦσθαί τινι usually means "to enter

Xenophon, and having repurchased his horse, which he had sold at Lampsacus for fifty darics (as they suspected that he had parted with it from necessity, for they had heard that he was fond of the horse), they restored it to him, and would not receive from him the price of it.

7. Hence they advanced through Troas, and, passing over Ida, came first to Antandrus; then, proceeding along by the sea, they arrived at the plain of Thebe in Lydia.[1] 8. Marching from hence through Atramyttium and Certorium, by Atarneus, to the plain of the Caicus, they reached Pergamus in Mysia.

Here Xenophon was hospitably received by Hellas the wife of Gongylus of Eretria,[2] and mother of Gorgion and Gongylus. 9. She told him that Asidates, a Persian, resided in the plain, and said that if he would attack him in the night with three hundred men, he might take him, with his wife and children, and his wealth, which was considerable. 10. To guide him in the enterprise she sent her own cousin, and a man named Daphnagoras, whom she greatly esteemed; and Xenophon, having these with him, offered sacrifice. Basias, an augur from Elis, who was present, said that the omens were extremely favorable, and that the man might easily be captured. 11. After supper, accordingly, he set out, taking with him such of the captains as were most attached to him, and had constantly been his friends, in order that he might do them a service.[3] Others also came to join the party, forcing

into a bond of hospitality with any one," "to become a person's guest-friend," but as this relation already existed between the parties, we must take the verb here in a more general signification. *Krüger.* So with ξενοῦται in sect. 8.

[1] Krüger thinks that we should read *Mysia*, in which it appears that Thebe or Hypoplacia (so called from being built at the foot of Mount Placos) was situate. See Schneider ad h. l., and Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 129.

[2] Gongylus of Eretria had been an accomplice of Pausanias in his treachery to Greece; see Thucyd. i. 128; Diod. Sic. xi. 44; C. Nep. Paus. ii. 2. Xerxes in consequence, according to the practice of the Persian kings (see ii. 1, 3; Herod. viii. 85, 136), had put him in possession of certain towns, of which it may be inferred from this passage that Pergamus was one. See Hellen. iii. i. 6, from whence it appears that he was an exile in the time of the Persian wars. Hellas we must suppose to have been the wife, not of this Gongylus, but of his son. *Krüger.*

[3] By giving them a share of whatever plunder he might get.

themselves upon him, to the number of six hundred; but the captains sent them back, that they might not have to give them any portion of the booty, which they regarded as ready to their hands.

12. When they came to the place, about midnight, the slaves that were about the castle, and the greater part of the cattle, escaped them, as they neglected these in order that they might capture Asidates himself and his riches. 13. But as they were unable to take the building by assault (for it was high and large, and had battlements, and many brave men to defend it), they proceeded to dig a passage into it. 14. The wall was eight bricks of earth thick; but a breach was made into it by day-break; and the moment an opening appeared, some one from within pierced the thigh of the man that was nearest him through with an ox-spit;[1] and afterward, by shooting showers of arrows, they rendered it unsafe even to approach. 15. As they uttered loud cries, too, and made signals with torches, Itabelius,[2] with his force, came to their assistance, as well as some Assyrian heavy-armed men, and about eighty Hyrcanian cavalry, who were in the king's pay, from Comania; and other troops, lightly armed, to the number of eight hundred, with cavalry, some from Parthenium, and others from Apollonia and the neighboring parts.

16. It was now time for the Greeks to consider how they should retreat; and, taking what oxen and sheep were at hand, they drove them off, placing them with the slaves, within a hollow square, not so much because they were anxious about the booty, but lest, if they went off and left it, their retreat might appear like a flight, and the enemy might thus be rendered bolder, and their own men more dispirited; whereas they now retired as if resolved to defend their capture. 17. But when Gongylus observed that the Greeks were but few, and those who hung upon their rear were numerous, he sallied forth himself, against the will of his mother, at the head of his own force, wishing to take a share in the action; Procles also, and Teuthranias, a descendant of Damaratus,[3] came to his support

[1] A large spit; such as might be supposed large enough for roasting a whole ox.

[2] Who he was, is uncertain. Bornemann conjectures that we should read *Itabelisis*.

[3] See ii. 1. 3. Teuthrania was a city of Mysia, on the river Caicus.

from Halisarne. 18. Xenophon and his party, as they were sorely harassed by the enemy's arrows and slings, and as they marched in a circle to hold their shields as a defense against the missiles, got with great difficulty across the river Caicus, nearly half of them being wounded. 19. On this occasion Agasias the Stymphalian, one of the captains, was wounded after making head the whole time against the enemy. But they at last came off safe, with about two hundred slaves, and cattle enough for sacrifice.

20. On the following day Xenophon offered sacrifice, and led out his whole force in the night, with a design to go as far as possible into Lydia, in order that the Persian might not be in fear from his proximity, but be thrown off his guard. 21. But Asidates, hearing that Xenophon had again sacrificed with a view to an attack upon him, and that he would return with all his strength, went out to encamp in some villages lying close under the little town of Parthenium. 22. Here Xenophon and his troop came round upon him, and captured himself, his wife and children, his horses, and all his property; and thus the omens of the first sacrifice were verified.

23. They then marched back to Pergamus; and here Xenophon had no cause to complain of the god;[1] for the Lacedæmonians, the captains, the rest of the generals, and the soldiers, all agreed that he should receive select portions of the spoil, consisting of horses, oxen, and other things; so that he was now able even to serve a friend.

24 Soon after, Thibron arrived and took charge of the army, and, uniting it with the rest of the Greek force, proceeded to make war upon Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

25.[2] The governors of the king's country, as much of it as

See Strabo, xiii. p. 615. Damaratus had been king of Sparta, but, having been expelled from his throne by his colleague Cleomenes, had taken refuge with Darius Hystaspes, by whom he was courteously received, and presented with the cities Teuthrania and Halisarna. See Herod. vi. 67; Xen. Hellen. iii. 1, 6. *Kühner.*

[1] Jupiter Meilichius. See sect. 4, 5. *Kühner.*

[2] This paragraph is pronounced by Krüger, de Authent. p. 7, *seqq.*, to be a mere interpolation. His reasons for forming this opinion are chiefly these: 1. That Xenophon is made to use the first person in it; a circumstance, however, which Kühner thinks of little weight, referring to i. 9. 28, and v. 7. 23, in both which passages Xenophon uses the first person. 2. That Cyrus was satrap of Lydia and Phrygia before he marched against his brother, and that Tissaphernes succeeded him in the

we went through, were these: of Lydia, Artemas; of Phrygia, Artacamas; of Lycaonia and Cappadocia, Mithridates; of Cilicia, Syennesis; of Phœnicia and Arabia, Dernes; of Syria and Assyria, Belesys; of Babylon, Rhoparas; of Media, Arbacas; of the Phasiani and Hesperitæ, Tiribazus (the Carduchi, the Chalybes, the Chaldæans, the Macrones, the Colchians, the Mossynœci, the Cœtæ, and the Tibareni, were independent nations); of Paphlagonia, Corylas; of the Bithynians, Pharnabazus; and of the Thracians in Europe, Seuthes.

26. The computation of the whole journey, the ascent and descent,[1] was two hundred and fifteen days' march, one thousand one hundred and fifty-five parasangs, thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty stadia. The length of time occupied in the ascent and descent was one year and three months.

government of them. 3. That it is utterly incredible that Phœnicia and Arabia, countries lying at such a distance from one another, could have formed one satrapy. 4. That Syria and Assyria were never under the same satrap. 5. That if we suppose *Hesperitæ* to mean the Western Armenians, how is it that Xenophon makes no mention of Eastern Armenia, the satrap of which he had named, iii. 5. 17? 6. Why also does he not mention the Taochi and Drilæ? 7. What is to be made of the Cœtæ, who are mentioned neither in the Anabasis nor in any other ancient author? 8. That it is ridiculous to rank Seuthes among the king of Persia's satraps. These reasons appear sufficient to convince most readers of the spuriousness of the paragraph. Dindorf, however, allows it to stand without any mark of disapprobation. Kühner incloses it in brackets.

[1] As far as Cotyora; for from Ephesus to Cunaxa are numbered (ii. 2. 6) 535 parasangs, and 16,050 stadia; and from Cunaxa to Cotyora (v. 5. 4), 620 parasangs, and 18,600 stadia. Thus from Ephesus to Cotyora the distance was 1155 parasangs, and 34,650 stadia. *Zeune.* But the manuscripts do not all agree with regard to the numbers. *Kühner.* See the "Tabular View" subjoined.

TABULAR VIEW

OF

THE MARCHES AND STOPPAGES IN THE EXPEDITION OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TABULAR VIEW OF THE MARCHES AND STOPPAGES

EXTRACTED FROM THE EDITION OF

THE *ANABASIS*, OR MARCH UP THE COUNTRY TO CUNAXA.

	Parasangs.	Days' March.	Stoppages.	Date. B.C. 407.	Reference to Xenophon.
From Sardis to the Mæander	22	3		Mar. 9	i. 2. 5.
To Colossæ	8	1	7 days.	10—17.	i. 2. 6.
To Celænæ	20	3	30	20—Apr. 19.	i. 2. 7.
To Peltæ	10	2	3	Apr. 21—24.	i. 2. 10.
To Ceramorum Forum	12	2		24—26.	i. 2. 10.
To the Plain of Caystrus	30	3	5	29—May 4.	i. 2. 11.
To Thymbrium	10	2		May 6.	i. 2. 13.
To Tyriæum	10	2	3	8—11.	i. 2. 14.
To Iconium	20	3	3	14—17.	i. 2. 19.
Through Lycaonia	30	5		22.	i. 2. 19.
To Dana	25	4	3	26—29.	i. 2. 20.
In the Plain			1	30.	i. 2. 21.
Through the Defiles into Cilicia	25	4		June 3.	i. 2. 21.
Stay at Tarsus			20	23.	i. 2. 23.
From Tarsus to R. Psarus	10	2		25.	i. 4. 1.
To Pyramus	5	1		26.	*ib.*
To Issus	15	2	3	28—July 1.	*ib.*
To the Gates of Syria	5	1		July 2.	i. 4. 4.
To Myriandrus	5	1	7	3—10.	i. 4. 6.
To the river Chalus	20	4		14.	i. 4. 9.
To the River Daradax	30	5		19.	i. 4. 10.
To Thapsacus	15	3	5	22—27.	i. 4. 11.
To the river Araxes	50	9	3	Aug. 5—8.	i. 4. 19.
To Corsote	35	5	3	13—16.	i. 5. 4.
To Pylæ	90	13		29.	i. 5. 5.
Through Babylonia	15	4		Sept. 2.	i. 7. 1.
Day of the battle at Cunaxa			1	3.	i. 8. 0.
Sum	514	84	97		

To this sum is to be added the march from Ephesus, which is said to have occupied three days: see Krüger, ed. maj. p. 551. But Xenophon himself (Anab. ii. 2. 6) states that "the length of the journey from Ephesus in Ionia to the place where the battle was fought, was ninety-three days' march, five hundred and thirty-five parasangs, and sixteen thousand and fifty stadia; while from the field of battle to Babylon the distance was said to be three hundred and sixty stadia." Hence it follows, either that Xenophon has made a mistake in reckoning up the numbers, or that the numbers themselves have been corrupted by transcribers.

As to the dates in this table, the reader may consult Krüger, ed. maj. p. 556: Ainsworth, Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, p. 240, *seqq.*; Karl Koch, Der Zug der Zehntausend nach Xenophons Anabasis, Leipz. 1850, p. 140, *seqq.* Kühner.

IN THE EXPEDITION OF THE TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

DR. RAPHAEL KÜHNER.

THE *CATABASIS*, OR RETURN FROM CUNAXA TO COTYORA.

	Parasangs.	Days' March.	Stoppages.	Date. B.C. 401, 400.	Reference to Xenophon.
Day after the battle of Cunaxa				Sept. 4.	ii. 2. 1, *seqq.*
Junction with Ariæus		2	23 days.	6—29.	ii. 2. 8.
To the Wall of Media		3		Oct. 2.	ii. 4. 9—12.
To Sitace	8	2	2	4.	ii. 4. 13.
To the river Physcus	20	4		8.	ii 4. 25.
Through Media	30	6		14.	ii. 4. 27.
To Cænæ	4	1		15.	ii. 4. 28.
To the river Zabatus	16	4	3	19—22.	ii. 5. 1.
To some villages not named	5	1	1	23, 24.	iii. 3. 11. iii. 4. 1.
To Larissa		1		25.	iii. 4. 7.
To Mespila	6	1		26.	iii. 4. 10.
To some villages not named	4	1	1	27, 28.	iii. 4. 13—18.
Through the Plain		1		29.	iii. 4. 18.
To a palace		5	3	Nov. 3—6.	iii. 4. 24.
To certain villages		1		7.	*ib.*
Into the Plain		3		10.	iii. 4. 31.
March back		1		11.	iii. 5. 13.
Through the Carduchi		7		18.	iv. 1. & 2.
At the river Centrites			1	19.	iv. 3. 2.
To the sources of the Tigris	15	3		22.	iv. 4. 3.
To the river Teleboas	15	3		25.	*ib.*
Through the Plain	15	3	2	28—30.	iv. 5. 2.
To the Euphrates		4		Dec. 4.	*ib.*
To the Armenian villages		4	7	8—15.	iv. 5. 22, 23.
When the guide escaped		3		18.	iv. 6. 3.
Advance beyond the Phasis	35	7		25.	iv. 6. 4.
To the mountains of the Taochi	10	2	1	27, 28.	iv. 6. 5.
Crossing the mountains		1		29.	iv. 6. 5—27.
Through the Taochi	30	5		Jan. [3. B.C. 400.	iv. 7. 1.
Through the Chalybes	50	7		10.	iv. 7. 15.
Through the Scythini	20	4	3	15—18.	iv. 7. 18.
To Gymnias	20	4		22.	iv. 7. 19.
To Mount Theches		5		27.	iv. 7. 21.
Through the Macrones	10	3		30.	iv. 8. 1—8.
Through the Colchians		3		Feb. 2.	iv. 8. 8.
Battle with the Colchians			1	3.	iv. 8. 9—19.
Delay on account of the honey			3	6.	iv. 8. 20.
To Trebisond	7	2	31	8—Mar. 10.	iv. 8. 22.
To Cerasus		3	10	Mar. 13—23.	v. 3. 2.
To the borders of the Mossynœci		1		24.	v. 4. 2.
Through the Mossynœci		8		Apr. 1.	v. 4. 2—29.
Through the Chalybes		1			v. 5. 1.
To Cotyora		2	45	3—May 10.	v. 5. 3.
Sum		122	143		

So Xenophon (Anab. v. 5. 4) says that "the length of the journey down the country, from the field of battle near Babylon to Cotyora, was a hundred and twenty-two days' march, six hundred and twenty parasangs, and eighteen thousand six hundred stadia, occupying eight months," *i. e.* from September 4th, 401, to May 18th, 400. The voyage from Cotyora to Sinope took two days, May 19th and 20th; the army staid at Sinope five days, that is, till May 25th; and two days after, May 27th, they arrived at Heraclea. From thence they proceeded to

the Harbor of Calpe, situated in Bythnia, or Asiatic Thrace; at the beginning of October they crossed over to Byzantium; and during December, 400, and January, 399, they were engaged in the service of the Thracian prince, Seuthes. *Kühner.*

Xenophon (v. 5. 4) terminates the *Catabasis* at Cotyora. A summary of the events that took place after the Greeks arrived at Cotyora, is subjoined.

	Occurrences	Reference to Xenophon.	Date. B.C. 400, 399.
Cotyora.	Xenophon thinks of forming a settlement here, but is disappointed.	v. 6. 15, 17.	
	Xenophon is impeached, and defends himself.	v. 7. 1, *seqq.*	
	The army purified.	v. 7. 35.	
	Trial of the generals.	v. 8. 1—26.	
	Truce made with Corylas of Paphlagonia.	vi. 1. 1.	
	Embarkation of the army.	vi. 1. 14.	
Sinope,	Arrival at.	vi. 1. 15.	
	Cheirisophus returns.	*ib.*	
	Xenophon offered the sole command, but declines it in favor of Cheirisophus.	vi. 1. 18.	
Heraclea,	Voyage to.	vi. 2. 16.	
	The army separates into three divisions	vi. 2. 16.	July 1.
	Arcadian division in danger; relieved by Xenophon.	vi. 3. 5, *seqq.*	
Port of Calpe.	Cheirisophus dies.	vi. 4. 11.	
	Pharnabazus cuts off five hundred of the Greeks through the rashness of Neon.	vi. 4. 2.	
	Pharnabazus and his party defeated.	vi. 5. 7—32.	
	Cleander, harmost of Byzantium, comes to the Greeks.	vi. 6. 6.	Aug. 7.
Chrysopolis,	The Greeks proceed to.	vi. 6. 38.	
	Anaxibius, the Spartan admiral, lurks the Greeks out of Asia by promising them employment and pay.	vii. 1. 1.	
Byzantium.	They accordingly cross over to Byzantium.	vii. 1. 7.	
	They find themselves deceived, and threaten to pillage Byzantium.	vii. 1. 16.	
	Four hundred of the Greeks sold as slaves by Aristarchus the successor of Cleander.	vii. 2. 6.	
Perirthus.	Arrival at.	vii. 2. 11.	
	Xenophon confers with Seuthes.	vii. 2. 23.	Mid-winter, vii. 6. 24.
	The Greeks enter the service of Seuthes (in which they remain two two months, vii. 6. 1).	viii. 3. 14.	Dec. 5.
	Acts of Seuthes and the Greeks in Thrace (pay withheld, vii. 5. 2 & 9; paid, vii. 7. 55).	vii. 3. 34.	
Selybria.	Thibron the Spartan invites them to join him in the war in Asia.	vii. 5. 15. vii. 6. 1.	
Lampsacus,	Arrival at.	vii. 8. 1.	
	March through Troas to Pergamus.	vii. 7. 8.	
	Attack upon Asidates.	vii. 8. 9.	399, B.C.
	Great spoil taken.	vii. 8. 22.	
	The Greeks join Thibron.	vii. 8. 24.	Mar. 5.

A COMMENTARY

ON

THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON,

BY

WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH,

F.S.A., F.R.G.S., F.G.S., ETC.

A COMMENTARY

ON

THE ANABASIS OF XENOPHON.

THE zeal and critical acumen of scholars and travelers innumerable, have been devoted to the elucidation of the very remarkable journey of the Greeks under Cyrus, from Sardes, the capital of Lydia in Asia Minor, to Babylonia; and the still more extraordinary and interesting retreat along the river Tigris by Kurdistan and Armenia to the shores of the Black Sea.

The survey of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris by the expedition under Colonel Chesney, gave, however, opportunities for investigating this very interesting subject, such as had never previously presented themselves; and these opportunities may be said to have received their complement, by the advantages which were derived from a journey in Kurdistan and Armenia, performed in 1840, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by the writer, who, upon that occasion, followed the track of the gallant little corps, through the most intricate and difficult portions of their wanderings. The result of these researches were first given to the public in a little book, published in 1844, entitled "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks."

Since that time, however, further elucidations have rapidly succeeded one another, by far the most important of which are contained in the great work by Colonel Chesney, "The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris," of which the two first volumes only are yet published. These volumes, however, comprise all that refers to the expedition of Cyrus, and contain an immense mass of matter corroborative or corrective of what has been before published.

The brilliant discoveries of Layard in Assyria, and the not less valuable and important philological researches of Colonel Rawlinson, have also, during the lapse of the last ten years, brought a flood of light to bear upon the past history and con-

dition of the population that dwelt upon the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which are not without their intimate bearings upon the narrative left to us by the Athenian historian and commander.

Several classical scholars have also contributed their share of new and valuable critical inquiries; among the most important of which is a correction made by Professor Malden, and published in the Classical Museum (No. vii. p. 36, *et seq.*), of the generally accepted version of the passage which occurs in the Anabasis (iv. 6. 4), and which has been hitherto read as, "After this they marched seven days' marches, at the rate of five parasangs a day, *to* the river Phasis," but which according to Professor Malden, must be read as *along* the river Phasis. There is no real ambiguity, Professor Malden avers, in the meaning of *παρα* in such a context.

The effect which such a correction of seven marches has upon that portion of the Catabasis which refers to Armenia is considerable. The number of marches between the Euphrates and the Phasis or Araxes, is reduced to seven, or by one-half what was previously supposed, and this important correction proportionately affects the subsequent portion of the route.

The commentary or exposition now offered to the public is therefore just as much a commentary on the "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks," as it is on those works which preceded it, and on those inquiries and speculations which have been entertained since. It is by no means, however, supposed to carry the subject out of the domain of further inquiry: much remains to be done before all the questions connected with this most perplexing subject can receive a complete and satisfactory solution.

Sardes.—Leaving his relatives and friends in charge of the governments of Lydia, Phrygia, and Ionia, Cyrus is described as commencing his march from Sardes or Sardis, in April, displaying as Colonel Chesney remarks, admirable judgment in taking the more circuitous route along the great plains and through the principal cities of Asia Minor, in preference to that by which Xerxes advanced through Cappadocia; since it gave him the support of his fleet, by which he could receive supplies and reinforcements from time to time, besides having a fair chance of concealing for a longer period his bold design.

The capital of the ancient kingdom of Lydia was situated at the foot of Mount Tmolus, in a fine plain watered by the river Pactolus, of gold-bearing celebrity. It was once a great and flourishing city, and from its wealth and importance was the object of much cupidity and of many sieges. When taken by Cyrus the Great, under Crœsus, its last king, who has become proverbial for his riches, Sardes was one of the most splendid and opulent cities East. After their victory over Antiochus it passed to the

Romans, under whom it rapidly declined in rank and importance. In the time of Tiberius it was destroyed by an earthquake, but was rebuilt by order of the emperor.

The inhabitants of Sardes bore an ill repute among the ancients for their voluptuous habits of life. Hence, perhaps, the point of the phrase in the Apocalyptic message to the city—"Thou hast a few names, even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments." (Rev. iii. 4.) The place that Sardes holds in this message, as one of the "seven churches of Asia," is the source of the peculiar interest with which the Christian reader regards it.

Successive sieges and earthquakes, and the ravages of Saracens and Turks, have reduced this once flourishing city to a heap of ruins, presenting, however, many remains of its former splendor. When visited by W. J. Hamilton in 1836, with the exception of a few black Yuruk tents, the only habitation was that of a Greek miller, who had taken advantage of one of the streams which flow past the Acropolis, to turn the wheel of his mill.

The principal ruin is that of the Acropolis, situated on the top of a crumbling hill. The ruin is, however, itself made up of ancient fragments, the walls and gateway of the fortress being, according to Hamilton, probably Byzantine, and there being no traces of walls of Hellenic construction. Two gigantic Ionic columns, with other huge fragments, mark the site of the temple of Cybele. There are also remains of a Roman theater, but the marble seats, the proscenium, and scena, are all gone: also of a stadium, the northern side of which has been artificially formed by a wall supported on arches running along the side of the hill. There are also remains of the two early Christian churches, one of which has been too hastily concluded, by travelers, to have been the church of Sardis to which allusion is made in the Apocalypse; but besides that the expression can only have referred to the community of Christians then established, the nature of the structure shows that its date must have been at least posterior to the overthrow of the Pagan religion and the destruction of the temples toward the end of the fourth century. Many other remains are scattered over the area of the ancient town; among which the most remarkable is the so-called Gerusia, situated near the western limits of the city, partly built of brick and partly of stone, but of a late period; while to the west of these two walls are the massive marble fragments of another building, apparently of much older date.

A countless number of sepulchral hillocks beyond the Hermus, heighten the desolateness of a spot which the multitudes lying there once made busy by their living presence and pursuits.[1]

[1] The late Captain Newbold called the attention of the Royal Asiatic Society (see Journal, vol. xiii. p. 88) to the opening of some of the singular tumuli, which compose the Necropolis of the Lydian kings, more especially that of Alyattes. It is probable, he remarked, that their interior will be

MÆANDER.—The direction of Cyrus' march appears to have been parallel to the Cogamus, and having made in three days twenty-two parasangs, he arrived at the river Mæander, which he passed on a bridge of seven boats, probably above the junction of the Lycus. The Mæander was celebrated in classic poetry for its tortuousness, whence our term—meandering. Ovid, in describing the Minotaur's labyrinth, compares it with the Mæander,

> As soft Mæander's wanton current plays,
> When through the Phrygian fields it loosely strays;
> Backward and forward rolls the dimpled tide,
> Seeming at once two different ways to glide:
> While circling streams their former banks survey,
> And waters past succeeding waters see;
> Now floating to the sea with downward course,
> Now pointing upward to its ancient source.

It may be remarked here, that considering the stadium and parasang as fragments of the earth's true meridional circumference, as more particularly developed by Colonel Jervis, the amount admitted in the Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks, was 607.62977 English feet for the first, 5468.668 English feet for the second.

The principle upon which this estimate is founded is this: that the Jewish itinerary measure was the Parsah of 3 Bereh; each Bereh of $7\frac{1}{2}$ Khebel, or 3000 measures. The Parsah, corresponding to the Greek παρασαγγα, or the Persian Farsakh, the Bereh to the Turkish Beré, and the Khebel, or rope, to the stadium. The Jewish Bereh was the 24,000th of the earth's true meridional circumference; the fundamental measure, therefore, the 72,000,000th of the meridional circumference, which Colonel Jervis, having computed to the ellipticity $\frac{1}{303}$ from a comparative summary of the results of the Lapland, British, French, and Indian measurements, is $\frac{131248051\cdot0764841}{72\cdot000000}$ or 21.8724876 inches English. Now the element is to the common element, of all those itinerary measures alluded to by Eratosthenes, Cleomedes, Posidonius, and other historians and other writers, whether Egyptian, Jewish, Greek, Roman, or the earlier Arabian, as 5 to 9,—that is, they were, one and all, the 40,000,000th, the Jewish the 72,000,000th, of the earth's meridional circumference; and hence the true length of the Roman and Greek foot, and cubit, and stadium may be immediately inferred.

For the Jewish Parsah being the eight-thousandth part of the circumference, or 24,000 such measures above stated, was 5468.668 feet English. The Bereh, 1-24,000th of the meridional circumference, or 3000 such measures, was 5468.668 feet English. The Khebel, or stadium = 729.15584 feet English (the side,—*i. e.* the

found to correspond with those singular tombs (supposed those of the Pelopides) in the hills near Burnabat, overlooking the Gulf of Smyrna.

length and breadth, of the greatest pyramid, or that of Cheops). One-ninth of this was the Greek and Roman stadium, 607.62977 feet English; the 600th part, the true Greek foot, 12.156 English inches; the 625th part, the true Roman foot, 11.67 English inches. The Greek and Roman cubits respectively 18.2289 and 17.4997 English inches.

Colonel Jervis felt satisfied that these data would serve to clear up many difficulties in the writings of Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny, Diodorus, Curtius, and others, whose apparent discrepancies he believed to be due rather to our misapprehension, than to any obscurity or inaccuracy in those authors. For either we must suppose the earth to have altered in dimension, the situation of remarkable places to have changed, or the ancients to have been wholly devoid of intelligence; or we must resort to the conclusion that the misapprehension of these difficulties is rather to be sought for in our own want of patient consideration.

Colonel Chesney has proceeded upon a much more latitudinarian system. "The modern farsang or barsakh of Persia," he says in his great work, "The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris," vol. ii. p. 207, "varies according to the nature of the ground, from three and a half to four English miles per hour; and being always calculated for mules, or good horses, under favorable circumstances, it frequently exceeds four miles. The ancient parasang appears to have been fixed at thirty stadia, which at 202.84 yards would give three geographical miles. But this being also a road measure, it no doubt varied as at present, and was regulated according to the nature of the country; and fortunately we have the means of ascertaining this difference with considerable precision. A line drawn along the map so as to touch the river, at short distances, from Thapsacus to the river Araxes, is about one hundred and five miles, which for the fifty parasangs of Xenophon, give 2.10 geographical miles each. By the route followed from Sardis to Thapsacus, it is eight hundred and fifty-three geographical miles, which will give 2.608 geographical miles for each of the three hundred and twenty seven parasangs. Again, from Thapsacus to the mounds of Muhammad, thirty-six miles from Babylon, where, for the sake of water, the route constantly follows and almost touches the river Euphrates, it is four hundred and twelve geographical miles, thus giving 1.98 geographical miles for each of the two hundred and eight parasangs, or 2.294 geographical miles for the mean of both."

"This scarcely differs from the result obtained by the laborious and discriminating geographer, Major Rennel, who, without our present advantages, estimated the parasang at 2.25 miles; which, in fact, approaches an average of the whole march of Cyrus. We find that the distance from Sardis to Cunaxa, or the mounds of Muhammad, can not be much under or over 1265 geographical

miles, making 2.364 geographical miles for each of the five hundred and thirty-five parasangs given by Xenophon between those places."

"From the preceding calculations," continues Colonel Chesney, "it appears that we are warranted in taking the average value of the parasang at 2.608 geographical miles throughout the march to Thapsacus, and at 1.98, or almost two miles, from thence to Cunaxa; but subsequently it is less than two geographical miles. The greater speed in the first part of the march, was the natural consequence of moving during the most favorable season of the year (April and May), with the additional advantage of roads. The want of the latter must have been a serious impediment to the carriages during the next fortnight; for, although the marches were pressing, the heavy-armed men, with their weapons, would have been greatly retarded by the almost insupportable heat of the summer months; in the subsequent retreat, the mountains, the rivers, and unknown tracts, as well as the snow on the ground, must have caused still greater retardations." This is a view of the subject which I have also been obliged to adopt in the present commentary.

COLOSSÆ.—Advancing from the Mæander through Phrygia, the army made in one day's march eight parasangs, to Colossæ, described as being at that time a large city, rich and well inhabited. This city had indeed been previously noticed by Herodotus (vii. 30), as a large city of Phrygia on the Lycus, a tributary to the Mæander. Xerxes, on his march to Sardis, B. C. 481, reached Colossæ after leaving Anaua. Colossæ had become a place of comparatively little importance in Strabo's time.

A Christian church was formed here very early, probably by Epaphras, consisting of Jews and Gentiles, to whom Paul, who does not appear to have ever visited Colossæ in person, addressed an Epistle from Rome. Not long after, the town was, together with Laodicea and Hierapolis, destroyed by an earthquake. This, according to Eusebius, was in the ninth year of Nero; but the town must have been immediately rebuilt, for in his twelfth year it continued to be named as a flourishing place. In the middle ages there arose near it a town called Chonæ, and Colossæ disappeared. Chonæ was the birth-place of Nicetas Choniates, one of the Byzantine historians.

Arundel (Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 159, etc.) supposed that the ruins at the modern Khonos, which corresponds to Chonæ, were also the ruins of Colossæ, but Hamilton (Res. etc. i. 508) found extensive ruins of an ancient city about three miles north of Khonos, which appear from certain hydrographical peculiarities alluded to by Herodotus and Pliny, and verified by Hamilton, to be undoubtedly the site of Colossæ.

CELÆNÆ.—From Colossæ Cyrus made in three days' march

twenty parasangs, to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, large, rich, and well inhabited, and where was the fortified palace of Xerxes, the palace of Cyrus, the hunting park, and the cave of Marsyas. Herodotus speaks of Celænæ in describing the march of Xerxes to Sardes. He says (vii. 26) that the sources of the Mæander are here, and those of a stream not less than the Mæander: it is named Cattarrhactes, and rising in the Agora of Celænæ, flows into the Mæander. The Cattarrhactes of Herodotus is clearly the Marsyas of Xenophon. Hamilton, who visited the source at a place called Deenair or Dinair, describes it as a considerable stream of water gushing out with great rapidity at the base of a rocky cliff. It appeared as if it had formerly risen in the center of a great cavern, and that the surrounding rocks had fallen in from the cliffs above. In Livy's description (xxxviii. 13) the Mæander rises in the acropolis of Celænæ, and runs through the middle of the city; and the Marsyas, which rises not far from the sources of the Mæander, joins the same river. Leake thinks that it clearly appears from Strabo that both the rivers (Marsyas and Mæander) ran through Celænæ, and that they united in the suburb which afterward became the new city Apameia. It did not appear to Hamilton that the cliff above the source of the Marsyas could be the acropolis of Celænæ, which Alexander considered to be impregnable, and came to terms with the inhabitants. He supposes that the acropolis may have been further to the N. E., a lofty hill about a mile from the ravine of the Marsyas.

The town of Apameia Cibotus, which was built by Antiochus Soter out of the ruins of Celænæ, was positively stated by Strabo to lie at the source of the Marsyas. Arundel was the first who clearly saw that Apameia must be at Dinair; and his conclusions were confirmed by a Latin inscription which he found recording the erection of a monument by the merchants residing there. Leake has also collected the ancient testimonies as to Apameia. Hamilton investigated the hydrographic and other features of the place most carefully, and obtained several Greek inscriptions from the same neighborhood.

PELTÆ.—From Celænæ Cyrus made in two days' march ten parasangs, and arrived at Peltæ, a city well inhabited. Peltæ, or rather the Peltenus Campus, has been identified with the plain now called Baklan uvah, which is watered by the Mæander. Hamilton (ii. 163) describes himself as much struck with its level extent, and capabilities for maneuvering cavalry. It may be, he says, the plain on which Cyrus reviewed his troops, and celebrated martial games after leaving Apameia:[1] for although he was marching to the east, it appears that he did not proceed thither

[1] At page 203, vol. ii. of his Researches, etc., Mr. Hamilton says he is inclined to place Peltæ either in the great plain to the south of Ishakli, or at the foot of the mountains two miles on the road from Ishakli to Dinair.

direct; as Xenophon says that he passed through Ceramorum Agora, a town on the frontiers of Mysia, twenty-two parasangs from Apameia, which must have been to the N. N. W.

Colonel Chesney (ii. 206) attributes these two retrograde marches to the necessity of rounding a difficult portion of the Taurus.

Hamilton met on this plain burial-grounds with large blocks of stone, and broken columns, on one of which he found a mutilated inscription; but a whole month, he says, dedicated to the examination of the numerous villages and burial-grounds which fill this extensive plain and which increase in number as you advance eastward, would not be too much to determine the name and sites of the ancient towns which once flourished here.

Ceramon or Ceramorum Agora.—After halting three days to celebrate the Lupercalian sacrifice, Cyrus advanced twelve parasangs to Ceramon Agora (the market of the Cramians), the site of which, according to the back distances from Koniyah, would be a little east of the actual town of Ushak, but allowing for variation in the value of the parasang, at Ushak itself.

Pliny having noticed a town called Caranæ in Phrygia, Cramer conjectured that this might be the Ceramon Agora. It has also been supposed to be the same as the Caris or Carides of Stephanus, but that name corresponds to the Carina of Pliny, or Caria, as it perhaps should be read.

Hamilton (ii. 204) describes Ushak as a place of considerable commerce and traffic in the present day; many of the high roads of Asia Minor passing through it. He also adds, that to a person going to Mysia from Apameia (Celænæ), and supposing, as Strabo says, that Mysia extended to Ghiadiz (Kadi), Ushak would be the last town through which he would pass before entering Mysia, from which it is separated by a mountainous and uninhabited district.

Plain of Caystrus.—From the market of the Cramians, Cyrus made in three days' march 30 parasangs, and arrived at a well-peopled city, called the Plain of Caystrus. (Caystri Campus.)

It has been previously observed, that the site of the market of the Cramians has been determined by back distances, owing to the difficulty entailed by Cyrus having deviated from his course at Celænæ. Thus the march from Celænæ to Peltæ is 10 parasangs; from Peltæ to Ceramon Agora 12 parasangs; and from Ceramon Agora to the Plain of Caystrus, was 30 parasangs. From the Plain of Caystrus, Cyrus marched 10 parasangs to Thymbrium, then 10 to Tyræum, and then 20 to Iconium, the last city in Phrygia in the direction of his march; for after leaving Iconium, he entered Cappadocia. Iconium is Koniyah, a position well known. Celænæ may also be considered as a well-determined position. Now the march of Cyrus from Celænæ to Iconium was 92 parasangs. The angle thus obtained drives the site of the mar-

ket of the Cramians more or less to the N. W. of Ushak, according to the estimate taken of the parasang, 2.6 geog. miles according to Chesney, 2.455 geog. miles according to Hamilton, or 3 according to Colonel Jervis, but I have with others adopted the site of Ushak, as the most likely.

This question has been made the subject of some critical remarks by Mr. Long in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, which I willingly give insertion to here.

"Two recent attempts," Mr. Long writes, "have been made to fix the places between Celænæ and Iconium, one by Mr. Hamilton (*Researches, etc.*, vol. ii. p. 198), and another by Mr. Ainsworth (*Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand, etc.*, p. 24). The examination of these two explanations can not be made here for want of space. But it is impossible to identify with certainty positions on a line of road where distances only are given, and we find no corresponding names to guide us. Mr. Hamilton supposes that the Caystri Campus may be near the village of *Chai Kiui*, 'and near the banks of the *Eber Ghieul* in the extensive plain between that village and Polybotum.' Chai Kieui is in about 38° 40′ N. lat.

"Mr. Ainsworth places the Caystri Campus further west, at a place called Surmeneh, 'a high and arid upland, as its ancient name designates,' which is traversed by an insignificant tributary to the *Eber Göl*,' Mr. Hamilton's *Eber Ghieul*. The neighborhood of *Surmeneh* abounds in ancient remains; but *Chai Kieui* is an insignificant place, without ruins.

"Both Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ainsworth, however, agree in fixing the Caystri Campus in the basin of this river, the *Eber Ghieul*, and so far the conclusion may be accepted as probable. But the exact site of the place can not be determined without further evidence. Cyrus staid at Caystri Campus five days, and he certainly would not stay with his troops five days in a high and arid upland. As the plain was called the Plain of Cayster, we may assume that there was a river Cayster, where Cyrus halted. One of Mr. Ainsworth's objections to Mr. Hamilton's conclusion is altogether unfounded. He says that the plain which Mr. Hamilton chooses as the site of the Caystri Campus is 'an extensive plain, but very marshy, being in one part occupied by a perpetual and large lake, called Eber Göl, and most unlikely at any season of the year to present the arid and burnt appearance which could have led the Greeks to call it Caustron or Caystrus, the burnt or barren plain.' But the word Caystrus could not mean burnt, and Stephanus is guilty of originating this mistake. It means no more a burnt plain here than it does when applied to the plain above Ephesus. Both were watery places; one we know to be so, and the other we may with great probability conclude to be."

As it appears that I was misled in the reading of Cayster, I do not wish to insist upon this special identification in the "Track of

the Ten Thousand Greeks." I may however be permitted to observe, that the identification was not solely founded upon the circumstance of Surmanah being a dry upland. It was also founded on back distances from Iconium 20 parasangs to Tyriæum, 10 to Thymbrium, and 10 to the plain of Caystrus, or 120 geographical miles. *Eber Göl*, or *Ibar Gül*, being at a less distance. There is a stream of water at Surmanah as well as at Chai Kiui, and Xenophon tells us there was also in Cyrus's time a well-peopled city. So that it was not because it was an arid plain that it can be also shown not to have been a fit place for a delay of five days. I may also add that so marshy is the plain of Bulavadin, that the road from N. W. to that town has to be carried in great part over a raised causeway. Hamilton (ii. 177) describes Surmanah as "a rich mine of antiquarian treasures," as is also the case with Afyum Kara Hissar in the same neighborhood, which he looks upon as the site of ancient Synnada. The same observing traveler however makes mention of no ruins at or near Chai Kiui, which he also identifies with the Holmi of Strabo.

THYMBRIUM.—During a halt of five days on the plain of Caystrus, Cyrus received Epyaxa, the queen of Cilicia; whose mysterious visit and opportune supply of treasure enabled him to appease the Greeks by giving them three months' arrears of pay. Accompanied by Epyaxa, he advanced thence, ten parasangs, to Thymbrium, on the borders of Lycaonia.

Estimating the parasang at three geographical miles, I have identified Thymbrium with the modern Ishakli, reckoning back from Iconium. Even at the reduced estimate of Hamilton, ten parasangs, equal upon his scale to 24 or 25 geographic miles, measured from the site of Ilghun, or from the hot baths, brings us beyond Philomelium at Ak-Shahir, and nearly half way between that town and the fountain of Ulu Bunar Darbund. Hamilton describes that fountain as only four or five miles from Ak-Shahir, whereas I was upward of two hours traveling from the one to the other. Colonel Chesney (ii. 208) places Thymbrium "at or a little south-eastward of the present town of Ak-Shahir."

The expression used by Xenophon, ἐνταῦθα ην παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, would certainly appear to denote that he passed the fountain of Midas on the road to Thymbrium, although Spelman translates it "Here was a fountain near the road, called the fountain of Midas." "There seems, therefore," says Hamilton, (ii. 202,) "every reason for placing Thymbrium at the foot of Sultan Tagh, between the fountain of Midas and Ak Shehr (Shahir), if indeed it be not an older name for Philomelium itself." There certainly seems, however, taking the reduced estimate of the value of the parasang adopted by Hamilton and Colonel Chesney, still to remain more reasons for approximating the site of Thymbrium to the fountain of Midas than to Ak-Shahir, only that towns have mostly suc-

ceeded to one another at the same site. The road, it is to be remarked upon this assumption of the value of the parasang, presents few difficulties, and it improves still more on approaching Iconium. I can understand the parasang covering little plane surfaces in the passes of Kurdistan or the snows of Armenia, but I can not help feeling, with Colonel Jervis, that to suppose a varying estimate of that value on the plains of Asia Minor, argues a great want of intelligence on the part of the ancients, and reduces them to the semi-barbarous position of the modern Turk and Persian, who, reckoning by time and not by distance, leave it impossible, without actual investigation, to determine from such data the geographical position of places. It is obvious, therefore, in the instances of Peltæ, Ceramon Agora, Caystri Campus, Thymbrium, and Tyriæum, where we have only distances to go upon, we must remain more or less in a state of uncertainty as to their true positions. The fountain of Midas helps to throw some additional light upon the positioning of Thymbrium, that of Tyriæum is confirmed by Strabo, and Ushak, as representing the market of the Cramians, remains to the present day a place of considerable traffic and commerce, and a place of meeting of high roads. These circumstances must be taken into consideration in determining the position of the sites noticed by Xenophon between Celænæ and Iconium, two known positions.

Tyriæum.—Cyrus made in two days' march ten parasangs, and arrived at Tyriæum, a populous town. Hamilton and Colonel Chesney, upon the evaluation of distances before alluded to, think that Tyriæum is probably represented by Ilghun. I sought for the site at Arkut Khan, but without wishing to put much stress upon so indefinite a point. Neither Hamilton nor myself saw any remains of ancient times at either Arkut Khan or Ilghun. There is this to be said of Ilghun, that there is beyond that town a plain much better adapted for the review of the Greek and Barbarian forces described by Xenophon, than at Arkut Khan, where the surface of the soil is broken up by slabs of horizontal limestone. Hamilton also remarks that their identification is confirmed by Strabo's account of the great road from Ephesus to Mazaca; for he clearly places Tyriæum between Philomelium and Laodicea, and near the borders of Lycaonia. Another argument in favor of this site is, that Strabo states that Holmi was at the commencement of Phrygia Paroreius, which would therefore be at the western extremity of Sultan Tagh, and he gives the distance from Holmi to Tyriæum as rather more than 500 stadia. Now the distance from the commencement of the Sultan Tagh to Ilghun is 55 miles, and from Chai Kiui, which Hamilton identifies with Holmi, just about 50 miles, or 500 stadia.

Iconium.—From Tyriæum Cyrus made in three days' march twenty parasangs, and came to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia.

This, as one of the most ancient and remarkable cities of Asia Minor, requires little notice at our hands. Pliny calls it *urbs celeberrima Iconium.* Strabo speaks of it as small but well built.

When visited by the apostle Paul in A.D. 45, it is described as inhabited by a great multitude of Jews and Greeks. (Acts xiv. 1.) The most remarkable era in the history of Iconium is that of the Seljukian Turks or Tartars, a branch of whom founded a dynasty at Koniyah in Karaman, before the rise of the Osmanli Turks.

Modern Koniyah is still a large town, the seat of a pasha, and of a Greek metropolitan, and it contains many interesting relics of olden times. Among the most remarkable of which is the mosque built by Sultan Aladin, the mausoleum of Hazrit Mavlana, the founder of the Mavlani darvishes or dervishes, the old Turkish prison, and the Injami Minareh Jami, "the mosque with the minarets towering to the stars."

LYCAONIA.—From Iconium, Cyrus made in five days' march thirty parasangs through Lycaonia, which, being an enemy's country, he gave the Greeks leave to plunder it. From hence he sent the Cilician queen into Cilicia the shortest way. Now as the next place reached by Cyrus—Dana—is a well-known site, we have only to mark off thirty parasangs from Iconium and twenty-five to Dana on the map, and the point of intersection will be the spot where Cyrus parted with the queen of Cilicia.

This spot may therefore, if Cyrus kept a northern road, have been at or near the now small town of Kara Bunar, "the Black Spring;" or if gallantry led him to take a southerly route, the parting may have taken place at or near Tchurla or Churla, north of Karaman, near which Hamilton found many ruins of ancient sites, notoriously those of Lystra and Derbe, whither Paul and Barnabas fled after their expulsion from Iconium. I am most inclined to the latter view of the case.

From this point Epyaxa returned to her husband Syennesis, the king of Cilicia, across the Taurus by Kizil Chasmah, Alan Buzuk, Mazatli, Soli or Pompeiopolis, and onward to Tarsus.

Colonel Chesney remarks upon this incident in the march of Cyrus, that it may be inferred from what subsequently passed in Cilicia, that the object of this remarkable mission and the timely supply of treasure, was to induce Cyrus to take another route, that Syennesis might not be embroiled with Artaxerxes, by permitting the march through his territory; and it is not improbable that, from her *peculiar intimacy* with the prince, the queen believed she had been successful. Cyrus, however, availed himself of her return, to send a body of Greeks under Menon, nominally as a guard of honor, but in reality to turn the Cilician Gates, the only pass which was practicable for an army through this part of Taurus. Two companies, amounting to one hundred heavy-armed men, were lost in this undertaking, and the rest, arriving before the

main body of the army, and resenting the loss of their companions, plundered both the city of Tarsus and the palace that stood there.

DANA.—Cyrus, with the rest of his army, moved on through Cappadocia, and, in four days' march, made five and twenty parasangs to Dana, a large and rich city, well inhabited.

Tyana was well known to all antiquity, not only as the residence of Apollonius and the site of a temple of the Asbamæan Jupiter, but also as the town nearest to the Cilician Gates. Strabo says it was also called Eusebia ad Taurum, and that it was built on a mound raised by Semiramis, or called Semiramis, probably a heap of Assyrian ruins. Cellarius argued that Δανα was a contraction made by the copyists for Τύανα, and the correction thus made has been strengthened by subsequent inquiry.

Thus Hamilton was enabled to identify the ruins at the site now called Kiz Hissar, "Girls Castle," or Kilis Hissar, "Castle of the Church," with Tyana, by the existence there of a small lake or pool which presents the peculiar phenomenon ascribed to the fountain of Asmabæus sacred to Jupiter by Ammianus Marcellinus, of never overflowing its banks, and of bubbling up like a boiling caldron as described by Philostratus. (*Res.* ii. 303.) An identification which is further confirmed by the mound on which the ruins stand.

The site of Tyana being then determined, the distance from Iconium, the situation of the town at the entrance of the pass of Taurus, and its olden celebrity, point it out as the Dana of Xenophon, or as Cellarius more probably opines, that Dana was a miscript for Tyana.

CILICIAN GATES.—Cyrus is described as preparing at Dana to penetrate into Cilicia; the entrance was broad enough for a chariot to pass, very steep, and inaccessible to an army if there had been any opposition; and Syennesis was said to have possessed himself of the eminences, in order to guard the pass; for which reason, Cyrus staid one day in the plain. The day after, news was brought by a messenger that Syennesis had quitted the eminences, upon information that both Menon's army were in Cilicia, within the mountains, and also that Tamos was sailing round from Ionia to Cilicia with the galleys that belonged to the Lacedæmonians and to Cyrus, who immediately marched up to the mountains without opposition, and made himself master of the tents, in which the Cilicians lay to oppose his passage.

The Cilician Gates, called by the Turks in the present day, Kulak Bughaz, constitute perhaps one of the most remarkable and picturesque mountain-passes in the world. Colonel Chesney adds to this (ii. 210), that it is one of the *longest* and most difficult passes in the world.

The road through the pass ascends more or less across a wild country from Harakli to Kulu Kushla, a distance of about 28

miles, and up to which point the rivulets are tributary to the Ak Güli, or white lakes, the outlet of which may be justly suspected to be a subterranean channel, having a cavernous exit toward the plain of Adana.

Beyond Kulu Kushla, or "place of winds," the road descends by a narrow glen into the valley of a tributary to the Sihun or Sarus. This valley is wooded, and bordered by precipitous cliffs. At a place called Shiftla Khan, some nine or ten miles beyond Kulu Kushla, two valleys meet to form a third, which is an open, wooded, pleasant vale, that leads through the very heart of the Bulghar Tagh.

The road leaves this picturesque valley at a distance of eight or nine miles, to ascend in a south-westerly direction, an open valley bearing a small tributary to the Sihun, which is left behind flowing to the south-east, till an upland is reached, where the celebrated defenses of the Egyptians were situated. Immediately beyond this, a rivulet, flowing in a southerly direction, leads to a pass in the mountains so narrow as to be just broad enough, as Xenophon describes it, for a chariot to pass—if disencumbered of fallen rocks. This pass is the true Kulak Bughaz; high precipitous cliffs tower up on both sides; on the summit of one of which are the remains of a castle with round towers, and a tablet, which once bore an inscription, is still to be seen on the face of a large mass of detached rock that lies in the rivulet. Beyond this, two roads lead, one over hills by Mizarluk, "the place of graves," chiefly sepulchral grottos, to Tarsus; the other along open winding wooden vales, and at first rocky, then low rounded undulating hills, to the great plain of Adana, which is but slightly elevated above the level of the waters of the Mediterranean.

PLAINS OF CILICIA.—Cyrus is described by his historian as descending from the mountains into a large and beautiful plain, well watered, and full of all sorts of trees and vines; abounding in sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley.

The plain of Adana, as it is now called, is still remarkable for its beauty and fertility. Portions, especially in the upper parts and around Anazarba, are merely meadow land, or covered with greensward, with, in the least watered portions, a good deal of mimosa, and here and there a lonely dark-leaved carob-tree, a great feature in the scenery. But a considerable portion of the plain is cultivated, furnishing sesame, panic, millet, wheat, and barley, as in olden time, as also rice, cotton, and sugar-cane, since introduced. Near Tarsus, or the valley of the Cydnus, there is a good deal of wood, and at Adana a few date-trees speak volumes of a change of climate. The flocks of small bustards and the numerous gazelles impart another peculiar feature to the plain, as do also its rocky castle-bearing knolls in another direction.

This plain is described by Xenophon as surrounded by a strong

and high ridge of hills. It is, indeed, as well as the Bay of Issus, or Gulf of Alexandretta, perfectly inclosed by Taurus to the west and north, Amanus to the east, and Rhosus to the south.

TARSUS.—Cyrus having left the mountains, he advanced through the plain, and having made five and twenty parasangs in four days' march, arrived at Tarsus, a large and rich city of Cilicia, where stood the palace of Syennesis, king of Cilicia; having the river Cydnus running through the middle of it, which river is two hundred feet in breadth.

Tarsus is a city of such great antiquity that its origin is involved in fable. While Scripture historians affirm that the sons of Tarshish, the great-grandson of Noah, settled on this coast, classic mythology insists that Tarsus was built by Perseus, son of Jupiter by Danæ. Hypacheans, according to Herodotus; a colony of Argives, according to others; it is certain that it was a city favored by the Assyrians.

Grotefend states that after Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, had reigned twenty-five years, he extended his conquests over Asia Minor, and took up his abode in the city of Tanakan, a strong place in Etlak, by which, perhaps, Tarsus in Cilicia is meant, of the building of which by Sennacherib a fabulous account is given by Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus in the Armenian version of Eusebius. After he had introduced into that place the worship of Astarte or Nisroch, and received tribute, he reduced the neighboring provinces to subjection, and appointed Akharrizadon, or Assarhaddon, as king over them. This is one of the triumphs supposed to be alluded to in the celebrated obelisk of Nimrud or Athur. No traces exist of the statue described by Arrian as commemorating the building of this city and Anchiale by Sardanapalus in one day.

No contribution to the history of Tarsus has been so rich in results as the publication of the "*Lares and Penates*" of Cilicia from terracottas discovered on the spot by Mr. William Burckhardt Barker. We have among these, evidences of Assyrian mythology, in the presence of the Assyrian Perseus, Sandon or Hercules (Dayyad the Hunter, and the same as Nimrod), the Assyrian Bellerophon and Pegasus, and horses of the sun. We have evidences of Egyptian mythology in representations of Isis, Osiris, Horus, Anubis, and Phre the Hawk—the Egyptian sun. With these we have, as might be anticipated, a whole host of illustrations of the mythology of Syria and Phœnicia, of Lesser Asia, Greece, and Rome. Tarsus was a well-known and distinguished seat of Greek philosophy and literature, and from the number of its schools and learned men, was ranked by the side of Athens and Alexandria. (*Strabo* xiv. pp. 673, 674.)

To the Christian, Tarsus derives its greatest interest from being the birth-place of the Apostle Paul. Augustus made Tarsus free.

This seems to have implied the privilege of being governed by its own laws and magistrates, with freedom from tribute, but did not confer the *jus coloniarum*, nor the *jus civitatis;* and it was not, therefore, as usually supposed, on this account that Paul enjoyed the privilege of Roman citizenship. Tarsus, indeed, eventually did become a Roman colony, which gave to the inhabitants this privilege; but this was not till long after the time of Paul. We thus find that the Roman tribune at Jerusalem ordered Paul to be scourged, though he knew he was a native of Tarsus, but desisted on learning that he was a Roman citizen. (Acts ix. 11; xxi. 39; xxii. 24, 27.)

In the time of Abulfeda, that is, toward the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, Tarsus was still large and surrounded by a double wall, and it was chiefly inhabited by Armenian Christians.

Tarsus has always been a city of considerable commercial importance. Albertus Aquensis speaks of three thousand ships sailing from the port of Tarsus, and even in the present day a much greater extent might be given to the commerce and the mercantile and agricultural resources of the place.

CYDNUS.—The river Cydnus which flows through Tarsus, deriving its waters from the snows of Taurus at no very great distance from the city itself, are extremely cold, and bear an evil repute since the days of Alexander the Great. Malaria prevails however to a great extent in the city, quite independent of any more immediate contact with its waters.

CASTLE OF NIMRUD.—Tarsus is described by Xenophon as abandoned by its inhabitants, who, with Syennesis, fled to a fastness upon the mountains, those only excepted who kept the public houses. The fastness here alluded to has been identified with the Castle of Nimrud in the adjacent mountains, partly on account of its antiquity, partly because no other likely place is known. The Castle of Nimrud has not however been visited by any competent traveler.

SOLI.—The inhabitants of Soli and Issus, who lived near the sea, did not quit their habitations. Issus will be noticed in due course. Soli was a colony, according to Pomponius Mela and others, founded by the Argives and Rhodians; but according to Diogenes Laertius, by Solon, who founded there a colony of Athenians, who, gradually corrupting their own language, gave origin to the term Solœcism.

This city was afterward put under contribution by Alexander, and devastated by Tygranes, and Pompey confined to the same locality the pirates who troubled the neighboring seas, and gave the place his own name—Pompeiopolis.

The ruins of the ancient city still exist near a place now called Aski Shahir, "the old city," near Mazatli on the coast. They

have been minutely described by Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort in his Karamania (pp. 246—259, et seq.). Many additions have been made to these descriptions in Mr. W. B. Barker's work before alluded to, "*Lares and Penates; or, Cilicia and its Governors,*" (p. 130, et seq.). A plan and description of the ruins by Captain Prissick are also to be found, in Dr. Holt Yates' "*Modern History and Condition of Egypt.*"

River Psarus.—Cyrus is described as making from Tarsus, in two days' march, ten parasangs to the river Psarus, which therefore corresponds to the river of Adana, now called Sihun, or Saihun, to distinguish it from its neighbor the Pyramus, called Jihun, or Jaihun, just as the Oxus or Amu of the Turks and Tartars is called *Jihun* to distinguish it from the Jaxartes, Sir Darah, or head valley, of the Turks, the *Sihun* of the Arabs. Jihun is the Arabic corruption for the Hebrew Gihon, the name of one of the rivers of Paradise.

This river is, by my own admeasurements, three hundred and twenty-five feet wide at Adana. My idea of the distance by road from Tarsus to Adana corresponds more closely to the evaluation of 3 geographical miles to the parasang than of 2½ miles. Colonel Chesney (ii. 210) himself says it is rather more than twenty-nine miles between the two places.

River Pyramus.—From the Psarus, Cyrus made, in one day's march, five parasangs to the river Pyramus, which was a stadium in width. The distance here between two well-established points is also at the rate of 3 geographical miles to the parasang. From whatever point the Greeks crossed the Sihun there would be 15 geographical miles of nearly level plain to reach the Jihun or Jaihun, as the Pyramus is now called.

"The width given by Xenophon," says Colonel Chesney, "indicates that the passage of the Psarus was effected somewhere about the place now occupied by the city of Adana, and that of the Pyramus in the vicinity of the present town of Mallus or Misis; and neither of the rivers being fordable, it may be presumed that they were, as in the case of the Mæander, crossed on some kind of temporary bridge."

Issi, or Issus.—From the river Pyramus Cyrus advanced in two days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to Issi, the last city in Cilicia, situate upon the sea-coast, a populous, large, and rich place.

We are here placed in the dilemma of diminishing the value of the parasang over a country presenting no particular difficulties, or of supposing, as I have done in the "Travels in the Track," etc., that Cyrus forded the river in its lower parts, and at a time when its embouchure was at Kara Tash. This would have taken them across the plain of Ayas, ancient Campus Alieus, by which Philotas,

as recorded by Arrian, led the horse, on the occasion of the advance of the Macedonians, under Alexander the Great, and which would give forty-five miles between the Pyramus and Issus, while from Misis there is only thirty-three or thirty-four miles. I do not wish however to lay particular stress upon this view of the case, especially since all other commentators now agree in varying the value of the parasang according to the nature of the ground, and there are on the road from Misis to Issus two ranges of hills to cross. The first the Jibal-an-Nur, or Mountain of Light, presents a little pass that would present obstacles to chariots; the second also presents a narrow pass, where is the ancient Cyclopean arch, called the Iron Gate, or the Black Gate, and which corresponds to the Amanian gates with a station (the latter represented by the ruins at Matakh), and a further detour is occasioned by the marches at the end of the plain, on which are situated the ruins of Epiphanea, originally called Oeniandos and Castabala. These two sites are determined from the distances given in the Antonine Itinerary, and the Theodosian Tables. The latter place, Epiphanea, 30 M. P. from Anazarbas, and the same distance from Alexandria and Issum, now Iskandarun or Alexandretta.

The positioning of Issus gave much more trouble, and involved the careful discussion of the historians of Alexander as compared with Cicero and other accessible authorities. All the circumstances of the case pointed, however, tolerably satisfactorily to a great extent of ruins scattered over the plain, north of the Dali-chai, or Mad River, as the Pinarus is now called. The only point not satisfactorily cleared up was the position of the altars of Alexander. It has been suggested that these may be the ruin called Jonas' Pillars, a point which Alexander had reached before he heard that Darius had crossed the Amanus in his rear, and from whence he returned to engage in the battle of Issus, so fatal to the Persian hosts. Quintus Curtius said that these altars were erected on the banks of the Pinarus, but Pliny describes the Bomitæ or altars as between Amanus and Rhosus, which would point to the locality here suggested. Another difficulty remains with regard to Nicopolis, which Stephanus says was a name given to Issus after the great battle fought there by the Macedonians, but Strabo and Ptolemy both agree in making it a different place.

Gates of Cilicia and Syria.—From Issus Cyrus proceeded one day's march, five parasangs, to the Gates of Cilicia and Syria. "These were two fortresses; of the part within them, toward Cilicia, Syennesis and a guard of Cilicians had the charge; the part without, toward Syria, a garrison of the king's soldiers was reported to occupy. Between the two runs a river called Carsus, a plethrum in breadth. The whole space between the fortresses was three stadia; and it was impossible to pass it by force; for the

passage was very narrow, the walls reached down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. At each of the fortresses were gates."

Dr. Anthon says the common text has Κέρσος, but the reading of the best MSS. is Καρσος. The Rev. J. T. Macmichael has adopted the correction of Psarus for Pharus, but not that of Karsus for Kersus. There is every reason to believe that this river, now called Markaz-su, corresponds to the Κερσίας of Ptolemy, and the Crocodilon flumen of Pliny. It was at the foot of that part of Amanus called Mons Crocodilus. The French annotators of Pliny have suggested an identity between a Syriac word analogous to Kersus, and the Egyptian Kamses, a crocodile, hence Kersus or Karsus would be the same as the Crocodilon flumen.

The Gates of Cilicia and Syria occur at a point where the Amanus approaches most closely to the sea-shore. Coming from the north, we have the Markaz-su, or Karsus, which flows from a gap in the rocks, between high, perpendicular precipices, past the modern village of Markaz, and then divides into two branches, one of which goes nearly directly to the sea; the other, after losing itself in a marshy lagune, finds its exit into the sea at a distance of about a mile and a half north of the direct branch. This first or northerly stream is passed by a bridge, and a little distance further south are ruins on the shore of the termination of a wall with a gate. At a distance of about six hundred yards, corresponding to the three stadia of Xenophon, are the more perfect ruins of a wall, which can be traced amid a dense shrubbery, from the mountains down to the sea-shore, where it terminates in a round tower.

A little beyond to the right, and on the slope of the hills, is a Saracenic castle, noticed under the same name of Markaz in the Mecca Itinerary, published by the Geographical Society of Paris. From this castle the rocks advance directly to the shore, leaving a narrow pass over which a paved road is now carried, and upon which stands the ruined gateway called Jonas' Pillars, or Sakal Tutan, "Beard-catcher," an Oriental expression for a difficult pass.

Colonel Chesney remarks that "the Markaz or Merkez-su, ancient Karsus, determines the sites of the so-called gates or fortresses, which were erected to defend the ground; the one being in Cilicia, and the other in Syria, the river flowing between them."

When we consider the important events of which these gates were the scene, in the time of Cyrus the younger, as also in that of Alexander the Great, the mystical name of the river, which associates it with ancient crocodile worship, and the Axio-Kersian or Samo-Thracian mysteries, and the ruined edifice corresponding to the Bomitæ of Pliny, all domineered over by the castle of Saracenic times, it would be difficult to imagine a more interesting mass of ruins, both in a classical and archæological point of view,

grouped together in so small a compass. Nor is the scene so replete with historical associations wanting in picturesque accessories.

MYRIANDRUS.—Cyrus is described as proceeding from the Gates of Cilicia and Syria, through Syria, one day's march, five parasangs, to Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by Phœnicians: this place was a public mart, and many merchant-vessels lay at anchor there.

The site of Myriandrus has not yet been satisfactorily determined. According to the distances given by Xenophon of five parasangs from the Gates of Cilicia and Syria, it would be, if on the sea-shore, either some way beyond Alexandretta on the way to Arsus, or if the sea, as was probably the case. extended further inland at that time, and occupied the now pestilent marshes of Alexandretta, beyond Godefroy de Bouillon's Castle; at the foot of the hills near Jacob or Joseph's well, where Rennel sought for the site in question, or a little beyond that, and nearer to the foot of the pass of Baylan. It is evident that Myriandrus and the town subsequently named after the Macedonian hero, were not the same, for Strabo mentions both, and in the following succession: Rhosus (Arsus), Myriandrus, and Alexandria. The ruins may perchance yet be found in the wooded country that lies between Alexandretta and Rhosus, at or near the coast, about opposite the entrance of the pass of Baylan. This is a region which has not yet been satisfactorily explored.

RIVER CHALUS.—Cyrus proceeded four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Chalus, which was a plethrum in breadth, and full of large tame fish, which the Syrians looked upon as gods, and allowed no one to hurt either them or the pigeons.

This is a long journey, of from 50 to 60 miles, in which several objects of interest are passed over without an observation. Among the first of these is the pass between Amanus and Rhosus, the true Syrian Gates, in which are situated vestiges of the strong town called Pinara by Pliny and Ptolemy, and by corruption Erana by Cicero, who describes it as being in the mountain above the region in which the altars of Alexander were situated—another proof that the "Bomitæ" were at the foot of Amanus and Rhosus, and not, as Quintus Curtius relates, on the banks of the Pinarus.

Pinara was the Pictanus of the Jerusalem Itinerary, and it is now represented by the town of Baylan, whose mosque was built, according to the Mecca Itinerary, by Sultan Selim, and the Khan by Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent. There are also remains of a causeway, of an aqueduct, and of a bridge.

Beyond the Syrian Gates was Pagras or Pangrios, represented apparently by the castle of Ibn Abu Daud; and at the foot of the mountains, the great plain watered by three different rivers, the Kara-su, the Aswad, and the Afrin, corresponding to the Labotas,

the Aenoporas, and Arceuthus of the Romans, and in the center of which is the great expanse of the lake of Antioch.

The silence of Xenophon with regard to this mountain-pass, the rivers and lake of the plain of Antioch, and the rocky region beyond, now called St. Simon or Shaikh Barakat, has given origin to various surmises on the part of commentators on the Anabasis. Rennell has supposed, in consequence of this silence and that of Strabo, that the lake did not exist at that time; and Foster, in his Geographical Dissertation, has made this one of the grounds for supposing that Xenophon kept no journal, or at least no regular one, of the expedition, but that he drew it up a great many years afterward. I think it more likely, from the general character of the work, that something occurred, sickness or despondency, and the latter might naturally have been brought about by the clandestine departure of Xenias and Pasion, to distract the attention of our historian or to make him disinclined to write. Contrast, for example, the indifference of the present moment, with the energy displayed and the minuteness of description indulged in when Xenophon became a leader in the passes of Kurdistan.

A tributary to the river Sajur having been found during the survey of northern Syria by the Euphrates Expedition, to still preserve the name of Baluk or Baluklu-su, "Fish River," Colonel Chesney makes Cyrus march in a north-easterly direction, over a very difficult country, to that insignificant rivulet, to turn almost back again in a direction south, a little west, to the Chalib or Kuwait—the river of Aleppo, at the point where a large group of tells,[1] or mounds of ruin, give evidence of the existence of a once prosperous and flourishing community.

I do not, however, see any reason for changing the opinion I had adopted in common with other geographers, that the Chalib or Kuwait represents the Chalus of Xenophon. The direct distance is perhaps not sufficient, but the difficulties of the road presented by the pass of Baylan, the marshy plain of Antioch, and the necessity of turning northward up the valley of the Afrin, to avoid the rocky deserts of Shaikh Barakat, give in detail a distance between the Mediterranean and the river Chalib of at least sixty geographical miles, or of three miles to a parasang.

Notwithstanding a statement of Rauwolf's that fish were scarce in the market of Aleppo, I stated as the results of my own observation in the Travels in the Track, etc., that the Chalib abounded in fish, and I have since found in Dr. Russell's Natural History of Aleppo, 1794, vol. ii. p. 207, that not only do fish abound in the Chalib, but that there is a fountain called Haïlan, a Syriac word signifying "the powerful" (see my Travels and Researches in

[1] Tel or Tell of the Arabians, Tuppah, vulgo Teppeh, of the Turks, Thupo in Pali, Stupa in Sanscrit, vulgo Topes in India.

Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, etc. vol. ii. p. 101), where, as in the fountain of Birkat-al-Ibrahim or Abraham, the beloved, at Urfah, of Mambij ancient Hierapolis, at the tomb of Daniyali Akbar, "the greater Daniel" (see Rawlinson in Journal Roy. Geo. Soc. vol. ix. p. 83), and elsewhere, fish are still, or were till lately, preserved unmolested, and therefore more or less reverenced or sacred in the eyes of the true believers.

Dr. Russell says, "From what I had cursorily remarked in the markets, or at the tables of the inhabitants, and from the appearance of the Kowick (Kuwait), I hardly expected to find so great a variety of fish in that river; but, upon examination, it was found to produce seventeen species, and among those, some hitherto undescribed."

To the assiduity of the fishermen, which is restrained to no particular season, and exercised with little discretion, may be partly ascribed the small size of the fish in general; for at Heylan (Hailan), and the fountain of fishes, where they are suffered to remain unmolested, they grow considerably larger."

It is almost needless to remark, that this superstitious reverence for fish is a remnant of the Assyrian and Syro-Arabian worship of fish gods. Berosus (see Cory's Ancient Fragments, p. 22 and 31) makes Oannes the first and Odakon the last of these. Selden (*De Diis Syris*, p. 265) is persuaded that this Odakon is the Philistine god Dagon. The further resemblance between Dagon and Atergatis or Derketo is so great in other respects, that the same authority accounts for the only important difference between them—that of sex—by referring to the androgynous nature of many heathen gods. The Greeks embodied their worship, as usual, into their mythology, by a poetic story of the loves of the goddess Derketa or Derceta.

River Daradax, or Dardes.—From the villages of Parysatis, on the Chalus, Cyrus advanced, five days' march, a distance of thirty parasangs, to the sources of the river Dardes, which is a plethrum in breadth. Here was the palace of Belesys, the governor of Syria, and a very large and beautiful garden, containing all that the seasons produce.

The common text has Δαραδακος, but Anthon[1] gives Δάρδητος with Dindorf, on good MS. authority. Colonel Chesney's view of this portion of the progress is, "in advancing first in an easterly direction along the Baluk-su, then southward by the banks of the

[1] Though Dindorf is an authority, Anthon is none. It would be better to quote Kühner, who gives Δάρδατος, from five MSS.

Nor can Macinschael (p. 283) be called much of an authority. But it might be said that Dindorf and Kühner concur in reading ψάρος: Weiske, Schneider and Bornemann have the form Σάρος.

...d by Dindorf and Kühner; Weiske, Schneider, and ... old Κέρσος. *Translator.*

same stream, and again eastward, quitting the latter when opposite to the fountain of Bab, near the source of the stream called Dhahab or Dabb, it is about sixty-one miles to the last, the presumed Daradax: and if the windings of the Koweik (Kuwait) be followed in the earlier part of the march, it would be seventy or eighty miles from the higher part of the Chalib or Chalus, which, as in the time of Xenophon, still abounds in fish. The distance (thirty parasangs) given by Xenophon between the rivers Chalus and Daradax, which was accomplished in five marches, agrees with the nature of the intervening country; for whether the windings of the upper part of the Koweik were followed, or the stream forded two or three times in preference, a fifth march would be requisite, as already mentioned." (ii. p. 213.)

Some difficulties present themselves in accepting this determination. In the first place, the distance given would accord better with the idea of Cyrus having crossed the Syrian plains from the Chalus to the Euphrates, notwithstanding Xenophon's silence upon the subject. The same silence, or rather passing over all notice of the river Euphrates until the army came to Thapsacus, is observed throughout, and may have been an inadvertence, for the nature of the country would oblige an army to keep along the banks of the river; and Colonel Chesney, who identifies the fountain of Dhahab with that of Dardes, still makes Cyrus, notwithstanding the silence of Xenophon upon the subject, join the Euphrates at Balis.

The name of the site—Balis—corresponding to the Barbalissus or Barbarissus of the Romans, and the ruins existing there, would point to that place as the site of the palace of the Persian satrap. Then again, at that point there is a great alluvial plain, which to the present day abounds in boars and other game, while all beyond, or westward, is a dry arid upland, a perfect wilderness, which, however, may be modified somewhat by the waters of the Dhahab.

Lastly, there was a canal, taken from the Euphrates at Balis, which might be a hundred feet wide at its origin, as described by Xenophon, and which it is difficult to imagine the fountain at Fay, as Rennell calls it—al Bab, or Taidiff—could present at its origin.

There is to be added to all this, that the back distance from Thapsacus (Al Hammam) to Balis corresponds precisely with the distance given by Xenophon between the palace of Belesis and Thapsacus, that is, fifteen parasangs or forty-five miles by the bends of the river. Nothwithstanding the points in favor of one and the other view of the subject, common sense would point to a probable visit to the fountain of Dhahab, or Dardes, on the way to the palace of Belesis at Balis. But so common sense would also point to the identity of Bayas, or Baiæ, with Issus, where is a river to represent the Pinarus, a plain large enough to fight a battle, without being cut up by deep ruts like the plain of Dali-chai, and

where the ships could be moored opposite Cyrus' tent, a proceeding scarcely possible at the mouths of the Dali-chai, only that other circumstances do not uphold this hypothesis.

THAPSACUS.—Having wantonly destroyed the palace and park of Belesis, Cyrus is described by Xenophon as proceeding, in three days' march, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, which is there four stadia in breadth, and on which was situated a large and rich city, named Thapsacus. Colonel Chesney (ii. 213) describes these as "pressing marches, following and constantly touching the Euphrates from Balis," which accords with the view previously taken of this portion of the march.

The distance here given of forty-five miles, corresponds with the overland distance from Balis to the ford celebrated among the Arabs, as that of the Anazah or Badawin. This ford, as such or as a bridge, was used for the passage alike of Persian, Greek, and Roman armies, and more lately of Arabs, Tartars, and Turks. Xerxes, who, according to Herodotus, crossed the Hellespont by a bridge of boats, in which one was tied to the other, had constructed a similar one at Thapsacus, but this was destroyed by Abrocomas on the approach of Cyrus. Alexander dragged over the boats necessary for the passage of the river from the Mediterranean.

The remains of a paved causeway are still to be observed on both banks of the river, which is here eight hundred yards, or four stadia, in width. This causeway is marked in the Augustan and Theodosian Tables as part of a road carried by Palmyra to Babylonia, as also northward to Carrhæ, Edessa, and to more remote countries.

A congregation of mounds, well worthy of archæological exploration, are all that remain of the ancient Tiphsah, which was taken possession of by Solomon, probably in connection with the series of operations (of which the building or fortification of Tadmor was one) adopted by him for the purpose of drawing the Eastern trade into his own dominions. Tiphsah became afterward Thapsacus, both signifying the same thing, "the ford." The same place is called Sura by Pliny and by Ptolemy, and this was its name in mediæval times, for it is called in the Ecclesiastical notices of the Lower Empire, *Flavia firma Sura.* It was also, according to Stephanus, called Turmeda by the Syrians, and Amphipolis under the successors of Alexander. The ruins are now called Suriyah.

Rennell and D'Anville were induced from the supposed existence of a ford or pass of the Euphrates at Dair, the "monastery," and in ignorance of the existence of this ford, to identify Thapsacus with that little Arabic town, which is built upon a vast mound of ruin—the remains of some site of antiquity. But it is two hundred and eleven miles by the river from Balis to Dair, and to get over this difficulty, these two distinguished geographers were

obliged to suppose that Xenophon had, by an oversight, misplaced the distances of Belesis to Thapsacus, (fifteen parasangs), and from Thapsacus to the Araxes—Xenophon's name for the Khabur (fifteen parasangs)—and that it should have been fifty parasangs from Balis to Thapsacus, and fifteen from Thapsacus to the Araxes. It is satisfactory to find by the true determination of the position of Thapsacus at fifteen parasangs from Balis, that there is no necessity whatsoever for this violation of the accuracy of the historian.

River Araxes.—Cyrus having with his army forded the Euphrates at Thapsacus, the waters rising no higher than the breast; he is described by Xenophon as advancing through Syria, nine days' march, a distance of fifty parasangs, to the river Araxes, where were a number of villages, stored with corn and wine.

Having crossed the Euphrates, it is manifest that the country the army was marching in was in reality Mesopotamia, but it was by no means an uncommon thing for the Romans to describe the districts in question sometimes as in Syria, at others in Mesopotamia. Pliny and Strabo both speak of the country lying between Thapsacus and the Scenite or nomad Arabs, as Syria.

Wherefore Xenophon called the river Khabur, Araxes, it is difficult to determine. The name was by no means an uncommon one, and Strabo, in accordance with the national custom of referring foreign names to a Greek origin, connects the word with *ἀράσσω*, and adds that the Peneus was once called Araxes, on account of its having separated Ossa from Olympus at the gorge of Tempe.[1]

This river was, however, known to antiquity generally by other names, approaching more or less to its present appellation. Thus, it is described in the Old Testament (2 Kings xxiv. 15; Ezek. i. 1, 3; iii. 15, 23; x. 15, 20) under the name of Chebar, as a river of Mesopotamia, upon the banks of which Nebuchadnezzar planted a colony of Jews, among whom was the prophet Ezekiel.

1 Rawlinson has shown the prefix Ar, Ara, and Arta, to be of transcendental use in every single branch of Arian Palæography, with the exception of the Zend. (Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. x. p. 55, and vol. xi. p. 33, et seq.) Ar, or Har, he says, signifies mountain, as in Arburz (El Burz), Arakadrish (Aracadres), Ar Parsin, the mountains of Persia. Bochart long ago showed (Phaleg i. 1) that the first syllable in Armenia (Armina in the cuneiform) signified in Semitic "a mountain." Burnouf and Lassen have traced Arius (Ariya of the cuneiform) to the root signifying "man." We have another form in Arabia, the cuneiform Arabaya. Arta, so much used as a prefix to names, as in Artakhshatra (Artaxerxes), signifies, according to Rawlinson, a king. There can be little doubt, then, of the native origin of the name Aras, the Araxes of the Greeks, although there might be some doubt if it meant mountain river, or a head or chief river; assuming the prefix Ar to have somewhat the same power as Syr, Sir, or Sar, used by the Turks in Syr Darah (Jaxartes), as head valley or river; and by the Kurds, as head mountain or stream indifferently. Araxes has been generally supposed to be a Greek modification of the Armenian Arasch or Eraschs.

Layard says that in the Hebrew text the name is spelt in two different ways. In Kings we have Khabour. In Ezekiel it is written Kebar. So also in the Septuagint it is written Χοβάρ. It is called Aboras and Abboras by Strabo, Zosimus, Ammianus, Procopius, and others. Ptolemy writes it Khaboras.

Layard, while carrying on his archæological explorations in Assyria, having been informed by the Arabs that two colossal idols, similar to those at Nimrud, had been laid bare by the waters of the Khabur, he repaired to the spot, and was rewarded by the discovery of a considerable number of monuments of Assyrian times, of which he says, "the Archaic character of the treatment and design, the peculiar form of the features, the rude though forcible delineation of the muscles, and the simplicity of the details, certainly convey the impression of greater antiquity than any monuments hitherto discovered in Assyria Proper."

The Khabur is a large river having its sources in the Karajah Tagh in northern Mesopotamia, and receiving in its course downward tributaries from Kuhrasar (Sinna) and Ras-al-Ain (Resaina) from the west; from Masku, Mardin, Dara, Nisibin (ancient Mygdonius), Asnawur, and Chil Agha from the east, besides a rivulet called Al Hauli or Holi from the marshes of Khatuniyah in the Sinjar. The main branch of the river is by accident omitted in the map accompanying Layard's account of his discoveries in Nineveh and Babylon. (1853.)

At the junction of the Khabur and the Euphrates, we have on the north the ruins of Carchemish of Scripture, called by the Greeks Kirkesion, and by the Romans, with whom it was long a frontier town, Cercusium. The place is called by the Arabs in the present day Kirkisiyah, and also from the abundance of ruins, Abu Sarai, "the father of palaces." Layard, who did not visit it, says "Abou Psera." Al Wakidi, in his History of the Conquest of Mesopotamia by the Arabs, calls it Karkisha.

To the south are the mounds of Kalneh, supposed by Colonel Chesney (i. 52; 117, 118) to be the site of Calneh, or Chalneh, the fourth of Nimrod's cities. (Gen. x. 10.)

According to the Chaldee version, with which Eusebius and Jerome agree, this is the same place that was subsequently called Ctesiphon.

Colonel Rawlinson has, however, by the aid of those important paleographic researches which promise to throw an entirely new light on Assyro-Babylonian and Chaldean history and geography, discovered the ideograph for Calneh among the inscribed bricks of a place called Niffer. (Ann. Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv p. 19.) He had previously (Jour. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. ... identified, as he also said from the evidence of the bricks, ...aeval site with the Chaldean ruins of Kalwadha near

ARABIA.—Cyrus advanced from the Khabur through Arabia, having the Euphrates on his right, five days' march through the desert, a distance of five parasangs.

Rawlinson remarks that in the cuneiform inscriptions the name of Arabia (Arabaya) is sometimes introduced between those of Babylon and Assyria, sometimes between Assyria and Egypt; and he adds, "I think, therefore, we may suppose the title to apply to the Mesopotamian Desert, and the basin of the Euphrates, which have always been inhabited by Arab tribes, rather than to the vast Southern Peninsula. The Jews, in the same way, whose geographical notions were very limited, designated as Arabia, or the country of the Arabs, the region immediately joining Palestine, and stretching southward to the Red Sea." (Journ. of Roy. Asiatic Society, vol. xi. p. 38.)

Thus it was that, in accordance with the views entertained at that epoch, we find Xenophon deserting those regions of Mesopotamia which lie north-westward of the Khabur, as Syria; and those to the south, as Arabia. The Athenian historian's description of the desert is so concise, and so graphic, as to be familiar to every one, and, as a consequent penalty, has been often quoted as descriptive of regions which have little in common with the particular territory in question.

RIVER MASCAS AND CITY OF CORSOTE.—Marching through this region, Xenophon relates, they came to the river Mascas, the breadth of which is a plethrum. Here was a large deserted city, of which the name was Corsote, and which was entirely surrounded by the Mascas.

At a distance of sixty-three miles touching the river curves, or of one hundred miles and upward by the river's winding, a considerable tract of alluvium is cut off from the main-land, by a canal, which drawn from the river at a northerly point, empties itself by three different embouchures to the south. Beyond are cliffs of marls and gypsum, upon which traces of ruins of older time are still to be met. The place is called in the present day Irzah or Izrah, and also by corruption Werdi.

It is not at all improbable from this site being nearly opposite to Al Kayim, the Agamana of Ptolemy, where the great desert route from Palestine to Babylon first touches the Euphrates, that this was one of the cities of bondage, where the captive Israelites awaited the coming of Ezra, with the glad message that was to enable them to return to their own country. In this case the Masca would correspond to the Ahava of Scripture.

The ruins of Corsote of Xenophon would appear to have been on the plain, being described as entirely surrounded by the Mascas, unless we are to understand, as is more probable, that this description alludes to the great bend of the river at this point, and which is described by Balbi, who descended the Euphrates in

1579, as keeping them from morning to noon in sight of the ruins. When Balbi, however, speaks of these ruins as of greater extent than the city of Cairo, and presenting nothing to view but portions of massy walls and lofty towers, we must conclude that he mistook the cliffs and great broken masses of gypsum for fragments of ruin. Rauwolf, who traveled in 1574, also described the peninsula as occupying more than half a day to encompass it.

Gates of Babylonia.—From Corsote Cyrus proceeded, thirteen days' march, through the desert, a distance of ninety parasangs, still keeping the Euphrates on the right, and arrived at a place called the Gates.

Colonel Chesney is inclined to think, that as it appears by the subsequent movements, that the "Gates" were about twenty-four miles short of the Median Wall, the pass in question may safely be placed about twenty-seven miles below Hit, or nearly opposite to the village of Jarrah, from which, by the map, there are about one hundred and seventy-five or one hundred and seventy-seven geographical miles to represent the ninety parasangs from Corsote to the Pylæ, which at 1.98 each, give 178.2 geographical miles. (ii. 214.)

The banks of the Euphrates in this part of the route, and more particularly in the lower portion, are exceedingly rocky and irregular, till we arrive at the level alluvial plains of Babylonia. It is difficult among these irregular hills to distinguish one place as more worthy of being designated as a pass than the other, and I had hence been induced by that circumstance, and by a consideration of the distance traveled (and which, by supposing the troops to have been compelled to keep to the banks of the river, I had given a much greater length to than Colonel Chesney), to identify the Pylæ with the pass or descent from the hills upon the plain of Babylonia itself.

Rennell, it is to be observed, coincides in this view of the subject, as he conjectures that the term pylæ refers to the shutting up of the river itself between the mountains, which terminate at the same place on both sides of the river. This termination of the hilly country at the level alluvial plain of Babylonia constitutes indeed a very remarkable feature in the physical aspect of these regions.

The Rev. J. F. Macmichael, in his edition of Xenophon (Appendix, p. 336), suggests the conclusion that Pylæ was neither city (as Larcher surmised) nor mountain defile, but the ancient pass into Babylonia through the Median Wall, at a time when it extended—as when entire it must have done—to the Euphrates. There is a great deal of plausibility in this suggestion.

Charmande.—On this long march through the desert, the troops are described as passing over on rafts of skins to an opulent and extensive city, called Charmande. As no distances are given,

I was inclined to identify this site with the most important position on the right bank of the Euphrates, that occurs within the interval between Corsote and the "Gates," viz. the city of Iz or Izanescopolis, whose bitumen fountains were visited by Alexander, by Trajan, by Severus, and by Julian; but Colonel Chesney (ii. 214) is more inclined to seek for the site at some ruins, which occur on the right bank opposite to the island of Jibbah or Jubbah. This is evidently, at the present moment, a position that is not satisfactorily determined.

Field of Review in Babylonia.—Cyrus is described as proceeding through Babylonia, three days' march, a distance of twelve parasangs; and at the end of the third day's march, he reviewed his army, both Greeks and Barbarians in the plain, about midnight; for he expected that with the ensuing dawn the king would come up with his army to offer him battle.

The spot at which this review took place would, allowing 3 geo. miles to the parasang, be 36 miles beyond the Pylæ, 32 miles south of the Wall of Media, 36 miles north of Cunaxa, and 72 miles north of Babylon. If we allow only 2.5 geo. miles, or place the Pylæ north of the plain of Babylonia, the distances will be proportionately diminished. We have, however, a means of determining the positioning of the army of Cyrus on the plain of Babylonia a little more accurately, from the events recorded in the next day's march.

Trench of Artaxerxes.—Cyrus proceeded from the field of review on the plain of Babylonia, one day's march, a distance of three parasangs, with all his forces, as well Greek as Barbarian, drawn up in order of battle; for he expected that on this day the king would give him battle; as about the middle of the day's march, there was a deep trench dug; the breadth of it was five fathoms, and the width three. This ditch extended up through the plain, to the distance of twelve parasangs, as far as the Wall of Media. Here are the canals which are supplied from the river Tigris; there are four of them, each a plethrum in breadth, and very deep; boats employed in conveying corn sail along them. They discharge themselves into the Euphrates, are distant from each other one parasang, and there are bridges over them. Near the Euphrates was a narrow passage between the river and the trench, about twenty feet in breadth. This trench the Great King had made to serve as a defense, when he heard that Cyrus was marching against him. By this passage Cyrus and his army made their way and got within the trench.

If the trench or ditch, here spoken of, had been a canal drawn diagonally from the river Tigris, such a canal 36 geo. miles in length, starting from the N. E. or Tigris end of the Median Wall, would just touch on the maps attached to the Expedition for the Survey of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Nahr Isa or Saklawiya

canal at or about the ruins of Sifairah, ancient Sippara. But there seems no reason to suppose that it was a canal. Xenophon appears to distinguish this trench or ditch from the four canals derived from the river Tigris which he describes in the same paragraph. This, however, may be open to doubt. In such a situation a trench or ditch might naturally be supposed to be full of water. But whichever may be the case, it is not said that it was drawn from the Tigris, but merly that it extended upward to the Median Wall. Now a distance of 36 geo. miles laid down on the Expedition map from a central portion of the Median Wall, would carry the trench to the Abu Gharib country, somewhere about where the Nahr Malka or Malík has its origin. This would place the field of review in the same region, some seven or eight miles to the northward, and would lead us to suppose, as would be most naturally the case, that the four canals were drawn from the great overflow of the Tigris near Accad, called Al Hur, and from the Tigris itself between that and Al Ghirarah, in the very line in fact of Colonel Chesney's proposed line of communication. All the commentators on Xenophon have found great difficulty in admitting the historian's accuracy in this point, because he differs from other authorities, as Herodotus, Diodorus, Arrian, Pliny, and Ammianus, in making the canals flow from the Tigris; all others describing them as flowing from the Euphrates. But this difficulty loses its force, when we consider that the alluvial plain between the two rivers is so level that it merely requires to alter the diagonal direction of a canal to determine which way its waters shall flow, and thus the marsh of Al Hur is flooded at one season by the Tigris, at another by the Euphrates through the Isa canal. Thus also the Isa, Nahr Malik, and other canals, flow from the Euphrates to the Tigris, while the Shat-al-Hai flows from the Tigris to the Euphrates. It is probable that, at the time of Artaxerxes, the usual canals may have also flowed from Euphrates to Tigris, and that the four canals of Xenophon described as only 2 1-2 or 3 miles from one another, were exceptions to the Nile, and drawn from the marsh of Accad and the Tigris, above the canals of Babylon itself, which may have flowed from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

Battle-field of Cunaxa.—As the king made no attempt at the trench to prevent the passage of Cyrus's army, it was thought both by Cyrus and the rest that he had given up the intention of fighting; so that on the day following Cyrus proceeded on his march with less caution. This was still more the case on the next day's march; when news came that the Great King was approach- [illegible] he battle so fatal to Cyrus took place.

[illegible] here an account of short, desultory, and irregular [illegible]ich would have brought the allies, according to Colo[illegible], to, at, or near the mounds of Muhammad, 34 or 36 [illegible] the river from the Median Wall; but, according to my

former estimate of the value of the parasang, nearer to the site of Imsayab or Mussayib, about 15 miles direct, but upward of 20 by the bends of the river, north of Babylon. It is evident that Cyrus deemed himself very near to Babylon, since he had almost given up any thoughts of resistance on the part of Artaxerxes.

Xenophon describes the battle fully, but does not mention the name of the place where it was fought. Plutarch, in his Life of Artaxerxes, has alone preserved it, and states that it was 500 stadia from Babylon. This would make it fifty miles north of Babylon. Xenophon, however, says that the distance from the field of battle to Babylon was only 360 stadia, or 36 miles, a distance which would tally best with that of the before-mentioned mounds of Muhammad.

Mound, on Plain of Babylonia.—The night of the battle, the Greeks pursued the Persians as far as a certain village, where they halted; for above the village was a hill, upon which the king's troops had checked their flight. The hill here alluded to appears to have been one of the numerous artificial mounds, topes, or tells, sometimes sepulchral, sometimes heaps of ruin, which abound on the plain of Babylonia. The word used to designate the hill is sufficiently descriptive, *γηλοφος*, a compound of *γη*, earth, and *λοφοι*, hill, mound, or tumulus, "a heap of earth."

It is the more important to establish this fact, as there are no natural hills on the plain of Babylonia; and, therefore, the mention made by Xenophon of a hill at this place has led the distinguished traveler, Baillie Fraser, to consider it as furnishing evidence of the battle having been fought to the north of the Median Wall.

Babylonian Villages.—As soon as a retreat had been decided upon between the Greeks and the Barbarians, and the line of route to be followed determined by Ariæus, they started on a long day's journey to certain villages, the position of which would be in a great measure determined by a more satisfactory conclusion as to the site of Cunaxa. Colonel Chesney places these villages on the Abu Gharib or Nahr Sarsar of Abulfeda, near the extensive mounds and ruins of Kush or Sindiyah.

The direction of the next march is not given, but it is stated that the army met with ditches and canals, so full of water, that they could not cross without bridges; but they made crossings of the palm-trees which had fallen, and others which they cut down. There is every reason to believe from this statement that the Greeks were led into the interior of Babylonia, and Clearchus appears justly to have suspected that the ditches had been filled with water purposely, as it was not the season for irrigating the land. At last they arrived at some villages, where was plenty of corn, and wine made from dates, and where it would appear they remained twenty-three or twenty-four days.

Wall of Media.—At length, after marching three days, they arrived at the Wall of Media, as it is called, and passed to the other side of it. This wall was built of burned bricks, laid in bitumen; it was twenty feet in thickness, and a hundred in height, and the length of it was said to be twenty parasangs; and it was not far distant from Babylon.

"Not the least remarkable of the discoveries," says the Rev. J. F. Macmichael in the Appendix to his Xenophon, "which of late years have marked the progress of geographical inquiry in this most interesting, but, till of late, unexplored region, is the actual existence at the present time of an ancient wall stretching across Mesopotamia at the head of the Babylonian plain. Mr. Ross, who first examined it at its eastern terminus, in 1836, describes it under the name of Khalu or Sidd Nimrud (wall or embankment of Nimrod), and as a straight wall 25 long paces thick, and from 35 to 40 feet high, running S. W. 1-4 N. as far as the eye could reach, to two mounds called Ramelah (Sifairah, Ainsw. p. 81-2), on the Euphrates, some hours above Felujah. The eastern extremity was built of the small pebbles of the country, cemented with lime of great tenacity; and further inland, his Bedouin guides told him it was built of brick, and in some places worn down level with the desert, and was built by Nimrod to keep off the peop'e of Nineveh, with whom he had an implacable feud. (Journal of R. Geog. S. ix. p. 446). It was further examined by Captain Lynch, and its eastern extremity determined to be in lat. 34° 3′ 30″, and long. 21′ 50″ W. of Baghdad. (Ibid. p. 472).

"The identity of this wall with Xenophon's Wall of Media was assumed by the explorers tacitly, but with strong ground of probability. Of the great antiquity of the Sidd Nimrud there can be no question; record of its origin there is none, except local tradition assigning it to Nimrod. On the other hand, the continued existence of a wall (corresponding to the Median) from Xenophon's age down to comparatively recent times, is attested by a chain of scattered notices in later writers. Such a wall is mentioned by Eratosthenes (in the third century B.C., quoted by Strabo ii. 1, and xi. 14), as *τὸ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος διατείχισμα*, having its eastern terminus at or near Opis. Again, its western terminus was noticed (in a state of ruin) by Amm. Marcellinus (363 A.D.) at Macepracta on the Euphrates, near the head of a canal, which he distinguishes from the Naha Malcha (Nahr Malík) doubtless the Saklawiyeh, a few miles north of which is the S.W. extremity of the Sidd Nimrud."

"Their identity is further attested by their occupying the same general position as a partition-line between the rocky desert of Arabia, and the fertile alluvial plain of Babylonia: the Sidd Nimrud, for all practical purposes, distinguishes the Babylonian plain from the hilly and rocky country. (Ainsw. p. 82, note 2). And

that a like position must be assigned to the Median Wall is strongly indicated by the name it bears, το Μηδιας τεῖχος. For the Medes under Cyaxares had conquered all Assyria up to Babylonia, a tract which, in Herodotus, includes the entire canal district (i. 193), and in Xenophon commences where the desert of Arabia terminates—at or near a place called Pylæ (i. 5. 5), where, accordingly we should look for the western terminus of the Median Wall."

From a consideration of the different circumstances detailed by Xenophon of the first retrograde steps taken after the battle of Cunaxa, I was induced to believe that Tissaphernes, having arrived with his army and the guides, marched, as Xenophon expresses it, as if he designed to return home; that he led the Greeks three days' march, or about thirty-six miles, toward Sifairah, at which point he turned round, and conducted them through the Wall into Sitacene, thus leaving them in perplexity with regard to the relations of that rich and fertile province to the city of Babylon. (Trav. in the Track, etc., p. 108–9).

The following is the account given by Colonel Chesney of this the first portion of the Catabasis, and which is so difficult to understand. "In taking a northerly direction from the presumed position of the camp, it would be necessary to cross the Nahr Malka; and on account of this obstruction, as well as the presence of an enemy, the distance made would scarcely exceed ten miles. Fatigued by the march, and without sustenance, a slight circumstance was sufficient to cause a tumult, and almost a panic, among the Greeks. The panic was, however, speedily calmed by the ingenuity of Clearchus, and at day-break he marched with the intention of becoming the assailant. This bold maneuver led to a negotiation with the king on equal terms, and guides were in consequence appointed to conduct the Greeks across the Nahr Sersar, and its affluents, which intersect this part of the country. These cuts appear to have been filled with water, but the difficulties were overcome by cutting down the palm-trees to make bridges, in which operation Clearchus set the example; and the army reached the intended halting-place in some villages probably not more than ten miles from the preceding station. These were abundantly provided with corn, vinegar, and wine made from dates. After spending about twenty-three days in negotiations, having made engagements to be faithfully conducted homeward, and obtained supplies, the Greeks, the troops of Ariæus, and those of the king under Tissaphernes, commenced what seemed a peaceable march, although certain circumstances attending it gave rise to suspicion, and some precautions were adopted in consequence by the Greeks. In three days, probably, taking, as in the preceding march, a westerly direction, in order to round the marshes and inundations near Akar Kuf, the armies came up to and de-

parted from the Median Wall into the interior. This wall, whose remains are described in Xenophon, was of bricks, and once 100 feet high and 20 feet thick: it is still to be traced, with its towers and ditch, running south-westward from the Tigris, nearly opposite Kadisiyeh, to the Euphrates, near Felujah, a distance of forty-two or forty-three miles."

This view of the subject is illustrated by the following note:

"The translation of this passage of Xenophon, *ἀφικοντο πρὸς τὸ Μηδίας τεῖχος, καὶ παρῆλθον αυτου εισω* (Anabasis, lib. ii. cap. iv.), has been much discussed and variously rendered. In Allpress's Xenophon, p. 80, the army is made to arrive at, and pass along within, the Median Wall; which translation is also given in the Anabasis of Xenophon, by Charles Anthon, L.L.D. William Tegg and Co. Cheapside (By passing within this wall, Dr. Anthon does not appear to understand keeping to the south side of it, but *passing through it*, for he says in a note (p. 157 of the 1st edition), Ainsworth thinks that *this going through* the Median Wall, etc. *W.F.A.*); by the Rev. Dr. Butcher, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; as well as by Schneider, who, in a note on this passage, condemns Halbkardt for translating it, 'Kamen sie zur Medischen Mauer, und setzen nun *jenseit* derselben ihren Marsch fort.'"

Viger, in his Greek Idioms, also quotes an instance from Xenophon, where the verb occurring in the passage in question joined with a substantive in the genitive case, signifies "departure from" or deflection; and Donnegan's Greek Lexicon gives *εἴσω* as an adverb, with the signification of "in the interior," "inside," or within, which renderings of the passage are in conformity with the relative geographical positions of the Median Wall and Sitace. On the other hand, Hutchinson, in his edition of Xenophon, p. 139 (Hutchinson's translation is "*intráque eum ingressi sunt*," p. 145, Oxford edition, 1745, *W.F.A.*), and Mitford, History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 189, state that the Greeks came up to and passed through the Median Wall; and this interpretation has been followed by Bishop Thirlwall, in his History of Greece, vol. iv. p. 335, ed. London, 1847, since he conceives, in accordance with Passow, in his Greek Lexicon, that when joined with a verb of motion, *εἴσω* must bear the signification of *to the inside*, not *on the inside*. The bishop of St. David's considers that Schneider's condemnation of Halbkardt arises solely from the great difficulty of reconciling his translation with the geographical position of Sitace, but that the philological difficulty thus raised by Schneider, is quite as great as the geographical difficulty of the other. The same opinion appears to be held by other Grecian scholars; the Right Rev. Dr. Wilson, Lord Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and the Rev. Dr. Mac-Donnell, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, among the number."

t seq.)

uthorities I may add that of the Rev. J. F. Mac-

michael, Head-master of the Grammar School, Burton on Trent, who says, "We gather from the narrative, that they commenced the retreat (after joining Ariæus) in a *northerly* direction (ii. 2. 8), and continued it with Tissaphernes—who was journeying *homewards* (ὡς εις οικον ἀπιών, iv. 8)—far enough in this direction to pass out of Babylonia; for on the sixth day of the retreat, they passed *within* the Median Wall (παρῆλθον εἴσω αὐτοῦ, iv. 12)—an expression which can only signify an entry *through it* into Babylonia. (Cf. l. iv. 4, 5—vii. 16.) The line of route suggested by Mr. Ainsworth, viz. back by Pylæ, and then for some distance on the N. side of the Wall, is apparently the only one consistent with the data, geographical and historical, of the problem." P. 339.

Apart, however, from the respect due to Colonel Chesney's views of the matter—it remains quite an open question, whether a north-westerly route, to avoid the Hur or marshes of Akka Kuf, would not have taken the Greeks to a position so near to the Median Wall as to be described by them as *within* that wall, before they turned to the eastward toward Sitace.

Sitace.—From the Wall of Media they proceeded, in two days' march, the distance of eight parasangs; crossing two canals, the one by a permanent bridge, the other by a temporary one, formed of seven boats. These canals were supplied from the river Tigris; and from one to the other of them were cut ditches across the country, the first of considerable size, and the next smaller; and at last diminutive drains, such as are cut in Greece through the panic fields. They then arrived at the Tigris; near which there was a large and populous city, called Sitace, distant from the banks of the river only fifteen stadia.

Xenophon, by repeating the circumstance here, that the canals were derived from the Tigris, lends additional weight to his prior statement, that at that time the northerly part of the plain of Babylonia was watered from the Tigris. The Arabs of Balad informed Captain Lynch, that there were anciently two canals, which ran across from the Tigris to the Euphrates—one from Istabalat, called Jalilu-i-Darb, near where the Dujail, "Little Tigris," leaves the Tigris, and one that ran from the Dujail itself, called Bu Khaimah. (Journal of R. G. S., vol. ix. p. 474.)

There are also in the same district the remains of several canals which were drawn in olden time from the river Tigris to flow back into the same river. Among the most remarkable are the Dujail, or Dijail, or Little Tigris; the Shat Aidha and the Ishakli. Akbara, a favorite residence of the Khalifs, was on the Shat Aidha.

Mr. Ross sought for Sitace at Shiriat-al-Baidha, or the White River, where there are extensive ruins, consisting of mounds and embankments, and the dry ditch of a canal extending northward some miles, and westward almost to the colossal ruin of Akka Kuf or Accad—the only remaining example of an Assyrian or Baby-

lonian ruin not converted by the lapse of time and disintegration of materials into a tel or mound.

Having been led to reject the identification of the river Physcus with the modern Athaim, as surmised by Mr. Ross and Captain Lynch, upon the grounds advanced by Colonel Rawlinson, that if the Katur or Nahrawan canals existed in the time of Xenophon, they would represent the Physcus and not the Athaim, I was further induced, by considering the incompatibility of the distance between Shiriat-al-Baidha and Opis at the confluence of the Athaim, with that reported by Xenophon, to seek for the ruins of Sitace at or near the site of Akbara. Colonel Chesney has, by placing Opis at or a little above Kayim or Kaim, and close to the head of a second or lower branch of the Nahr-wan, called the Nahr-al-Risas, and which he identifies with the Physcus, got over this difficulty.

"In taking the distance backward," says Colonel Chesney, vol. ii. p. 221, "at the average rate of the march through Asia Minor, or 2.608 geographical miles per parasang along the Upper Tigris (at the favorable season of the year), from the known point of the river Zab, there would be 130 geographical miles for the fifty parasangs to Opis, which places that city a little above Kaim, and close to the head of the Nahrawan, instead of being, as before supposed, some miles lower down near the river Athaim. Twenty parasangs, or fifty-two geographical miles, from the latter, the ancient bed of the Tigris, would place Sitace about ten miles north-west of Baghdad, near Sheriat-el-Beidha, the presumed site of the Sitace of Xenophon."

This identification, it will be observed, establishes the correspondence of the old bed of the river Tigris—the Shat Aidha—with the Tigris of Xenophon.

Opis.—From the Tigris, the Greeks are described as proceeding in four days' march, a distance of twenty parasangs, to the river Physcus, which was a plethrum in breadth, and over which was a bridge. Here was situate a large town, called Opis.

The discussion of the true positioning of Sitace involved, it has been seen, a knowledge of the site of Opis, which was situated at the issue of the Katur, or Nahrawan, from the Tigris.[1] The Rev. Mr. Macmichael remarks upon this identification of a river with a canal, that it is not improbably the third instance in the work of Xenophon. "Ainsworth," he says in the Appendix (p. 339), "following Colonel Rawlinson, who is inclined to identify the Physcus with the ancient canal, Katur or Nahrawan (compare the case of the Daradax and Masca, called *ποταμοί*, l. iv. 10, n., and v. 4; the

[1] Colonel Chesney's Al Kayim is situated, it has been observed, on the Nahr-al-Risas, a tributary to the Katur or Nahrawan; the ruins of Dura, and those called now Old Baghdad, are upon the Katur or Nahrawan proper.

breadth also (a plethrum), which is uniformly that of canals (v. 1; vii. 15), somewhat favor the supposition."

Opis was a city of considerable commercial importance at one time, having, according to the learned Dr. Vincent, risen into eminence upon the decline of the Assyrian cities on the Tigris, and then again decayed in its turn, as Seleucia, and Apamea, the creation of the Seleucidæ, became conspicuous; hence its positioning is of great interest to comparative geography generally.

VILLAGES OF PARYSATIS.—From Opis the Greeks proceeded through Media, six days' march through a desert country, a distance of thirty parasangs, when they arrived at the villages of Parysatis, the mother of Cyrus and the king.

At 2.608 geographical miles for each of the thirty parasangs, or 78.24 geographical miles, the villages in question would have been situated, according to Colonel Chesney (ii. 222), about three miles beyond the Lesser Zab—a river concerning the existence of which Xenophon is as silent as he was regarding the Lake of Antioch and its tributaries.

The position of these villages, according to the distance stated in the text, would, says Dr. Anthon (note to Xenophon, p. 163), both in Lynch's and in Rich's maps, fall pretty nearly at the position marked Tel Kunus in the first, and Tel Geloos in the second. This is the same identification as in the "Travels in the Track." It is however over-estimated, being laid down in the maps, instead of as in other cases corrected for the difficulties of road, which in most cases render my estimate of 3 geo. miles equal to not more than 2.5 on the map, making them really of the same value as accorded by Rennell, Colonel Chesney, Hamilton, and Layard.

CÆNÆ.—From the villages of Parysatis the Greeks advanced in a march of five days more through the desert, a distance of twenty parasangs, having the Tigris on their left. At the end of the first day's march, there was situate on the opposite bank of the river, a large and opulent city, called Cænæ, whence the Barbarians brought over, on rafts made of hide, a supply of bread, cheese, and wine.

Captain Lynch having found some ruins with a canal called Senn, not far from the embouchure of the Great Zab on the opposite side of the Tigris, I was induced to identify the Cænæ of the Greeks with that spot, puzzled however at the same time to identify this site with the Scena of Strabo, and which according to the Amasian geographer was a remarkable city—the capital of the Scenite Arabs—eighteen schæni or one hundred and eight miles from Seleucia, and with a canal which was carried thence to the confines of Babylonia.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting a canal through the hilly ranges south of Kalah Shirgat, still, considering the correc-

tion given to the distances by Colonel Chesney, I am inclined to suppose that the site must be the same as the ruins at the last-mentioned place, and not exactly, as Colonel Chesney has it, at the ruins of the Ur of the Persians, which he says are three or four miles below Shirkat—or Toprak Kalahsi. (ii. p. 222.)

Kalah Shirgat, since the time when I first visited it in company with Layard, in 1840, has been the scene of many most remarkable and interesting discoveries in Assyrian Archæology, made by the most successful explorer.

Among other monuments of olden time, a cylinder, a splendid relic, containing 800 lines of beautiful writing, at least 100 years older than the oldest monument hitherto discovered in Assyria, was found here. It was, when found, broken into a hundred fragments, and in some parts even reduced to powder; but the whole has been carefully joined together, and barely a dozen lines lost.

Colonel Rawlinson states (Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xv. p. xvi. et seq.) that it contains the bulletins of Tiglath Pileser I., a king who is mentioned in the annals of Assur-akh-pal, as a remote ancestor; and as Divanuras, the builder of Calah, must, Colonel Rawlinson thinks, intervene between the connected series and this king, and as there is no mention on the cylinder either of Calah or Nineveh; the Colonel is led to believe that the capital of the empire at that early period, that is before the building of Nineveh, was Kileh Shirgat, as he spells it, itself, and which is every where on the cylinder named Assur, as it is also in the well-known sitting figure obtained from the same place by Layard, and now in the British Museum.

This ancient and pre-Ninevite capital of the Asssyrian empire being then named Assur, was also, according to Colonel Rawlinson, the Allasar of Genesis, of which Arioch was the king. It is also the Tel Assur of the Targums, which is used for the Mosaic Resen; and instead, therefore, of Resen being between Nineveh and Calah, it should be Calah, which was between Nineveh and Resen. "I consider," adds the Colonel, "these three sites to be now determinately fixed—Nineveh at Nebbi Yunus, Calah at Nimrud, and Resen at Shirgat."

Notwithstanding such high authority, I can not help feeling that there will yet be found no reason for thus forcing the reading of the Mosaic record. The term Assur has been found at Nimrud as well as at Shirgat.[1] And it is very likely to apply to the coun-

[1] Ross (Jour. R. G. S. vol. ix. p. 451) calls it Kalah Sherkat. Rich (vol. ii. p. 138), Toprak Kalaa and Kalaat-ul-Shirgath. Layard (Nineveh and its Remains, i. 4; ii. 45 and 51; and Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, p. 581), Kalah Sherghat. Chesney (vol. ii. 222), Sherkat or Toprak Kalahsi. Myself, Kaleh Sherkat and Kalah Shirgat. We have all looked upon it as a modern name, signifying the same, in Turkish, Toprak Kalah, Kalah Shirgat, "castle of earth."

try rather than to the city. If, as I suspect it will still turn out to be the case, Nimrud is ever identified by satisfactory paleographic research with Resen, and Kalah Shirgat with Calah, the Biblical expression will be found to be correct. Colonel Rawlinson has himself been induced to change his opinions with progressive inquiry, he having in 1839 identified Calah with Holwan near Sar Puli Zohab (Journ. of Roy. Geo. Soc. ix. p. 35 et seq.); and in 1849 or 50, identified the same place with Nimrud. (Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. xii. p. 417).

In the "Memoir on Cuneiform Inscriptions," published in the eleventh volume of the Jour. Roy. Asiat. Soc., Colonel Rawlinson speaks of Athur-a and Athur-aya as the cuneiform expression for our Assyria. He then adds in a note, the Arabic geographers always give the title of Athur to the great ruined capital near the mouth of the Upper Zab. If so, that place is just as likely to be the Tel Assur of the Targums as Kalah Shirgat, and consequently, as far as any identification founded on such data will go, the same as Resen.

River Zabatus.—Soon after, they arrived at the river Zabatus, the breadth of which was four plethra. The river Zab is too well known to detain us long. It is in the present day called Zab Ala. Thevenot and Tavernier called it Zarb and Zarbe. It is the Lycus of the older geographers, with the exception of Pliny, who calls it Zerbis, and Marcellinus, who misspells it Diaba. The Zab is one of the principal confluents of the Tigris, and at certain seasons of the year brings down a larger body of water than the main stream.

There are many tels or mounds of ruin on the south side of the Zab near its confluence with the Tigris, in the plain of Shumanuk, or Shomanok, now tenanted by the Tai Arabs, some of which the indefatigable Layard caused to be excavated by the Jehesh Arabs under his pay. Among the most remarkable of these is the lofty mound of Kashaf or Keshaf, an artificial platform of earth and unbaked bricks resting upon limestone rock, and crowned by the remains of a deserted fort, the mounds and ruins called Mukhamur or Mokhamour, in the pastoral plains between the Karajuk hills and the Tigris, the mound of Abu Jerdah, that of Abu Shitha or Abou Sheetha, and eight others enumerated by Layard, all indicative of a large and prosperous population in olden times.

Speaking more particularly of the mound called Abu-Shitha, Layard says (p. 225), "Near this ruin, perhaps at its very foot, must have taken place an event which led to one of the most celebrated episodes of ancient history. Here were treacherously seized Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Agias, and Socrates; and Xenophon, elected to the command of the Greek Auxiliaries, commenced the ever-memorable retreat of the Ten Thousand. The camp

of Tissaphernes, dappled with its many-colored tents, and glittering with golden arms and silken standards, the gorgeous display of Persian pomp, probably stood on the Kordereh (Kur Darah, valley of Cyrus?) between Abou Sheatha and the Kasr. The Greeks having taken the lower road to the west of the Karachok range, through a plain even then as now a desert, turned to the east, and crossed the spur of the mountain, where we had recently seen the tents of the Howar, in order to reach the fords of the Zab."

PASS OF THE ZABATUS.—Misfortunes awaited the Greeks at this point, and active hostilities ensuing upon the passage of the Zab, that passage was deferred for a short time. The Persians having been described by Xenophon as taking up a position at the ford over the Zab, I was induced to identify the place of passage, notwitstanding its distance from the confluence of the Zab and Tigris, with the ford at Kulak Kupar, which is beyond the ferry called Kulak Izidi, or the pass of the Yezidees.

"The fact of their leaving the Tigris," says the Rev. Mr. Macmichael in the Appendix to the Xenophon (p. 340), "and marching up the Zab before crossing it, though not expressly stated, is sufficiently indicated by the remark that they arrived at the Tigris near Larissa (iii. 4. 6), after two marches from the ford. It is also to be added to this, that it seems probable that they crossed above the junction of the Khazir-su or Bumadus, as they are decribed as passing on their way to Larissa, a valley formed by a torrent."

Colonel Chesney makes the Greeks cross the Zab near its confluence, "probably in boats," (ii. 222). Layard, who has examined the country about the confluence of the two rivers with great care, says, "The ford by which the Greeks crossed the great Zab (Zabates) may, I think, be accurately determined. It is still the principal ford in this part of the river, and must, from the nature of the bed of the stream, have been so from the earliest periods. It is about twenty-five miles from the confluence of the Zab and Tigris. A march of twenty-five stadia, or nearly three miles, in the direction of Larissa, would have brought them to the Ghazer or Burmadus; and this stream was, I have little doubt, the deep valley formed by the torrent where Mithridates, venturing to attack the retreating army was signally defeated." (Discov. in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, p. 60).

Layard is wrong in saying that "Mr. Ainsworth would take the Greeks up to the modern ferry, where there could never have been a ford." I said distinctly (Trav. in the Track, etc., p. 119) the actual ferry is at Kelek Izedi (or Kulak Izidi), but beyond this, at Kelek Gopar (Kulak Kupar), the river is said to be fordable at favorable seasons. This Mr. Rassam and myself ascertained on the spot. As it appears, however, there is a ford

lower down the river, and yet above the confluence of the Khazir-su, it is evidently useless to go higher up the river in search of a spot for the passage of the Greeks.

Larissa.—Having crossed the Zabatus, the Greeks were only enabled, owing to the hostile front presented by Mithridates, the satrap of the new district they had entered upon, to advance some five and twenty stadia to some villages on the plain. The next morning they started earlier than usual on account of the ravine, but the Persians did not attack them till they had crossed the torrent, and being driven back, the Greeks traveled the rest of the day without molestation, arriving at the river Tigris, where was a large deserted city, the name of which was Larissa, and which the Medes had formerly inhabited.

The identity of the Larissa of Xenophon with the ruins of Nimrud, the scene of Layard's most remarkable discoveries, appearing to be undisputed by those who have written since the publication of the "Travels in the Track," it only remains to notice some facts that have sprung out of more recent researches.

The learned Bochart first advanced the supposition that this Assyrian city was the same as the primeval city, called Resen in the Bible and that the Greeks having asked its name were answered, Al Resen, the article being prefixed, and from whence they made Larissa, in an easy transposition. I adopted this presumed identity as extremely probable, and Colonel Chesney (ii. 223) has done the same, not as an established fact, but as a presumed identity.

Layard was satisfied with looking upon Nimrud as a quarter of Nineveh. "That the ruins at Nimrud were within the precincts of Nineveh," he says in Nineveh and its Remains (vol. ii. p. 245), "If they do not alone mark its site, appears to be proved by Strabo, and by Ptolemy's statement, that the city was on the Lycus, corroborated by the tradition preserved by the earliest Arab geographers. Yakut and others, mention the ruins of Athur, near Selamiyah, which gave the name of Assyria to the province; and Ibn Said expressly states, that they were those of the city of the Assyrian kings who destroyed Jerusalem. They are still called, as it has been shown, both Athur and Nimroud."

Certain cuneiform characters represented in Layard's Nineveh and its Remains (vol. ii. p. 228, 229), were, from their frequent recurrence both in the sculptures and the bricks, supposed to represent the name of Asshur. Dr. Hincks deemed them to represent either the name, or an abbreviation of the name of Athur, the country of Assyria. "It is possible," Layard remarks upon this, "that Nineveh, or Athur, may be indiscriminately used in speaking of the country."

Athor, or Athyr, has also been read by Dr. Hincks as the name of the presiding divinity on the monuments of Assyria, somewhat,

we suppose, in the same way, only with more religious feeling mixed up with it, that Britannia represents Great Britain.

In 1846, Colonel Rawlinson, speaking of Nimrud, noticed it as probably the Rehoboth of Scripture, but he added in a note, "I have no reason for identifying it with Rehoboth, beyond its evident antiquity, and the attribution of Resen and Calah to other sites. (Journal of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. x. p. 26.) At this time Colonel Rawlinson identified Calah with Holwan or Sir Pul-i-Zohab, and Resen, or Dasen, with Yasin Teppeh in the plain of Sharizur in Kurdistan. (See note to p. 23 op. cit.)

In 1849 (Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xi. p. 10), Colonel Rawlinson said, "The Arabic geographers always give the title of Athur to the great ruined capital near the mouth of the Upper Zab. The ruins are now usually known by the name of Nimrud. It would seem highly probable that they represent the Calah of Genesis, for the Samaritan Pentateuch names this city Lachisa, which is evidently the same title as the *Λαρισσα* of Xenophon, the Persian *r* being very usually replaced both in Median and Babylonian by a guttural."

In 1850 (Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xii.), Colonel Rawlinson added the discovery of a cuneiform inscription bearing the title Levekh, which he reads Halukh. "Nimrud," says the distinguished palæographist, "the great treasure-house which has furnished us with all the most remarkable specimens of Assyrian sculpture, although very probably forming one of that group of cities, which in the time of the prophet Jonas, were known by the common name of Nineveh, has no claim, itself, I think, to that particular appellation. The title by which it is designated on the bricks and slabs that form its buildings, I read doubtfully as Levekh, and I suspect this to be the original form of the name which appears as Calah in Genesis, and Halah in Kings and Chronicles, and which indeed, as the capital of Calachene, must needs have occupied some site in the immediate vicinity."

Lastly, in 1853 (Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xv. p. vi. et seq.), Colonel Rawlinson describes the remarkable cylinder before alluded to as found at Kilah Shirgat, which establishes that site to have been the most ancient capital of the Assyrian empire, and to have been called Assur as well as Nimrud and Nineveh Proper. This Assur, we have seen, he identifies with the Tel Assur of the Targums, which is used for the Mosaic Resen; and instead, therefore, of Resen being between Nineveh and Calah, it should be Calah, which was between Nineveh and Resen.

But, notwithstanding such very high authority, the conclusion thus arrived at does not appear to be perfectly satisfactory. The discovery of the expression Levekh, and its analogy in the Samaritan Lachisa and the Greek Larissa, is very curious and very

remarkable, but not conclusive. The name Assur, or Athur, occurs just as frequently in connection with Nimrud as with Shirgat, and, therefore, the same argument of its being the Tel Assur of the Targums, which is used for the Mosaic Resen, would apply to the one as well as to the other. It is possible to imagine two cities like Nineveh and Resen to have been within some twenty miles of one another, but it is not so easy to imagine that in after times one was in the province of Adiabene, the other in that of Calachene. This part of the subject will be found discussed at length in the "Papers of the Syro-Egyptian Society," (vol. i. part ii.)

The whole question, indeed, regarding Nineveh and Assur appears to be involved in a great deal of philological confusion. It is evident that the name of the country came from Assur or Athur, and we can not, therefore, feel surprised at finding the name at Kilah Shirgat, afterward transposed to Nimrud and to Nineveh, just as we find the Chaldean priests using it in the present day in their bibles at Musul or Mausil. It does not appear, therefore, that any correct data will be derived from naming any of the Assyrian cities from the presence of this epithet.

Then again, with regard to Nineveh, it may at one time have designated one place, at another time another place, according to where the king took up his abode: and again, it may, in the time of Jonah, have embraced the whole group of cities, as Colonel Rawlinson remarks, in Assyria Proper. Layard does not dispute that the different portions of Nineveh, thus comprehensively viewed, may have had different names. Much light has already been thrown upon the history of the different Assyrian cities and edifices, as well as upon the dwellers therein, and that is quite sufficient to show that we are as yet only upon the threshold of what will be eliminated by the labors of our truly zealous and laborious paleographers and archæologists.

Since the above was written, a letter from Colonel Rawlinson appears in the Athenæum, No. 1381, making mention of the discovery in the S. E. Palace at Nimrud, of a perfect statue of the god Nebo, with an inscription on the breast, stating that the figure in question was executed by a certain sculptor of Lakisa or Calah, and dedicated by him to the Lord Phal-lukha, king of Assyria, and to his Lady, Sammuramit, Queen of the Palace. In the same inscription the territorial name of Sutgan is mentioned in conjunction with that of the city of Calah, being, Colonel Rawlinson says, the title given by the Samaritan interpreter for the Hebrew of Rehoboth Ir. The Colonel identifies the king and queen here noticed together with the Belochus and Semiramis of the Greek Assyrian lists. He believes Semiramis to have been the daughter of the king of Medo-Armenia, to have married Phal-lukha, the king of Armenia, when she changed her name from Atossa to Semi-

ramis, and to have reigned with her husband as joint monarch of Nineveh in the eighth century before Christ.

MESPILA.—From Larissa the Greeks are described as proceeding, in one day's journey, six parasangs, to a large unoccupied fortress, situated near a city, the name of which was Mespila. Upon the data here given, I identified the fortress with the ruins at Yarumjab, and Mespila with Nineveh. Colonel Chesney appears to coincide in this view of the subject. "That Larissa and Mespila are represented by the ruins of Nimrud and Kouyunjik," Layard says (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 61), "no one can reasonably doubt."

Colonel Rawlinson, however, says (Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc. vol. xii. p. 419), "It seems to me very possible that Xenophon's name of Mespila may denote Mosul, and not Nineveh." The term Mespila or Meso-pulai, "middle pass or gates," would certainly appear to apply to the pass of the river between Musul and Kouyunjik or Nabbi Yunus, and there may have been ruins on both banks, for a great mound still exists in Musul, not far from the river, but there is no evidence of such extensive ruins, as are described by Xenophon as being at Mespila, having existed on the right bank of the river, while we know they do occur on the left. Rennell has, however, also conjectured Musul to be derived from Mesulæ, a corruption of Meso-pulai. It does not matter much. Xenophon's name, no doubt, applied to the pass of the Tigris, and therefore to Musul and Nineveh, and his descriptions of ruins to the latter.

VILLAGES BEYOND MESPILA.—The Greeks proceeded from the pass of the Tigris, one day's journey, a distance of four parasangs, to some villages where there was plenty of corn. Fertility is the characteristic of the plain of Nineveh to the present day, and there are no want of villages. From the data here given, I identified the particular villages at which the Greeks encamped with Tel Kaif, an Assyrian mound with a village or small town at its foot. Colonel Chesney joins me in this identification. Layard, however, says, "they probably halted near the modern village of Batnai, between Tel Kef and Tel Eskof, an ancient site, exactly four hours, by the usual caravan road, from Kouyunjik." There is no doubt that Tel Kaif is not above nine geog. miles from Kouyunjik, and Batnai is twelve. But this is allowing the full three geog. miles to the parasang, and that when the Greeks were harassed throughout the journey by Tissaphernes. Tel Kaif is evidently also an old Assyrian site, which is not so certain with respect to Batnai, and I, therefore, considering all the circumstances of the site, prefer the first identification.

PALACES AND VILLAGES.—The Greeks remained at the villages ...e Assyrian plain the ensuing day, after which they proceeded ...he open country, five days' march, till they came to hills, ...ich was a kind of palace and several villages round it.

The first hills that are met with in proceeding northward from Assyria to Karduchia, are those which constitute the triple range, designated as the Jibal Abyad by the Arabs, and Cha Spi by the Kurds, both signifying "white hills," and immediately beyond them is the castle of Zakhu, with villages around it, like a feudal castle of olden times. In no part of the journey do the circumstances of the case more closely correspond with Xenophon's descriptions, especially of the difficulties met with in passing the hilly range, and the unforeseen opposition they met with in the now wooded valleys between the ranges.

Colonel Chesney (ii. 224) and Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 61) both agree with me in this identification. It is remarkable that Xenophon does not mention the Khabur, which Dr. Grant confounded with the Chebar of Scripture—the Khabur of Mesopotamia—although he must have crossed that river either by a ford or bridge.

Village in the plain.—There being plenty of provisions at Zakhu, the Greeks remained there three days, and on the fourth they went down into the plain. Xenophon neglects here to notice either the Khabur or its tributary the Hazil, both of which the army must apparently have crossed. They are reported as having encamped at the first village they came to, which I have supposed might correspond with Tel Kubbin, where a mound of ruin marks an ancient site, but Layard does not think they got beyond the Hazil su. The first village in the plain in the present day is Bidari, inhabited by Chaldeans.

Foot of the mountains.—The Greeks evidently continued their march across the plain of Zakhu—the Romaion Ager of Procopius—till they reached the foot of the hills south of Jizirah. A superior knowledge of the country had, however, been turned to account by the Persians in the mean time, and the Greeks, to their astonishment, found the enemy in possession of the heights over which they necessarily must pass, while the troops of Ariæus and Tissaphernes pressed upon the rear.

The scene of this second conflict in the outlying mountains of Kurdistan I have identified with the low hills which constitute that spur of the Jibal Judi which advances immediately beyond the plain of Zakhu down to the banks of the Tigris, and where is the now ruinous castle of Rabahi—the Rabdium of the Low Empire, Tur Abdin of Al Wakidis' History of the Conquest of Mesopotamia by the Saracens, and Tur Rabdin of the Jihan Numa. Colonel Chesney agrees with me in this explanation of matters, but Layard takes the Greeks (p. 62) all the way to Fynyk or Finik, a view of the subject that will meet with very little support from those who will be at the pains to consider the details carefully.

Kurdish plain with villages.—The Greeks having driven the enemy from the commanding position which they held, they

descended into a plain, in which were many villages, stored with excellent provisions, lying along the river Tigris. This plain exists precisely in the position indicated, between the Rabahi spur of the Jibal Judi and the low eminences which again block up the plain opposite to Jizirah ibn Umar, the Zozarta of the Chaldeans, and Bezabde of the Romans, and at the further or northern end of which is the Chaldean village of Mansuriyah. There was formerly a bridge over the Tigris in this plain, the ruins of which still exist.

The Greeks are described as being much perplexed, for on one side of them were exceeding high mountains, and on the other a river of such depth, that when they sounded it, their spears did not rise above the water.

They were also obliged to retrace their steps to a certain extent. The Persians having set fire to some of the villages before them, they had to return in search of provisions to some that were unburned. These villages may have been at the westerly end of the plain of Zakhu, where are, in the present day, Kalah Salahsani or Sayid Bay's castle, Nahrwan, Girgi Pedros or Mar Yiorgio (Church of St. George), Zibarra, Wasit, Perishabur, and other villages mostly Chaldean. I prefer this view of the case to the one I first entertained, that they went up the valley of Mar Yuhannah. The whole district, however, as Colonel Chesney (ii. 225) justly remarks, included the tract round Jizirah ibn Umar.

Layard (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 62) identifies the villages in question with those still found around Funduk, but it appears evident from what follows in chapter i. of the 10th book of the Anabasis, that the Greeks had not yet fought their way through the chief pass of the Tigris, and which is met with immediately beyond Jizirah ibn Umar and the valley of Mar Yuhannah, or the Dargilah of Layard—Fynyk, ancient Phœnicia, commanding the pass in question from above. I can not but attribute the great discrepancy that occurs here between my identifications and those admitted by Layard, to the circumstances of his having traveled from the north, I from the south. Coming in the first direction, Layard first saw the plains of Assyria through the gap made by the river stretching before him, as it were at his feet, from the heights of Funduk, and all other passes were from that moment looked at as insignificant; coming, on the contrary, from the south, the great range of the Jibal Judi seems to hem in the Tigris immediately beyond Jizirah, like a mighty wall of rock. There is no mistaking this great physical feature in the configuration of the country. The pass of the Tigris, where the Greeks stopped awe-struck at the formidable aspect of the country before them, was at or near the Bezabde of the Romans. That town has been from time immemorial the fortress which has commanded the great pass of the Tigris.

Pass of the Tigris.—The Greeks are described in the next book as having arrived at a spot where the Tigris was quite impassable from its depth and width, and where there was no passage along its banks, as the Karduchian mountains hung steep over the stream, and hence their further progress became a matter of serious and anxious discussions.

This is the great pass of the Tigris I have just alluded to immediately beyond Jizirah ibn Umar. There can not be a moment's question upon the subject. It was a point of such great importance in the retreat, that it is made the scene of discussion of all the principal routes that presented themselves to get out of the country, and Xenophon begins another book with the account of the passage of this remarkable pass, which the Greeks effected with their characteristic gallantry and expedition, arriving beyond the summit in certain villages of Karduchians that lay dispersed in the valleys and recesses of the mountains. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to say that Colonel Chesney quite coincides with this view of the matter.

Villages of Karduchians.—The pass of the Tigris will be found minutely described in the Travels in the Track, p. 154. After the summit of the pass is gained, the line of hills and cliffs gradually recede from the river, till suddenly, from having a nearly horizontal stratification, additional beds of rock make their appearance in front of the cliffs, dipping nearly vertically to the west, and rising in rude irregular conical summits, in front of what had been hitherto one continuous wall of rock. The recesses thus left between the hills are in the present day the seat of villages, as they were in the time of Xenophon, and the crags in front and in the rear bristle with the small and rude rock-forts of the Kurds This place corresponds to the Phœnica of Amm. Marcellinus, of the existence of which Mr. Rich obtained some intelligence; but as I was, I believe, the first traveler to visit it in modern times, I can not refrain from quoting the description given of this remarkable spot in the Trav. in the Track, etc. p. 154 et seq.

"My surprise and pleasure may be well imagined (after crossing the before-mentioned wild rocky pass) at finding extending before me a considerable expanse of well-wooded gardens, which stretched from the hills down to the water-side, and for about two miles up the river-course. Nothing could exceed the rich luxuriance of these groves and orchards; there were open spaces here and there for maize, melon, gourd, and cucumber, but otherwise the groves of plum, apricot, and peach appeared almost inaccessible, from the dense lower growth of fig-trees and pomegranates, themselves again half hid beneath clustering vines. Overlooking this scene of vegetative splendor, and upon the side of the hill, were the ruins of a castellated building, the battlemented wall and irregularly dispersed towers of which still remain. This building

covered a considerable space, being six hundred yards in depth, by eleven hundred in length. Traces of out-works, and of buildings connected with it, were also quite evident, stretching downward to the gardens.

"On two mounds, not far distant from each other, and close to the river, are the ruins of two smaller castles of similar character to the large one, only with double battlements, and consequently rising more loftily from the deep green groves, in the midst of which they are situated.

"In a deep and rocky glen at the head of these gardens is situated the village of Güli or Kuli Shirafi (so called from its being in a narrow strait or pass), many of the houses of which are hewn out of rock, and some of them out of fallen masses, which often stand erect at the foot of the cliffs, like great obelisks with a door-way in front: on the cliffs around are also numerous sepulchral grots, and the remains of aqueducts.

"To the north of this glen is another of greater dimensions, in which is the modern village of Fynyk, containing about one hundred houses, many of them excavated. The village is defended by several Kurd forts, two of which were on the opposite hill-tops, while other small ones succeeded to one another along the crest and acclivities down to the village. This pass of the Tigris was rendered quite impracticable to strangers by the Kurds of these villages till the time of Rashid Pasha."

It is manifest that it is these villages to which Xenophon alludes when he speaks of such being in rocky recesses. Layard however looks for these villages at Funduk (p. 62).

While resting during the heat of day in the gardens down by the river Tigris, Layard was lucky enough to have had information brought to him of the existence of sculptures in one of these ravines—the description appears to apply rather to that of Kuli Shirafi than to that of Finik or Fynyk proper. "We rode," he says (p. 54), "up a narrow and shady ravine, through which leapt a brawling torrent, watering fruit-trees and melon beds. The rocks on both sides were honey-combed with tombs. The bas-relief is somewhat above the line of cultivation, and is surrounded by excavated chambers. It consists of two figures, dressed in loose vests and trowsers, one apparently resting his hand on the shoulder of the other. There are the remains of an inscription, but too much weather-worn to be copied with any accuracy. The costume of the figures, and the forms of the characters as far as they can be distinguished, prove that the tablet belongs to the Parthian period. It closely resembles monuments of the same epoch existing in the mountains of Persia."

What further satisfies me that the glen or ravine which my informants told me was called Kuli Shirafi is the same as that in which Layard found the bas-reliefs, is that Layard adds, "Beneath

them (the figures) is a long cutting, and tunnel in the rock, probably an ancient watercourse for irrigation, to record the construction of which the tablets may have been sculptured."

Layard also discovered some sculptures of a similar character in the valley which leads from Jizirah to Darghilah, the former stronghold of Badir Khan Bey, or as I have called it from a Chaldean church, and the seat of a Chaldean episcopacy, the valley of Mar Yuhannah. These sculptures were about two miles from the high road, near a small fort built by Mir Saif-ad-din, the hereditary chief of Buhtan, in whose name Badir Khan Bey exercised his authority. There were two tablets, one above the other; the upper contained a warrior on horseback, the lower a simple figure. Although no traces of inscription remain, the bas-relief may confidently be assigned to the same period, Layard says, as that of Fynyk.

Pass of Scrutiny.—Beyond Finik, or Fynyk, the hills and the river recede from one another, the latter being closed up amid precipitous cliffs, and to avoid this long precipitous bend, the road is carried over the hills by the village of Finduk or Funduk. As the Greeks did not start from Finik till after breakfast, more than seven or eight geographical miles can not be allowed to the first day's march thence, which would carry them to the slope of those heights where are now the remains of Kunakti and other castles, which defended the approach to Finduk. There is only one pass in the line of road thus traversed, adapted for the purposes mentioned by Xenophon, of examining the men in a file, and scrutinizing their baggage or *impedimenta*, and that is the ravine of the rivulet of Zawiyah, which is deep and narrow, and to which there is only one descent on either side, the remainder being vertical cliffs in which are here and there a sepulchral grotto.

Pass of Finduk.—On the next day a great storm arose in the very place to expect such, on the ascent of the highlands of Finduk; but they were obliged to go on, for their provisions failed them. Beyond the castle of Kunakti, the road enters a narrow glen, and winds round along similar passes, till turning the face of a lofty precipice, it advances upon more open and cultivated highlands by the village or town of Finduk, down again into the valley of the Tigris, where are the villages of Kuwarru, Baravan, and others, inhabited in the present day by Syrian Christians.

Layard gives an amusing account of his passage through Finduk, whose inhabitants, he says, during the rule of Badir Khan Bey were notorious among even the savage tribes of Buhtan, for their hatred and insolence to Christians. At the time of my visit Badir Khan had not been subdued, and the dangers of the road were proportionably greater, but the only annoyance the savage old chieftain Rasul gave me (if it can be even so termed), was to ask me contemptuously if I was a Christian.

The Greeks were subjected to much annoyance by the Kurds on this passage, and Xenophon was irritated at Cheirisophus hastening, as he deemed, too rashly forward; but the rival leader pointed to the river pass and mountains before him, and urged the necessity of having hurried forward to secure the position they were in. That this was on the banks of the Tigris is evidenced by a prisoner they had taken, promising, under fear of death, to lead them over the hills, instead of by the river-banks, which are indeed at this point impassable, except when the waters are low, besides being commanded by the neighboring hills.

PASS OF KULAK.—At the point where they had now arrived then, that is, where the Tigris is hemmed in by the mountains, and yet there is no short cut over the latter, as at Finduk; the Greeks were obliged to detach a party to take possession of the heights before they could attempt to force the passage below. Notwithstanding these precautions, the Kurds rolled down great stones upon the Greeks and entailed considerable delay.

The scene of this event appears to have been at the entrance of the pass, where is a ferry and villages on each side of the river known as Kulak, as is also the ferry on the Zab—pronounced by the Kurds, Kelek or Chelek. At this point a rivulet of clear water flows into the Tigris, by a narrow ravine, which is hemmed in, as the Tigris is also from this point northward, by perpendicular rocks. A road, carried up in part by steps cut in the rock, leads up the cliff to the ruins of a castle that once commanded this important position.

To gain this pass, the Greeks had to fight three separate conflicts, on as many distinct eminences; after which they arrived at a number of good houses, and in the midst of abundance of provisions. Wine was so abundant, that they kept it in excavations under ground, which were plastered over.

On emerging from the hills that hem in the river below Kulak, there are at the present day no villages close to the river, but there are several in the interior, and a little further on the ruins of a large village, and of a Khan built of stone. Kulah, with its tall Kurdish castle, stands on the right bank of the river, a little further on. The plastered cisterns noticed by Xenophon are still to be met with in Kurdistan, Armenia, and Syria.

THE CENTRITES.—The next day the Greeks pursued their way, one party as usual ascending the mountains from behind to drive the enemy away, and leave the passage below free to their comrades. By these means they were enabled to force another wooded and picturesque pass, that is met with north of Kulak, and to reach the more open country where the Buhtan-chai or Centrites joins the Tigris.

The army did not encamp on the banks of the Centrites, but, as is described by Xenophon, above the plain, where are some villages

of Chaldeans in the present day. At the point of junction of the Tigris and Centrites is the ancient Armenian site of Til, or Till (written by Layard, Tilleh), which was celebrated in history as favored by Tigranes, and as the burial-place of several of the early Armenian pontiffs.

Layard having got the Greeks on their first day's march over the Karduchian hills, as far as Finduk, he says, "There now remained about ten parasangs to the plain through which flows the eastern branch of the Tigris; but the country was difficult, and at this time of the year (nearly mid-winter) the lower road along the river was impassable. The Greeks had, therefore, to force their way over a series of difficult passes, all stoutly defended by warlike tribes. They were consequently four days in reaching the Centrites or eastern Tigris, the united waters of the rivers of Bitlis, Sert, and Bohtan."

Ford of the Centrites.—The passage of the river was opposed by an united army of Armenians, Mardians, or, as it was previously read, Mygdonians, and Chaldeans. These mercenaries were drawn up on high banks, three or four hundred feet from the river; and the only road that was visible, was one that led upward, apparently a work of art, and the Greeks attempted to cross the river at this point, but without success. They, in consequence, retreated, and when they had encamped on the banks of the river, they found their previous station occupied by the Kurds.

That day, therefore, and the following night, they remained where they were in great perplexity. But the next morning, two young men came to Xenophon, when he was at breakfast, and told him they had found a ford. This ford was at a distance of about four stadia, and the Greeks effected a passage by a series of ingenious maneuvers which are described in the text.

Layard, who forded the Buhtan-chai in the month of September I believe (he disembarked at Trebizond on the 31st of August), says, "We crossed the lower or eastern ford, which we found wide and exceedingly rapid, the water, however, not reaching above the saddle-girths. The villagers raised the luggage and supported the horses against the current, which, rushing over loose and slippery stones, affording an uncertain footing, threatened to sweep the animals down the stream. * * The spot at which we crossed was one of peculiar interest. *It was here that the Ten Thousand in their memorable retreat forded this river, called by Xenophon, the Centrites* (p. 49). The next paragraph but one, he says, "The ford was deep, and its passage disputed by a formidable force of Armenians, Mygdonians (Mardians?) and Chaldeans, drawn up on an eminence 300 or 400 feet from the river. In this strait Xenophon dreamed that he was in chains, and that suddenly his fetters burst assunder of their own accord. His dream was fulfilled when two youths casually found *a more practicable ford*, by which the army, after a

skillful stratagem, on the part of their commander, safely reached the opposite bank.

These two paragraphs contradict one another. Layard also says at page 63, "The stream was rapid, the water reaching to the breast, and the ford, owing to the unevenness of the bottom and the loose slippery stones, exceeding difficult; such, it will be remembered, we found to be the case near Tilleh. The opposite banks were, moreover, defended by the combined forces of the Armenians, Mygdonians, and Chaldeans. It was impossible to cross the river at this spot in the face of the enemy. At length a ford was discovered *higher up*, and Xenophon, by skillful strategy, effected the passage. This must have been at a short distance from Tilleh, as the river, narrowed between rocky banks, is no longer fordable higher up."

This latter statement is founded in error, for Mr. Rassam and myself forded it a few miles higher up, in the month of September, when the water was in its deepest part, not above three feet, but generally two.

Supposing the Greeks to have first attempted the ford at Til, it is evident, according to Layard's own showing, that they crossed ultimately higher up the river. But the fact is that the point at which the Greeks passed must be determined by where they first reached the river-banks. On reaching the plain of the Centrites, the Tigris makes a great bend to the westward before receiving the Centrites, and as the course of the Greeks lay northward, I conceive it very unlikely that they would have turned unnecessarily out of their way toward the junction of the two rivers. Again, at the point where they approached the river, the enemy is described as occupying high banks from 300 to 400 feet from the river. This description would correspond with that part of the valley where the Buhtan-chai is first hemmed in by low hills, now called Janiminiyah. About four miles beyond this there are in the present day the ruins of a bridge, over which lay formerly the road to Radwan. Beyond this again is an artificial causeway carried up the face of a limestone rock, partly by steps cut out of the rock itself, and partly by a causeway paved with large blocks of stone. This is the highway to Sa'art, and appears to be of remote antiquity. Here is also a ford, but as the river is fordable at its embouchure, it is evident there may be many fords between the two. It is not necessary to presume then that the higher ford was crossed, although the reference to the artificial causeway carried up the face of the cliffs, and which remains to the present day, is very curious; but as it appears almost certain that they did not approach the river till where it is hemmed in by low hills, and which is precisely what they would be expected to do from the route taken and the configuration of the valley, and as they crossed about four stadia above that point, the place where

the Greeks forded the river was manifestly beyond the said low hills.

PALACE OF ARMENIAN SATRAP.—Having forced the passage of the Centrites, the Greeks are described as proceeding through Armenia, over plains and gently sloping hills, a distance of not less than five parasangs, arriving ultimately at a village of considerable size, which contained a palace for the satrap; upon most of the houses there were towers, and provisions in great plenty. This spot, by the distance given, would appear to correspond with the town now called Sa'art or Se'ert.

THE TELEBOAS.—The Greeks are described as advancing from the palace of the Armenian satrap, two days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, until they passed beyond the sources of the river Tigris. From hence they advanced, three days' journey, fifteen parasangs, to the river Teleboas, a stream not large, indeed, but of much beauty; and there were many villages on its banks. This part of the country was called Western Armenia.

There is a difficulty about the identification of the Teleboas, which has been revived by Mr. Layard's going back to the old view of the case. My ideas, as propounded from an unbiassed consideration of the facts of the case, are given in the "Travels in the Track," etc., in the following words:

"Had the Greeks marched by the great road from Sa'art to Bitlis, the distance here given at the onset would take them to the difficult pass called the Darah-i-Tasul, when they would leave behind them the minor tributaries to the Kharzan-su (anc. Arsanius), but only to arrive, after another ascent and descent, at the river Bakiyah or of Bitlis, the greatest of the easterly tributaries to the Tigris. So that Xenophon could hardly be expected to have made the mistake regarding the passing the sources of the Tigris, besides that the distance given from his passing the head-waters of the Tigris, to the river Teleboas, much exceeds the distance of the Darah-i-Tasul from the Bakiyah river. Lastly, the Teleboas was a small river with many villages on its banks, the Bakiyah is not large, but is so goodly a stream, that the historian would not have gone out of his way to describe it as small, nor is it a district in which (except at Bitlis) many villages probably ever existed. All these circumstances taken into consideration leave no doubt that the Greeks ascended directly toward the great chain of the Ali Tagh, the ancient Niphates, in a direction nearly north; by which proceeding, a journey of thirty miles would have carried them beyond the head-waters of the tributaries to the Tigris, in those districts, and another forty-five miles would have brought them into the valley of the Kara-su, recognized by many as the Teleboas of our author, and situate in the district of Moxoene, the present Mush—apparently from the most remote times the seat of numerous towns and villages, and having a large population. That this is the only version that can be given to this

portion of the narrative is further corroborated by the fact that from the Teleboas they proceeded through *a plain* which would not apply itself to the river Bakiyeh (nor to the river of Bitlis), both of which are inclosed in deep and wooded mountain valleys."

Colonel Chesney's view of the subject is as follows: "It is considered to be a journey of thirty-eight hours from Se'ert to Mush by the shortest route (see Colonel Sheil's Journey from Tabriz through Kurdistan, Jour. of Roy. Geo. Soc. vol. viii. p. 77), but as the Greeks approached the source of the Tigris, theirs must have been rather longer. About twenty hours would be consumed on their march to the high ground in question; and about twenty hours more in reaching the supposed Teleboas or Kara-su at the village of Arisban near Mush."

This is the most satisfactory explanation of all, because by crossing the Niphates to Mush instead of to the valley of the Kara-su at the foot of the Nimrud Tagh, the Greeks would have had the advantage of the highway from Hazu to Mush. It may also be observed here, that had the Greeks intended keeping to the country of the Karduchians, and passing the mountains by Bitlis, they need not have fought their way over the Centrites; and Xenophon, when he speaks of passing above Tigris, was, there is every reason to believe, well enough aware that he was crossing the great watershed. The historian also distinguishes the country they had advanced into as a different region of Armenia, under its own satrap.

In the face of all these facts, Layard says, "Six marches, of five parasangs each, brought them to the small river Teleboas. I am convinced that this river can not be identified with the Kara-su, which would be at least between forty and fifty parasangs, or from eight to ten days' march from Tilleh, supposing Xenophon to have made the smallest possible deviation to the west." (This is supposing the Greeks to have started from Tilleh, which is not probable, and then to have traveled to the Kara-su by way of Bitlis, which is left out of the consideration.) "I believe," continues Layard, "the Teleboas to have been the river of Bitlis. After crossing the low country of Kharzan, well described by Xenophon as 'a plain varied by hills of an easy ascent,' the Greeks must necessarily have turned slightly to the eastward to reach the Bitlis valley, as inaccessible mountains stopped all further progress." This is not the case; Colonel Sheil, as before quoted, describes a road from Se'ert of thirty-eight hours to Mush direct, which does not pass through Bitlis: and the Colonel adds, "This must be the road which Macdonald Kinneir supposes the Ten Thousand to have taken after they crossed the river, which he calls the Khabur, at Se'ert." (Op. cit. p. 77.) Viscount Pollington passed through the Niphates on his journey from Erzrum to Aleppo in 1838; and Mr. Consul Brant did the same on his journey from Kharput by Mush to Bitlis. This was by the valley of the Kolb-su (Handle water), but Mr. Brant says there was another road crossing the mountains

immediately south of Mush. (See Journ. of Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. ii. p. 445 et seq. and p. 352 et seq.) Either of those roads would have been preferable to the mountain route through Kurdistan by Bitlis, to the Greeks.

Mr. Layard remarks, that the text of Xenophon describes the Greeks as coming to, not crossing, the Teleboas. This would apply itself alike to the origin of the Kara-su at the foot of the Nimrud Tagh—to the rivulet of Mush or Ak-su—the White Water—a tributary to the Kara-su, or to the rivulet at Kizil Aghaz on the north side of the Kolb Tagh. It would scarcely apply to the river of Bitlis, with which they would have had to keep company some time. Beyond either of the above rivers there are plains, not so at the head of the Bitlis river, and all these rivers are beyond the watershed of the Tigris, which is not the case with the river of Bitlis.

Palace of Tiribazus.—The Greeks proceeded from the Teleboas three days' march, a distance of five parasangs, through a plain, till they came to a palace, with several villages around it, stored with abundance of provisions. The direction followed by the Greeks, after reaching the plains of Armenia, must be chiefly judged of by the time spent before they crossed the Euphrates. Had they pursued a direct northerly course, they could have reached the river in a day's march, but at a point where it is scarcely fordable. Probably they were informed of this fact, and hence led to pursue a north-easterly course to where the river was sufficiently fordable, and which was not attained till the sources of the river are described as being not far off.

The palace of Tiribazus and surrounding villages may, from the distance given, be at or near the sites of Perak or Lis, north of Lake Nazuk, but this, in the absence of corroborative information, is naturally a merely speculative suggestion.

The plain of Mush attains an average elevation, from my own observations, of 4200 feet above the sea, which is some 1800 feet below that of Arzrum, vulgo Erzrum, Erzerum, and Erzeroom.[1] But between the two, or the valleys of the western Euphrates and that of the Murad-su, the generality of the valleys and uplands which attain their culminating point in the Bin gül Tagh—the mountain of a thousand lakes—the Abus of the Romans—and on which are patches of perpetual snow, are much higher.

The knowledge which we now possess of the great elevation of these Armenian uplands explains the extreme severity of the winters, which has been the subject of much controversy; so much so, that Tournefort, the traveler and botanist, suggested that it might be owing to so unnatural a cause as the impregnation of the soil

[1] Oriental manuscripts leave no doubt as to the name of the present capital of Armenia being Arzrum, vulgarly pronounced Erzerum. The importance of the prefix justify us in writing the word as it is spelled, not as it is pronounced.

with sal-ammoniac. Positive elevation, in which the immediate results of a lower temperature are increased by a continental climate, and a long continuity of open woodless tracts, appears to be the main causes of the phenomena in question.

The Hon. Mr. Curzon, who spent the winter of 1842–43 at Arzrum, speaking of the intense cold experienced at that city, the present capital of Armenia, says, "During great part of the year, and naturally in the winter, the cold was so severe that any one standing still for even a very short time, was frozen to death. Dead frozen bodies were frequently brought into the city; and it is common in the summer, on the melting of the snow, to find numerous corpses of men and bodies of horses, who had perished in the preceding winter. So usual an event is this, that there is a custom, or law, in the mountains of Armenia, that every summer the villagers go out to the more dangerous passes and bury the dead whom they are sure to find." (Armenia, etc. p. 162.) This will give some idea of what the Greeks had to suffer during a winter journey across the uplands of Armenia.

Ford of the Euphrates.—From these villages an attack was made upon Tiribazus, who held a pass that lay on their way, after which the whole body set forward through deep snow, and traveled three days' journey, through a desert tract of country, a distance of fifteen parasangs, to the river Euphrates, which they passed without being wet higher than the middle. "The sources of the river were said to be not far off."

Rennell and Kinneir had both remarked that this distance is too great for troops marching through deep snow. All the probabilities of the case are, however, that the Greeks crossed the Murad-su above its confluence with the Char Buhar-su, and the river of Khanus or Kalah-su, as beyond these points there would be so much the less water.

Layard having taken the Greeks through Karduchia to Bitlis, says, "The high road from Bitlis to Northern Armenia would lead in exactly thirty hours, or six marches, to the Euphrates, which it crosses near Karaghal. I believe, therefore, that, after issuing from the valley of Bitlis, Xenophon turned to the westward, leaving the lake of Wan a little to the right, though completely concealed from him by a range of low hills. Skirting the western foot of Nimroud Dagh range, he passed through a plain thickly inhabited, abounding in well-provisioned villages, and crossed here by ranges of hills. The country still tallies precisely with Xenophon's description." The upper valley of the Kara-su here alluded to, certainly abounds in villages, but I saw no ranges of hills actually crossing it. It is, however, commanded by low hills where it takes a westerly turn.

Colonel Chesney (ii. 229), says, "Agreeably to the intention of fording the great rivers toward their sources (previously expressed, Anab. iv. 1), the Greeks would necessarily proceed from the Tele-

boas in a north-eastern direction, through a very mountainous tract, till they could cross the Murad Chai: this could not have been the case before they reached 39° 10′ north latitude, or somewhere about seventy miles from the Kara-su, which, under existing circumstances, would require the seven marches given by Xenophon.

This would identify the place where the Greeks forded the Murad-su with a position not far beyond the junction of the river of Khanus or the Kalah-su; as would indeed be deduced from the general facts of the case.

Tributaries to the Euphrates.—From the Euphrates they advanced three days' march, through much snow and a level plain, a distance of fifteen parasangs: the third day's march was extremely troublesome, as the north wind blew full in their faces. The depth of the snow was a fathom; so that many of the baggage-cattle and slaves perished, with about thirty of the soldiers. There was plenty of wood at the encampment, which would indicate that they had reached the banks of a river, as it is almost only in such situations that wood is found in this part of Armenia. The valley most probably of one of the tributaries to the river of Khanus, or, if further east, a tributary to the Murad-su, on the plain of Arishkart. If in a westerly direction, the distances would lead them to the upper valley of the Kalah-su or river of Khanus. In all these instances a northerly wind would still have blown more or less in their faces.

Villages in Khanus district.—From thence they made one day's irregular march through the snow, the men affected with *bulimia*, snow-blindness, and mortification of the toes. Five or six geographic miles are as much as can be allowed for such a march: and at dark they arrived at a village with a rampart. The satrap residing a parasang off, very possibly at Khanus Kalahsi, which is apart from the villages. A thermal spring, it is to be noted, was met with on this day's march. Xenophon with the rear did not get up to the villages till the next day. The description of the houses of the Armenians corresponds with what is observed in the present day, they are in part subterranean, and the live stock herd with the people during these severe winters. As these Armenians had laid in their stores for the winter, the Greeks found plenty of provisions, including barley-wine, and even grape-wine, in these villages.

Professor Malden rather sharply criticises this identification of Khanus with the villages in question, adopted by Rennell also long previously, but on different grounds. "There is absolutely nothing," he says, "according to Mr. Ainsworth's notion of the route, but the existence of villages round the modern castle of Khanus, to identify that district with the group of villages where the Greeks rested a week; for Mr. Ainsworth goes beyond his author, when

he speaks of 'the palace of the satrap,' and would fain suppose the modern castle to be on the same site."—The impression I received and still retain, however, is that the women and girls at the fountain, when the Greeks told them that they were going to the satrap, answered by informing them, that he was about a parasang off, meaning thereby, not that he and his army were hovering at that distance, but that his residence was there; and having read of the palace of the satrap Orontes and of that of Tiribazus a few pages before, I pictured to myself a palace or castle for the satrap of the Khanus district, more especially since the chief of that district dwells in a feudal castle to the present day.

In identifications like these, the traveler often differs from the cabinet geographer or scholar, inasmuch as his identifications are not only founded upon what exists, but that he has also in his mind at the same time what he does not enter into at length, a mass of negative matter as to what does not exist. The mere bare results thus presented often do not satisfy the critic upon the grounds given. When he doubts or condemns an identification, however, upon such grounds he does not take sufficiently into consideration, that the territory perhaps presents no other resources. Thus, for example, in the present instance, it is quite possible that the Greeks held on a due northerly course. I by no means wish to insist upon the point that they did not do so, as the north wind blew in their faces, and they would, in such a case, reach the upper and watered valleys of the Tag Tagh.

But what has been omitted to be explained in the "Travels in the Track," is that these upper valleys of the Bin Gül Tagh, and Tag Tagh, are utterly unproductive, except of a little short grass, and a narrow fringe or belt of low wood on the banks of the rivulets. They are neither cultivated nor inhabited.

It seems much more likely, therefore, that the Greeks found villages and cultivation, and heard of a satrap's residence, where there are in the present day villages and a chieftain's residence, than that they found such higher up the country, where there are none such nor traces of such to be met with, nor a possible cultivation to induce the natives to settle at such a point.

The Aras.—After stopping eight days at these villages, the Greeks started under guidance of a native, who, leading them three days' marches without coming to any villages, so irritated Cheirisophus that he struck him, which was the occasion of his running away in the night. From what follows in the account of their journey, it appears that during these three days the Greeks turned the Tag Tagh, an easterly spur of the Bin Gül Tagh, and reached the tributaries of the Aras. This they would do traveling from fifteen to twenty geographic miles in the three days. The Bin Gül Tagh, one of the remarkable mountains of Central Armenia, gives birth to the south, to tributaries to the Murad-su, to the west

and north-west, to the tributaries to the Western Euphrates, and to the north and north-east, to tributaries to the Aras.

River Phasin or ARAXES.—After losing the guide, the Greeks are described as proceeding seven days' journey, five parasangs each day, *along* the river Phasis. I am indebted for this important correction of all previous versions to Professor Malden, who has published it in the 7th number of the Classical Museum, April, 1845, p. 36 et seq. There is, the Professor states, no real ambiguity in the meaning of the word παρά in such a context. The meaning is the same as in v. 10. 1, ἔπλεον ἡμέρας δύο παρα την γῆν, "they sailed two days along the coast."

This being admitted, then, it will be observed that Xenophon, who mistook the Aras for the Colchian Phasis, describes it as only a plethrum, or a hundred feet, broad, where they joined it. This would show that it was not far from its sources. With such an indefinite point to start from, and a very uncertain value of the parasang in a journey through snow, it is difficult to measure off 35 parasangs on the map. Allowing, however, two geog. miles to the parasang, the utmost that can be done under the circumstances, 70 miles laid down on the map to illustrate the routes by Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Suter, Mr. Brant, and Lord Pollington, published in the 10th volume of the Journ. of the Roy. Geog. Soc., would carry the Greeks to the junction of the Karu-su, or river of Oran, with the Aras.

Professor Malden has conjectured, that having mistaken the Araxes for the Phasis, they followed the course of the stream, in the hope that it would lead them toward the Euxine, till, seeing that it continued to flow eastward, they resolved to try a somewhat more direct line. Now, nothing would have so aroused the Greeks to a sense of the mistake they were laboring under so much as coming to a large river flowing into the Aras from the north, at the very same time that the supposed Phasis took a bend rather to the south of east. Nothing would be left for them in their despair but (having crossed the Aras at its head) to turn away from it and follow the course of the new river they had come to northward toward its sources. The distances granted are, however, very great, and the very same reflections may have forced themselves upon them at the very first stream they came to which flowed from the north—the river of Hassan Kalah. This would give a distance of fifty miles direct, and upward of seventy miles by river from the point at which Mr. Brant and myself crossed the Aras. That river is already at that point fifty to sixty yards in width, the current rapid, the water reaching above the horse's girths. See Brant's Journal (Journ. of Roy. Geog. Soc. vol. x. p. 344). If the Greeks passed it to the westward of this, then (which is not likely, as the Bin Gül Tagh presented an impediment to so

doing) the chances of their not having got beyond the junction of the Hassan Kalah tributary, is still further increased.

Colonel Chesney's view of this portion of the retreat is as follows (ii. 229):

"From hence (the Murad-su), in a north-western direction, to a point where the river Aras, or Phasis of Xenophon, is generally fordable, namely, at the junction of the Hassan Kalah-su and the Bin Gül-su, near Kupri Kiui (Bridge village), it can not be less than from seventy to eighty miles; since the shorter distance from the latter point to the upper part of the Murad-su, near Kara Kilisa (Black or ruined Church), is sixty-six miles."

"It has just been seen, that the distance in question occupied thirteen marches, or, including four days not particularly mentioned, about sixty-nine parasangs. But, as it is to be observed that these were intended to be road distances answering to one hour, it may fairly be presumed that an army could not accomplish much more than about one mile in each, especially through snow so deep that the whole of the specified time must have been consumed between the rivers Euphrates and Araxes; even the pressing marches through Mesopotamia were less than two miles per hour. We are told that it even became necessary to tie bags stuffed with hay to the horses' feet to prevent their sinking." It is obvious, that if we admit such a judicious estimate of the value of the parasang, under the described circumstances, that the difficulties of explaining the marches between the Euphrates and the Black Sea will be considerably diminished, and that the Greeks, notwithstanding their seven days' journey along the Aras, as established by Professor Malden, may in reality have only traveled some thirty-five miles along that river, and not beyond the first westerly—not northerly—affluent, the river of Hassan Kalahsi. The point at which that river joins the Aras is thirty miles by map from where Mr. Brant and myself crossed the Aras, but it would be a good thirty-five or more by the river.

Pass of the Taochi.—Quitting, it is to be supposed, the Aras, the Greeks advanced two days' journey, ten parasangs; when on the pass that led over the mountains into the plain, the Chalybes, Taochi, and Phasians were drawn up to oppose their progress.[1] As soon as they had gained this pass, and had sacrificed and erected a trophy, they went down into the plain before them, and arrived at a number of villages stored with abundance of excellent provisions. These villages would apparently be situated in the valley of Kara Oran or Kara Osman, which is watered by the

[1] It is to be supposed that these ten miles were performed over the rocky districts between Kupri Kiui and Khorasan. Hamilton describes the road as, after leaving Kupri Kiui, being soon confined to a narrow pass between high hills on the left and the river on the right (i. p. 185).

Kara-su. Kara Oran ought possibly to be read Kara Wiran, "Black Ruin."

MOUNTAIN STRONGHOLD OF THE TAOCHIANS.—From hence they marched five days' journey, thirty parasangs, to the country of the Taochi, where provisions beginning to fail them, they attacked one of the fastnesses, which is described as containing no houses, but defended by high rocks, down which the Taochians rolled great stones.

Supposing the country of the Taochians to correspond to that which is in part occupied by the Suwanli or Sughanli Tagh, if the parasang did not amount to more than a mile, in a difficult and hostile country, this journey would have only conducted the Greeks to the head waters of the river of Bardes. The forest range of the Suwanli Tagh is described by Hamilton as constituting an important and interesting feature in the geography of that part of the country, being the only district in which forests of any extent are to be found for many miles round, and its passage by Bardes and Gushlah is full of natural obstacles.

It is to be observed that traces of the name of Taochi are supposed to be found in the Tauk or Taok of the Turks, and Tuchi or Taoutchie of the Georgian districts. These people and those of the little Kabarda are said by Captain Stoltzman, as quoted by Colonel Chesney, to still retire occasionally into wattled inclosures.

COUNTRY OF THE CHALYBES.—Hence they advanced, seven days' journey, a distance of fifty parasangs, through the country of the Chalybes, who had their dwellings in strong places, in which they had also laid up their provisions, so that the Greeks could get nothing from that country, but lived upon the cattle which they had taken from the Taochi.

The distance from the head waters of the river of Bardes to the main tributary to the Arpa-chai, is as the crow flies some forty miles, but by following the road to Kars, as the great road does in the present day, and crossing the mountains from Kars to the Arpa chai at Kizil Chak Chak, it would be upward of fifty miles—a fair allowance for the fifty parasangs under the circumstances described in the text.

RIVER HARPASUS.—The Greeks next arrived at the river Harpasus, the breadth of which was four plethra. Supposing the modern Arpa chai to represent the Harpasus, we have shown, that the point where the Greeks would be expected to touch that river, by the distances given, would be at or where the present high road from Arzrum and Kars to Ardahan and Ahkiskah crosses it at Kizil Chak Chak. It must be already a goodly river at such a place, but there are no data for giving it a width of four hundred feet. So much obscurity indeed pervades this part of the route, that I am much inclined to doubt the correctness of the identifica-

tion of the Harpasus of Xenophon with the modern Arpa-chai, and with Colonel Chesney and Layard to consider that the historian applied that name to the river now called the Juruk-su or Tchoruk-su, and which was called in later times the Apsarus and Acampsis. The Juruk in the lower part of its course would present a width fully of four hundred feet.

Country of the Scythini.—Hence they proceeded through the territory of the Scythini, four days' journey, making twenty parasangs, over a level tract, until they came to some villages, in which they halted three days, and collected provisions.

The distance here given, allowing about 1 1-2 mile for the parasang, would carry the Greeks up the valley of the Arpa-chai across the watershed of that river, and down the valley of the river of Olti, a tributary to the Juruk-su, to about the site of Olti itself. Or it is possible that they may have crossed the country that intervenes between the river of Olti and the Araxes in a more direct line to the Juruk-su, nearly touching Hamilton's route, at the head waters of the rivers of Narman, Liesgaff, Turtum, and Yani Kiui, a line of country which Hamilton's, and still more lately Mr. Curzon's descriptions show to be wooded, rocky, precipitous, and most difficult.

City of Gymnias.—From this place they advanced four days' journey, twenty parasangs, to a large, rich, and populous city, called Gymnias, from which the governor of the country sent the Greeks a guide, to conduct them through a region at war with the people.

The distance given of twenty parasangs, allowing 1 1-2 mile per parasang, would carry the Greeks along the valley of the Olti river and up that of the Juruk-su to Ispir or Ispira, a town of great antiquity, described at length by Hamilton in his Researches (vol. i. p. 219 et seq.).

It is to be observed also, that supposing Mount Theches to correspond to Tekiya Tagh, it is about sixty miles thence to Ispir, following the valley of the Juruk-su; this in five days would give an average of twelve miles a day, which the Greeks may well be supposed to have got over in a route that did not present so many difficulties as usual.

It is evident, however, that it will require further corroborative testimony before Gymnias can be admitted to be the same as the modern Ispir.

Mount Theches.—On the fifth day from Gymnias, distances not given, they came to a mountain, the name of which was Theches, and whence, to their great delight, the Greeks saw the sea.

The distance allowed between Mount Theches and the country of the Macrones, which in such a country did not much exceed twenty miles, places Mount Theches between the Juruk-su, the river of Baiburt, and the Kurash Tagh. It is in the present day called Takiya Tagh, which may be a corruption of Theches, or

Theches of it, or it may simply mean the mountain of the monastery. This is the name also given to it by Hamilton, who adds a sketch of a remarkable mountain castle near Takiya. Mr. Vivien de St. Martin calls the mountain in his map Hak Mesdjidy Tagh. This name, like that of Takiya, refers to some holy edifice existing at the spot, and indicates that tradition has preserved the character imputed to the mountain by Xenophon down to existing times.

Country of the Macrones.—From Mount Theches the Greeks advanced three days' journey, a distance of ten parasangs, through the country of the Macrones. On the first day they came to a river which divided the territory of the Macrones from that of the Scythini. On their right they had an eminence extremely difficult of access, and on their left another river, into which the boundary river which they had to cross emptied itself.

Allowing 1 1-2 geo. miles to the parasang in this difficult country, the country of the Macrones would correspond to the mountain land that lies between Gumush Khana or the silver mines, and the Kara Darah-su, the Hyssus of Arrian's Periplus. This mountain is called Korash Tagh in Brant's map of 1836. The river to which they came would appear to correspond with the river beyond Kalah Kiui, or castle village, one of the head tributaries of the Kharshut river, or river of Gumush Khana, into which the river of Kalah Kiui itself flows from the left. As the Greeks crossed the boundary river above its junction with the river to the left, this very fact of its being in such a direction shows that it must have been a stream flowing westward, and not eastward. Had it had an easterly flow, and yet been to the left hand, it must have joined the boundary river before the Greeks crossed it.

Country of the Colchians.—The Macrones conducted the Greeks through their country for three days, until they brought them to the confines of the Colchians. At this point there was a range of hills high, but accessible, and upon them the Colchians were drawn up in array. Having passed the summit, the Greeks encamped in a number of villages containing abundance of provisions.

These villages, from the distance traveled the next day to Trebizond, manifestly correspond with the Greek villages which occupy at the present day the head of the valley, whence a very precipitous road leads down from the Kohat or Kolat Tagh (quære Kulak Tagh, mountain of the pass), of Brant's map (Journ. of Roy. Geo. Soc. vol. vi.), and the Kara Kaban of Hamilton, and which appears to have been the range on which the Colchians had posted themselves.

The rivulet in question is called Surmel in Hamilton's map, where one of the villages is marked as Jivislik. (Kara Kapan and Djevisak of St. Martin's map). It is recorded in my own notes

as Muhurji—wooded valley with Greek villages, and a bridge over the rivulet, at the foot of the Kara Kapan.

TREBIZOND.—From the villages of the Colchians, the Greeks proceeded two days' march, seven parasangs, and arrived at Trebizond, a Greek city of large population, on the Euxine Sea; a colony of Sinope, but lying in the territory of the Colchians. Here they staid thirty days, encamping in the villages of the Colchians.

It is obvious that, in sketching out a possible line of travel through the countries of the Taochians, Chalybes, Scythians, Macronians, and Colchians, a region as yet little investigated, that other explanations might be admitted. One of these is, that the Greeks took a more central line, between the Aras and the Juruk-su. This is not at all improbable. Hamilton explored this country from Bardes to Ispira, and found it so mountainous and difficult, as to fully account for a very great lapse of time in traversing it in almost a direct line. The difficulty that would remain to account for here, would be the account given of the Greeks having arrived at the Harpasus where it was four plethra in breadth. But may not this have been the Bardes-su or the river of Narman, or some other river, not yet correctly delineated on the maps in the interval between the Juruk-su, the Aras, the Olti river, and the river of Kars? Colonel Chesney is with a still greater degree of probability inclined to identify the Harpasus with the Juruk-su or Tchoruk-su—variously designated as the Apsarus and Acampsis by the Romans.

Upon the subject of the prolonged marches made by the Greeks between the Aras and the Euxine, Colonel Chesney offers the following general explanations.

"On the second day after crossing the latter river (the Araxes), which Colonel Chesney supposes to have been crossed, as previously observed, near Kupri Kiui, the Greeks discovered the inhabitants of the surrounding countries, namely, the Chalybeans, the Taochians, and the Phasians, assembled to dispute their passage, and occupying strong ground, probably between the territory of the two last.

Here, as when difficulties of the same kind previously occurred, the eminences were gained by an attack made in the flank by volunteers; and the disheartened defenders having fled with loss, the Greeks got possession of some well-stored villages in advance.

During the succeeding five marches of thirty parasangs, made through the territory of the Taochians, provisions were scarce, it being the custom of the country people to place their supplies in secret fastnesses, probably wattled inclosures, such as those still in use in the Little Kabarda, and district of Tuchi. One of these intrenchments, containing a number of oxen, asses, and sheep, was, however, taken after a prolonged resistance; during which the

women chose to perish rather than fall into the power of the Greeks.

The latter now proceeded a distance of fifty parasangs through the territory of the Chalybeans to the river Harpasus, which they accomplished in seven marches; notwithstanding the difficulties caused by the most warlike and the most troublesome people hitherto encountered. The system of hostilities pursued chiefly consisted in constantly harassing the rear; but when pressed in turn, they retreated to fastnesses in which their provisions were secured: so that the Greeks would have been starved by their systematic and persevering opposition, had it not been for the supply of cattle taken from the Taochians.

The difficulties experienced by Rennell, Ainsworth, and other commentators in following this part of the retreat of the Ten Thousand, will be greatly lessened if it be borne in mind, that the daily marches, through deep snow in January, the army being also harassed by the Chalybeans, must have been very short. From the supposed crossing-place on the Aras, keeping a little way northward of the direct line, it is about 110 miles to the Tchoruk-su (Juruk-su) or Acampsis, near Kara Aghatch, which would coincide with the fourteen marches given by Xenophon, as does also the position of the river in question with the Harpasus; the last seven marches being, as we are informed, through the country of the Chalybeans, the Chaldeans of Strabo (xii. 549).

This probably was the southern part of the district of Tchildir; for the Chaldeans, as a separate people, occupied a tract next to the Colchians, which was, however, afterward extended to Pontus, and formed a considerable kingdom under Mithridates.

Quitting the river Harpasus, twenty parasangs, made in four marches, brought the Greeks to a halting-place at some villages, possibly near the present town of Baiburt, in which they remained three days to obtain provisions. From hence, apparently proceeding toward the western pass through the great northern chain, they made twenty parasangs in three additional marches, to the rich and well-inhabited city of Gymnias. Possibly this place may now be represented by the small town of Gemeri on the Kara-su, an affluent of the river Frat; in which case the distance thither, being about 60 miles, would occupy seven or eight marches along the slope of the Paryadres, a branch of the Taurus, or, as it is stated, through the country of the Scythinians. This appears to be the only trace of that ephemeral power, which commenced with the Sacæ or Scythians, on the banks of the Araxes; from whence the people extended their name and authority over Imiretia, Colchis, Georgia, the Caucasus, Media, Persia, and even Palestine; according to Herodotus, the same people ruled Asia during twenty-eight years.

On leaving Gymnias, the guide furnished by the satrap of the

district delighted the Greeks by saying that he would forfeit his head if he did not show them the sea in five marches; and accordingly on the fifth day, in ascending the holy mountain of Theches, the Greeks gave a tremendous shout of surprise and delight, on finding his promise realized. The mountain alluded to may be the present Gaur Tagh (from the summit of which Colonel Chesney saw the sea in 1831); and from hence to Tarabuzun, although the direct distance is not great, the journey occupied five days with good horses. This was owing to the necessity of passing along what in reality is more a winding chasm than a mountain valley in the ordinary acceptation of the word; and it is scarcely necessary to observe that the marches through the mountains of Kurdistan and Armenia often must have presented difficulties and caused delays susceptible of the same kind of explanation.

Gaur Tagh is not, however, the only mountain in this part of the country from which the Euxine may be seen, for the guide informed the author that it was visible from three other peaks, namely, the Zigani mountain, two hours N. W. of Godol; again, with a more extensive view, from Fililein, two hours on the other side of Godol toward Gumish Khanah; and lastly, at the higher peak of Karagul, three hours southward of the latter.

The name of the first, "Infidel mountain," and its position with respect to Tarabazun, claim for it the honor of representing the holy Theches; the localities also appear to correspond to the description. Xenophon tells us that in the first day they came to a river separating the Macronians from the Scythinians; and on this, which disembogued into another river, the Macronians were drawn up to dispute the passage. A negotiation, followed by a treaty, produced, however, friendship with that people.

Eleven or twelve miles N. N. W. of Gaur Tagh (visible from thence) is the village of Damajula, which is situated near the meeting of four valleys and two rivers. One of the latter coming from the N. W. has remarkably steep banks, rising fifteen or twenty feet, with hills above, of difficult ascent on the eastern side, and a chain of more accessible shoulders on the opposite; both are covered with firs, and silver poplars of small size. This valley would have been met during the first day's march from Gaur Tagh, and troops posted on the opposite sides would be within speaking distance, although they must have been completely separated by the difficult nature of the ravine. Peace being concluded, the Greeks were conducted by this people during the succeeding three marches through the remainder of their territory; no doubt following the valleys of Damoulee and Godol, till at the termination of the latter, and about thirty-one miles from Damajula, they entered that of Gumush Khanah, a little northward of the town of this name.

The great and deep valley in question runs northward from

thence along the foot of the Colchian mountains for about twelve miles, where an abutment of the latter, called Karakaban, crosses it near Zigani, at an elevation of 5300 feet, and the pass thus formed was occupied in force by the Colchians.

Being in a state of hostility with the latter, the Macronians returned to their own country, a distance of about forty-three miles, which would correspond with the three marches made in a more favorable season (February) than the preceding part of the march. It is difficult to imagine a stronger barrier or a more formidable position than that which here presented itself, to exercise the talent and display the unshaken intrepidity of the Grecian chief. Owing to the nature of the ground, as well as the numbers by which it was occupied, the Greeks, even could they have passed the latter unbroken, would have been out-flanked had they attacked in line. But Xenophon, without hesitation, turned this circumstance to his own advantage, by a master-piece of tactics hitherto unequaled.

The Greeks were formed in eleven columns, three of which, each consisting of 600 targeteers and archers, occupied the flanks and center; these ascended the hill at such distances from one another that Xenophon not only outstretched the flanks of the Colchians, but was also prepared to attack them in rear, if, contrary to expectation, they had stood the shock and maintained their ground. At first the Colchians advanced, but before they closed with the Greek columns, they opened right and left, and eventually fled in disorder, abandoning the well-stored villages in their rear.

After three days' halt, suffering from the quantity and nature of the honey, which, from the abundance of the Azalea pontica, the Rhododendron ponticum, and the hellebore, in this fine country, affects the brain for a time, the Greeks, in two marches of seven parasangs, reached the villages, near Tarabuzun (Trebizond). (Vol. ii. p. 230 et seq.)

Colonel Chesney's explanation gains a manifest advantage in simplicity of detail over mine, by his not taking the Greeks out of the way to reach the Arpa-chai, Hamilton's Harpasus, but it loses it again by going out of the way to the westward to the Gaur Tagh, because the Colonel saw the sea from that point. It is evident that there must be many heights of the mountains east as well as west of the river of Gumush Khanah, from whence the sea can be discerned. In this part of the retreat, where probably the points will never be all definitively settled, that explanation which presents the greatest degree of simplicity, and at the same time meets most closely all the exigences of the case, will be the one which will ultimately meet with the most general acceptance.

M. Vivien de Saint Martin, in his admirable *Histoire des Découvertes Géographiques* (tome ii. p. 324), after identifying Gymnias

with a village called Djinnis, situated near the left bank of the Euphrates, about six leagues from Arzrum to the westward, says:

"The body of the Greeks having left Gymnias or Djinnis, on the Upper Euphrates, must have ascended the Kop Tagh, descended the Massa Deressi (Marsah Darahsi) or river of Baiburt, then re-ascended up the course of the river of Balakhor (Balak Hur, "Fish stream?") to the Takiya Tagh, where the name of Theches is still preserved. From thence they descended to the upper valley of the Balak Hur, which led them to the precipitous chain of the Kolat Tagh, evidently the same as the mountain of the Colchians of Xenophon; this chain separates the two watersheds, which pour their waters to the south in the Upper Tchoruk or river of Ispir, to the north directly to the Black Sea, toward the coast of Trebizond. The divers circumstances of the narrative do not appear to us to leave the least doubt upon this itinerary, of which nature has marked the features in an ineffaceable manner in this country of deeply contrasted configurations."

It is scarcely necessary, but for fear of misconception it may be as well to remark that this identification of the Kolat Tagh with the mountain of the Colchians, upon the strength of the name, will not be received by scholars in this country.

Professor Malden, after recurring to the mistake made by Major Rennell, Kinneir, and myself, in supposing that the Greeks marched seven days after the guide ran away from them before they reached the Phasis; adds,

"Rennell, however, has probably fallen into a further mistake in thinking that the Greeks did not cross the Harpasus; for this seems to be his opinion. He supposes that they came to the river between its conflux with the Araxes and the conflux of the river of Kars with the other streams that form it, and then turned back from it toward the west; so that their subsequent marches for four days were still between the Harpasus and the Phasis or Araxes; and he is inclined to identify the city of Gymnias with a modern town on the latter river. Xenophon certainly does not say distinctly that they *crossed* the Harpasus, but his language implies it. He says, 'After this the Greeks arrived at the river Harpasus, which was four hundred feet broad. Thence they marched through the country of the Scythini,' etc. (iv. 7. 18). He does not say that they did not cross it, and the notice of the breadth of the river is not much to the purpose unless they did cross it; and besides, he uses the very same language with respect to rivers which were certainly crossed. (See i. 4, §§ 9 and 19; and iv. 4, §§ 3 and 7.)

"But, if they crossed it, it was probably the branch called the river of Kars which they crossed, not the stream below the junction of this branch with those to the east of it; otherwise, we should have them still persevering in their mistaken easterly course;

and they would have had to cross the eastern branch on their way back toward the west. In crossing the river of Kars they would be going northward; and if they then turned westward, they would fall in with no considerable river till they came to the Apsarus or Shoruk (Juruk), which accords with Xenophon's narrative; the Shoruk being identified with the river of the Macrones.

"After examining all the circumstances of the story, if we suppose the Greeks to have crossed the Phasis at the point which Rennell indicates, near the modern bridge of Koban Kupri (same as Kupri Kiui), or perhaps even nearer to its source; and then, in consequence of their confusion between the two rivers Phasis, to have turned eastward, and marched seven days along its northern bank, and even when they left the river to have inclined but little toward the north, and to have reached the Harpasus about the junction of the river of Kars with the other branches, thus traversing the diagonal of the space between the Araxes and the Arpa-su, we assign them a march, which in winter, through an unknown country, and in the presence of an active enemy, might well occupy the *time* given for it. The time is twenty-one days; and the distance from point to point in a straight line, if the Greeks had not kept to the river-side for the first seven days, would be about 120 miles. If we admit, therefore, a very reasonable account of deviation from the direct course, and allow that the length of the days' marches has either been overrated by Xenophon, or exaggerated by errors of the transcribers, the difficulties seem to be removed.

"The problem which remains is to fix the position of the city of Gymnias north of the river of Kars." (The Classical Museum, No. vii. p. 41 et seq.)

The most superficial glance at the map published by the Roy. Geog. Soc. to illustrate routes of Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Brant, Mr. Suter, and Lord Pollington, in the tenth volume of their Journal, would satisfy Professor Malden that it was along the Bin Gül su, or Upper Aras, that the Greeks would have performed their seven days' journey, and not on the Kalah-su, which they joined at Kupri Kiui, where I suppose them to have terminated their seven days' march, having Professor Malden's correction in mind. I quite agree, however, with the Professor, that the correct determination of the position of Gymnias will do much toward elucidating this most abstruse part of the narrative, and the determination may yet be expected, from the constant progress that geographical and archæological research are making in the East.

The question has, indeed, been much narrowed in its compass already, from the day when Rennell conceived that the Greeks, having lost their way, wandered up and down after crossing the Araxes. A more intimate acquaintance with the physical charac-

ters of northern Armenia has shown it to be a country peculiarly difficult to travel in—a constant succession of hills and valleys—precipices and ravines—rocky ledges and foaming torrents.

Mr. Curzon, who has given a very picturesque account of some of the difficulties to be met with in traveling from Arzrum to Trebizond, in his little work on Armenia, mentions having met a rich Persian merchant on the 2nd of January, at a hotel called Khaderach Khan, who had been *eighteen days* on the road from Trebizond, which was thirty-two hours of Tartar posting. At the pass of Husha-Bunar he also came upon a party of Persians, seated on the ledge of a precipice, looking despairingly at a number of their baggage-horses which had tumbled over, and were wallowing in the snow many hundred feet below. At the Zigana Tagh, a whole caravan had been overwhelmed in an avalanche. When these difficulties come to be better appreciated, it will be easy to understand how the Greeks should, in the depth of winter and the natives in open hostilities to them, have spent so much time in this part of the country.

"We have not," says Layard, "I conceive, sufficient data in Xenophon's narrative to identify with any degree of certainty his route after crossing the Euphrates. We know that about twenty parasangs from that river, the Greeks encamped near a hot spring, and this spring might be recognized in one of the many which abound in the country. It is most probable that the Greeks took the road still used by caravans through the plains of Hinnis (Khanus) and Hassan-Kalah, as offering the fewest difficulties. But what rivers are we to identify with the Phasis and Harpasus, the distance between the Euphrates and Phasis being seventy parasangs, and between the Phasis and Harpasus ninety-five, and the Harpasus being the larger of the two rivers? I can not admit that the Greeks turned to the west and passed near the site of the modern Erzeroom. There are no rivers in that direction to answer the description of Xenophon. Moreover, the Greeks came to the high mountain, and beheld the sea for the first time, at the distance of thirty-two parasangs from Trebizond. Had they taken either of the three modern roads from Erzeroom to the coast, and there are no others, they must have seen the Euxine in the immediate vicinity of Trebizond, certainly not more than six or eight parasangs from that city. I am, on the whole, inclined to believe, that either the Greeks took a very tortuous course after leaving the Euphrates, making daily but little actual progress toward the great end of their arduous journey, the sea-coast, or that there is a considerable error in the amount of parasangs given by Xenophon; that the Harpasus must be the Tcherouk (Juruk), and the Phasis, either the Araxes or the Kur; and that Mount Theches, the holy mountain, from which the Greeks beheld the sea, was be-

tween Batun and Trebizond, the army having followed the valley of the Tcherouk, but leaving it before reaching the site of the modern port on the Black Sea." (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 65.)

This is, at all events, an uncompromising statement of the obscurities that envelop this part of the retreat, if it is not a lucid record of the details. Colonel Chesney having seen the sea with his own eyes from the Gaur or Jawur Tagh, is an answer to one objection—that it could certainly not be seen at a greater distance than six or seven parasangs from Trebizond. With regard to other difficulties, Layard would throw the whole subject back again to the dark period that preceded the investigations of Rennell and Kinneir. I have endeavored to show what has been added to those able and conscientious researches, and the patience and zeal of future inquirers will, most assuredly, sift what is good from all these statements, will expunge that which will not stand the test of time, and will arrive ultimately at some clear and satisfactory conclusions regarding these very remarkable Armenian wanderings.

Cerasus.—The Greeks recruited themselves at Trebizond, till the supplies furnished by the surrounding country were nearly exhausted, and then, only a portion of the necessary shipping having been obtained, they embarked their women and children, with the sick and the aged, under the two oldest generals, Philesius and Sophænetus, while the remainder proceeded by land; and in three marches they reached the Greek city Cerasus, or, more correctly, Kerasus. Hamilton has shown that the ancient Kerasus does not correspond with the modern Kirasunt, but that the site must be sought for at the rivulet of Kirasun Darah-su, about eight miles from Cape Yurus, and not quite forty from Trebizond. Considering the difficulties of the country, it is not likely, Colonel Chesney remarks, that a greater distance could have been accomplished in three days.

The Mossynœci—The territory of the Mossynœci or Moschi, in which the Greeks became engaged in a struggle that had nearly been disastrous to them, appears to have stretched from a little distance westward of Trebizond, to the district of Pharnacia, or upward of seventy miles along the coast. The fort or citadel of these fierce people appears to have been in the neighborhood of Cerasus. These Mossynœci—the Mossyni of Pliny and of Pomponius Mela—and who are said to derive their name from the wooden turrets or the trees they dwelt in, are described as being the most barbarous people the Greeks met with during the whole of their journey.

The Chalybes.—The Greeks were eight days traveling through the territory of the Mossynœci, after which they came to that of the Chalybes. These were subject to the Mossynœcians, and far from being numerous, they lived by the manufacture of iron, and were mixed with the Tibarenians. Hamilton found the poor na-

tives of the coast occupied in the present day in extracting iron from the superficial soil, not exactly at this spot, but to the west of Cotyora, and between the ruins of Polemonium and the Thermodon, directly south of Uniyah Kalah, ancient Œnoe.

Cotyora.—Marching through the country of the Tibareni, which is described as being more campaign, and the towns near the sea not so strong, the Greeks came to Cotyora, a Greek city, and a colony of Sinopians, situated in the territory of the Tibarenians. Cotyora was replaced by Pharnacia, which was built, according to Strabo, out of its spoils, and hence, in the time of Arrian, was already a mere village.

Hamilton has identified the site with a place called Ordu or Urdu, where are some remains of an ancient port, and Colonel Chesney has accepted the identification. There are some difficulties in the way of this identification with the distances given by Arrian in the Periplus of the Euxine Sea, which led me to prefer the site of Parshambah. It is, however, by no means a point to be insisted upon.

Sinope.—After discussing the question of forming a Greek settlement on the Euxine, as well as the relative advantages of a homeward voyage by sea, and a march thither by land, the Greeks adopted the former course; and the Cotyorians having provided the necessary shipping to get rid of their uninvited guests, a fair wind carried the Greeks rapidly along the coast of Paphlagonia, when passing in succession the rivers Thermodon (Thirmah-su), Iris (Yashil Irmak), and Halys (Kizil Irmak), they landed at Harmene or Armene, a port five miles from the flourishing city of Sinope, once a Milesian colony. The site of this port and city is too well known to require further illustration.

Heraclea.—After electing Cheirisophus commander-in-chief, the Greeks sailed from Sinope along the coast of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, to Heraclea, where the army disembarked at the close of the second day's sail. Xenophon makes the Greeks pass the rivers Thermodon and Halys on this journey, by mistake; instead of on that from Cotyora to Sinope.

The Greeks came to an anchor near to the peninsula of the Acherusians—the site of one of Hercules' fabled exploits. The modern town of Harakli occupies only the south-west corner of the space covered by the ancient city. The Lycus noticed by Xenophon is called the Kilij-su or Sword river, significative of the same thing—its sudden wolf-like or destructive risings.

Calpe.—The Greeks, in their apparent great anxiety for booty—an anxiety which attained its acme as they were getting near home, divided into three bodies. The Arcadians and the Achæans, mustering about 4500 heavy-armed men, proceeded by sea to Calpe, while the other heavy-armed men and the Thracian targeteers, who amounted to about 2100 men under Cheirisophus,

marched along the coast to Thrace; Xenophon himself, at the head of 1700 heavy-armed men, 300 targeteers, and 40 horsemen, marching, according to Colonel Chesney, toward Calpe in a direct line. I read it, however, through the middle of the country, a phrase which is twice repeated in the account of the journey, and as the district that lies between the shore and the plains of Tuz-cha and Sabancha, is occupied by the Yailah Tagh, a densely-wooded range of hills, totally impassable to a body of troops, there remained no alternative but to keep to the shore or to take to the middle of the country. My idea, as expressed in the "Travels in the Track," and which I am still inclined to hold by, is, that Xenophon, in the pursuit of booty, crossed the Yailah Tag—ancient Mons Hypius, and descended upon the fertile plain of Prusa ad Hypium, but on hearing of the straits in which his comrades were placed at Calpe, he returned thither through the westerly prolongation of the same hills. The promontory of Calpe enjoyed in those times the same name as that of Gibraltar. It is now called Kirpah or Kafkan Adasi.

Chrysopolis.—After a long stay and no small disasters entailed by the restlessness of the Greeks at Calpe, they started from that place, marching through Bithynia, or Asiatic Thrace, as it was also called, six days' march, to Chrysopolis—the Golden city, the modern Uskudar or Scutari, opposite to Constantinople. The distance traveled upon this occasion by road of some eighty miles in six days, gives an average of thirteen miles a day, showing that eight, ten, and twelve were as often assumed ordinary day's journeys, under circumstances of greater difficulties, according to the exigences of the case, and may indeed have been still less. The retreat of the Ten Thousand may in reality be said to end at this point, for the kind of business which they became engaged in after crossing the Bosphorus, has nothing to do with that in which they were originally taken from their homes by the ambition of Cyrus.

The Ten Thousand in European Thrace.—From Chrysopolis the Greeks crossed over to Byzantium, where they were but scurvily treated by the Lacedæmonian admiral, Anaxibius, and hence obliged to quarter in some Thracian villages. Xenophon sailed in the mean time to Cyzicus (now Baal Kiz), from whence he returned to his comrades, and led them all, except such as remained with Neon and such as had disbanded on finding themselves in Europe, to Perinthus, now Harakli. From this point they were induced by large promises to assist Seuthes, son of Mæsades, to recover his patrimony as one of the independent kings of Thrace. In execution of this compact they marched into the country called the Delta of the Thracians, above Byzantium, that of the Melinophagi, who dwelt in the eastern part of the Kutchuk Balkhan (Little Balkhan), and they arrived at Salmydissus or Kalmydissus, now Midiyah, on the Euxine. After they had subdued the in-

habitants, who lived chiefly by the plunder of wrecks, they returned and encamped on a plain above Selymbria.

The Greeks arrive at PERGAMUS.—At this point the Greeks parted from Seuthes, who had failed to fulfill his promises made to them, and crossing the Propontis, they repaired to Lampsacus, a well-known port on the Hellespont, now called Lamsaki. From hence they marched through Troas, and passing over the celebrated Mount Ida, they came first to Antandrus, now Antandros, near Adramiti. Hence they continued their march along the coast of the Lydian sea, to the plain of Thebes. It is known, from Herodotus and Livy, that the plain of Adramyttium was so called. Thence they passed through Adramyttium or Atramyttium Certonium, which is believed to be the Karene of Herodotus, and Atarne, an Æolian city—the Atarneus of Strabo, from whence they reached Pergamus, where the narrative of the historian finally ceases.

The whole of the way, both of the Expedition and of the Retreat, is said to have comprised two hundred and fifteen days' march, of eleven hundred and fifty-five parasangs, and of thirty thousand six hundred and fifty stadia; and the time employed in both, was a year and three months.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX

TO THE ANABASIS.

Abydus, i. 1. 9. A city of Mysia on the Hellespont, nearly opposite Sestus on the European shore. *Aidos* or *Avido*, a modern village on the Hellespont, may be the site of Abydus, though the conclusion from a name alone is not admitted by some critics.

Acherusian Chersonese, vi. 2. 2: the scene, as it is said, of Hercules's twelfth labor, to bring up the dog Cerberus from Acheron. It ran out into the Black sea, near Heraclea, now *Harakli.* Ainsw. p. 215.

Æolia, v. 6. 24. A district on the west coast of Asia Minor, which is included by Strabo in the larger division of Mysia.

Antandrus, vii. 8. 7. A city on the coast of Troas, now Antandros.

Apollonia, vii. 8. 15. A town of Mysia, on an eminence east of Pergamus, on the way to Sardis. Strabo, xiii. p. 625. It seems to have been near the borders of Lydia. The exact site does not appear to be determined.

Arabia, i. 5. 1; vii. 8. 25. The term Arabia is used by Xenophon to designate those parts of Mesopotamia which lie south of the river *Khabur*, the same as are described by Strabo (i. 2, p. 65; xvi. 1, p. 351), as inhabited by the Arabes Scenitæ or Nomad Arabs, and which are in the present day chiefly occupied by the *Shamar* Arabs.

Araxes, i. 4. 19. There is every reason to believe that what Xenophon calls the Araxes (a river of Mesopotamia running into the Euphrates), is the same river that is called Chaboras by Ptolemy and Pliny, Aborras by Strabo, Zosimus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other writers: and by the Arabs, the *Khabur*. The contributor to the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography, art. *Chaboras*, has, however, thought fit to question this identification.

Armenia, Orontes the satrap of, iii. 5. 17; contains the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, iv. 1. 3; divided by the river Centrites from the country of the Carduchi, iv. 3. 1; its mountains, iv. 3. 20; traversed by the Greeks, iv. 4. 1; Western Armenia, Tiribazus satrap of, iv. 4. 4; their boys act as cup-bearers, iv. 5. 33; their horses described, iv. 5. 36.

Celænæ, a large city of Phrygia, i. 27. Xerxes built its citadel, i. 2. 9. Cyrus had a palace there. The site is now called *Dinair* or *Deenair*. Leake's Tour, p. 158. Cramer, vol. ii. p. 50. Hamilton, vol. i. p. 499, 505.

Centrites, a river dividing the country of the Carduchi from Armenia, iv. 3. 1; the Greeks cross it, iv. 3. 15. Now the *Buhtan Chai*. Ainsw. Travels, vol. ii. p. 356. Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 49, 63.

Ceramon Agora, or Ceramorum Forum, i. 2. 10. This place appears to be represented by the modern *Ushak*, still a place of considerable traffic and commerce. Hamilton, ii. 204. Hutchinson supposes it to be the same with Ceranæ, mentioned by Plin. H. N. v. 41.

Cerasus, a Greek city on the coast of Colchis, founded by the people of Sinope, v. 3. 2; 5. 10; 7. 13. The site of this place was not at the modern *Kirasunt*, but in a valley bearing the same name of *Kirasun Darah-su*, or river of the valley of Kerasus. Hamilton, i. 250. Eustathius, ad Dionys. Perieg. v. 437, says that the place was so named from the abundance of *κεράσοι*, cherry-trees, that grew there. Hence it is supposed Lucullus first introduced the cherry-tree into Europe. Plin. H. N. xv. 5. 3; 5. 10; 7. 13.

Cersus, see Carsus.

Certonium, a city of Mysia, vii. 8. 8. It is not mentioned in any other author: see Cramer, Asia Minor, vol. i. p. 133, who favors the suggestion of Hutchinson, that we should perhaps read Καρίνης, the name of a town mentioned by Herodotus. It has been conjectured that it may be the Cytonium of Theopompus (Steph. s. v. Κυτώνιον): there being now a place named *Kidonia*, near the supposed situation of Certonium. But Cytonium was between Mysia and Lydia; and Xenophon's Certonium is in Mysia. Carine or Carene may have stood on the river Caresos, mentioned by Homer, Il. xii. 20.

Chalcedon, on the Bosporus, opposite Byzantium, vii. 1. 20; 2. 24, 26. Now *Kadi Kiui*. Ainsw. i. 14.

Chalcedonia, vi. 6. 38.

Chaldaeans, iv. 3. 4; v. 5. 17; vii. 8. 25. Now *Khaldis* and Nestorian mountaineers.

Chalus, a river of Syria, i. 4. 9. Identified by Colonel Chesney with the *Baluklu-su*, or Fish river, a tributary to the *Sajur*, but more probably the *Chalib* or *Kuwait*, the river of Aleppo. Ainsw. p. 63.

Chalybes, a people on the shore of the Euxine, bordering on Armenia, iv. 5. 34; vii. 8. 25; serve under Tiribazus, iv. 4. 18; meet the Greeks, iv. 6. 5; their bravery, and armor, vi. 7. 15; subject to the Mossynoeci, v. 5. 1. Strabo makes the Chalybes the same as the Chaldæi. Ainsw. p. 184.

Charmanda, a large city on the Euphrates, i. 5. 10. Formerly identified with *Hit*, but Colonel Chesney thinks that the site is represented by ruins opposite to the island of *Jibbah* or *Jabbah*. (Exped. to survey the rivers Euph. and Tigris, vol. ii. 214.)

Chersonesus opposite Abydus, or the Thracian Chersonesus, i. 1. 9: ii. 6. 2, 24; its beauty and fertillty, v. 6. 26; vii. 1. 13.

Chersonesus, Acherusian. See Acherusian Chersonesus.

Sulaiman. There were also Ecbatanas at Persepolis and on Mount Carmel.

Ephesus, ii. 2. 6. The ruins of Ephesus have been described by Spon and Wheler, Chishull and Chandler, Arundel, Hamilton, Fellows, and others. The site of these ruins is now called *Ayasaluk*.

Euphrates, its breadth, i. 4. 11. Cyrus crosses it, i. 4. 17, 18. The Greeks re-cross it, not far from its source, iv. 5. 2.

Ganus, a city of Thrace, on the Propontis, to the south of Bisanthe, vii. 5. 8.

Gates of Silicia and Syria, i. 4. 4. See note *ad loc.*

Gates, Babylonian, i. 5. 5; placed by Colonel Chesney 24 miles short of the Median Well, nearly opposite the village of Jarrah (ii. 214); by others at the termination of the hilly country on the plains of Babylonia. See note *ad loc.*

Gymnias, a large city of the Scythini, iv. 7. 19. Identified formerly conjecturally with *Arzrum*, now with *Ispir* or *Ispira*. Identified by Colonel Chesney with the little town of *Gemeri* on the Kara-su (ii. p. 230); by M. Vivien de Saint Martin, *Hist. des Découvertes Géographiques* (tome ii. p. 324), with *Djinnis*, a village on the left bank of the Upper Euphrates, about six leagues from *Arzrum*.

Halisarne, a town near Pergamus, vii. 8. 17. It is mentioned by Xen. Hell. iii. 1, 4; Plin. H. N. v. 32; and Steph. Byz.

Halys, river of Paphlagonia, v. 6. 9; vi. 2. 1. Now called the *Kizil Irmak*, or Red River. See Jasonian Shore.

Harmene, a port near Sinope, vi. 1. 15. Strabo, xii. p. 545; Arrian, Peripl. p. 127.

Harpasus, river so called, iv. 7. 18. Rennell (p. 225) and Hamilton (i. 197) have identified this river with the *Arpa chai*, a branch or tributary to the Aras or Araxes, but Colonel Chesney (ii. 230) and Layard (Nin. and Baby. p. 65) have identified it with the *Juruk* or *Tchoruk-su*, the Asparus of the Romans.

Heraclea, a Greek city of Pontus, originally a colony from Megara, in the territory of the Mariandyni, vi. 2. 1; its distance from Byzantium, vi. 4. 2; much frequented by ships, v. 6. 10. It is now called *Harakli*. (Ains. Trav. i. 38). For its history, see Justin, B. xvi.

Heracleotis, the territory of Heraclea, vi. 2. 1[illegible].

Hesperitæ, vii. 8. 25.

Hyrcanians, vii. 8. 15.

Iconium, an ancient city of Phrygia, i. 2. 19. Now *Koniyah*, the capital of *Karaman*, seat of a pasha and of a Greek metropolitan.

Ida, mountain of Troas, vii. 8. 7. Now *Karajah Tagh*.

Iris, a river of Paphlagonia, v. 6. 9; vi. 2. 1. Now the *Yashil Irmak*, or Green River.

Issi, or Issus, a large city on the coast of Cilicia, i. 2. 24; 4. 1. Has been identified with ruins on the *Dali chai*, "mad or swift river," supposed to be the Pinarus. It was in later times called Nicopolis. See Steph. Byz., and Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 359.

or portions of both, that is to say, so much of each city as lay near the river pass, and which at all times have been parts of the same city, as Southwark to London or London to Southwark. The fortress or castle, which Xenophon mentions as being near it, is now called *Yarum-jah.*

Miletus, in Ionia, near the mouth of the Mæander; besieged, i. 1. 7; 4. 2. Why it did not revolt to Cyrus, i. 9. 9.

Mountain, Sacred, iv. 7. 21.

" " another, vii. 1. 14; 3. 3.

Mossynœci, a people on the shores of the Euxine, near Cerasus, between the Tibareni and Drilæ, v. iv. 2; v. 5 1. Were not subject to the Persians, vii. 8, 25.

Myriandrus, a city near the sea, inhabited by Phœnicians, i. 4. 6. It was a place of trade and a harbor, not far from the present port of *Iskandaran* or Alexandretta, nearer to and more in front of the pass of *Bailan* between Amanus and Rhosus, but the actual site has not been determined.

Mysia, vii. 8. 8. The Mysians ravage the province of Cyrus, i. 6. 7; Cyrus makes war upon them, i. 9. 14; not subject to the King of Persia, iii. 23. 23. Dance of a Mysian, vi. 1. 9; stratagem of a Mysian, v. 2. 29.

Neontichos, a town and harbor of Thrace, between Ganus and Selybria. Scylax, Peripl p. 28, ed. Huds.

Odrysæ, a people of European Thrace, vii. 2. 32; 3. 16; 4. 21; 5. 1, 15.

Olympia, v. 3. 7; v. 3. 11.

Olynthians, i. 2. 6.

Ophrynium, a town of Troas, near Dardanus, vii. 8. 5.

Opis, a large city on the river Physcus, ii. 4. 25. Formerly supposed to be represented by ruins at the embouchure of the river *Athaim* or *Adhem* into the Tigris, now with the ruins of *Aski Baghdad* or Old Baghdad, where the ancient canal called *Katur* or *Nahrwan* takes its departure from the Tigris, or, according to Colonel Chesney, with ruins at *Kayim* or *Kaim* on the *Nahr-al-Risas*, a southerly cross-cut to the *Nahrwan.*

Paphlagonia described, v. 6. 6; Corylas satrap of it, vii. 8. 25: Paphlagonian helmets, v. 2. 22; 4. 13.

Parium, a town on the Propontis, between Cyzicus and the Hellespont, vii. 2. 7; 2. 25; 3. 20; 3. 16.

Parthenium, a town of Mysia near Pergamus, vii. 8. 15, 21. Plin. H. N. v. 30.

Peltæ, a town of Phrygia, i. 3. 10. The plain near Peltæ on which Cyrus reviewed his troops may either be represented by the *Baklan Uvah* on the great plain to the south of *Ishakli*, or at the foot of the mountains two miles on the road from *Ishakli to Dinair.* (Hamilton, ii. 163 and 203.)

Pergamus, a celebrated city of Mysia, near the Caicus, vii. 8. 8, 23. Now called *Bergma*, or *Bergamo.* Cramer's Asia Minor, i. p. 136.

Perinthus, a city of Thrace on the Propontis, west of Byzantium, ii. 6.

Sinope, a Greek city in Paphlagonia, on the Euxine, originally a colony from Miletus, vi. 1. 15; a deputy from it to the Greeks, v. 5. 12. Now called *Sinub*. Ainsw. p. 211.

Sittace, a large city of Babylonia on the Tigris, iii. 4. 13. Formerly identified with the ruins of *Akbara*, a city of the Khalifs; but since with those at *Shiriat-al-Baida*.

Soli, a city on the coast of Cilicia, i. 2. 24. Afterward Pompeiopolis. Pompon. i. xiii.; Ptol. v. viii.; Dio Cassius, xxxvi. 18. Now *Aski Shahir*, "old city," near Mazatlu.

Susa, the winter residence of the Persian kings, on the river Choaspes, ii. 4. 25; iii. 5. 15. Now *Sus* on the Kirkhah or Choaspes. The Shushan of Scripture is now *Susan* on the Karun or Eulæus. Rawlinson, Journ. R. G. S. (vol. ix. p. 85); Long, ditto (iii. 257); Layard, ditto (xii. 102.)

Syria, i. 4. 6; Syrians regard certain fish, and doves, as gods, i. 4. 9.

Syrian Gates. See Gates.

Taochi, a people between Armenia and the Euxine; some of them serve under Tiribazus, iv. 4. 18; they oppose the passage of the Greeks, iv. 6. 5; the Greeks take one of their fortresses, iv. 7. 2; they are not subject to the king of Persia, v. 5. 17.

Tarsus, a large and rich city of Cilicia on the river Cydnus, i. 2. 23; plundered by the soldiers of Menon, i. 2. 26. It still retains its ancient name.

Teleboas, a small river in Western Armenia, iv. 4. 3. Identified by Layard (Nin. and Baby. p. 64) with the river of *Bitlis*; by most other recent commentators, with the head-waters of the *Kara-su*, in *Mush* or Moxœne.

Teuthrania, a town and district in Mysia, ii. 1. 3; vii. 8. 17.

Thapsacus, a city of Cyria on the Euphrates, at which Cyrus crosses that river, i. 4. 11. Afterward Amphipolis (Pliny, H. N. V. 21); also Turmeda (Steph. Byz.); Tiphsah (1 Kings iv. 24). Now designated as the ford of the *Badawin* at *Al Hammam* near *Suriyah* ancient Sura or Sure of Ptolemy. Sura in Pliny, and Ura (*ib.*)

Thebe, plain of, in Lydia, according to the common reading in vii. 8. 7. But some copies have Ἀσίας: Krüger. Kühner would read Μυσίας. The Thebe meant is probably that at the foot of Mount Placos in Mysia, and hence called Hypoplacia. See Cramer's Asia Minor, i. p. 129.

Theches, the mountain from which the Greeks had their first view of the Euxine, iv. 7. 21. Colonel Chesney (ii. 230) identifies Theches with the Gaur or Jawur Tagh, "Infidel Mountain." It has been more generally identified with the *Takiyah Tagh* or "Monastery Mountain," the *Hak Masjidi Tagh* of Vivien de St. Martin.

Thermodon, a river of Paphlagonia, running into the Euxine, v. 6. 9; vi. 2. 1. See Jasonian Shore.

Thrace, Asiatic, vi. 4. 1. The people of it attack the Arcadians, vi. 3. 4.

Thrace, European, vii. 1. 5; a Thracian dance, vi. 1. 5; banquet, vii. 3. 16; dress, vii. 4. 4; Thracian mountaineers, vii. 4. 11; their mode of flight, vii. 4. 17.

XENOPHON'S

MEMORABILIA OF SOCRATES.

BOOK I.—CHAPTER I.

The two charges on which Socrates was condemned to death by the Athenians, sect. 1. The first charge refuted by several arguments: for Socrates used to sacrifice to the gods, 2; he practiced divination, and his *dæmon* was no new god, 2–5; he recommended that the gods should be consulted by man in perplexing circumstances, 6–9; he was guilty of no impiety, he avoided vain speculations respecting the gods, and said that the business of philosophy was the study of virtue, 10–17; his life was in accordance with the precepts of morality, 18–20.

1. I HAVE often wondered by what arguments the accusers[1] of Socrates persuaded the Athenians that he deserved death from the state; for the indictment against him was to this effect: SOCRATES OFFENDS AGAINST THE LAWS IN NOT PAYING RESPECT[2] TO THOSE GODS WHOM THE CITY RESPECTS, AND INTRODUCING OTHER NEW DEITIES; HE ALSO OFFENDS AGAINST THE LAWS IN CORRUPTING THE YOUTH.

2. In the first place, *that he did not respect the gods whom*

[1] Plato, in his Apology of Socrates, mentions his accusers by name: *Meletus*, a bad author of tragedies and songs (see Aristoph. Ran. 1302, and the Scholiast); *Anytus*, who was a tanner or currier, as appears from Xen. Apol. sect. 29, illustrated by the industry of Bornemann, p. 72, ed. 1824, and p. 350, ed. 1829; and *Lyco*, an orator, to whom allusion seems to be made in Aristoph. Vesp. 1301. *Kühner*.

[2] *Οὐ νομίζων.*] Νομίζειν θεοὺς is *deos more publico* (*τῷ νόμῳ*) *receptos colere.* * * * Hence *οἱ νενομισμένοι θεοὶ* are the gods publicly acknowledged and worshiped. *Kühner*.

the city respects, what proof did they bring? For he was seen frequently sacrificing at home, and frequently on the public altars of the city; nor was it unknown that he used divination; as it was a common subject of talk that "Socrates used to say that the divinity instructed him;" and it was from this circumstance, indeed, that they seem chiefly to have derived the charge of introducing new deities. 3. He however introduced nothing newer than those who, practicing divination, consult auguries, voices,[1] omens, and sacrifices; for they do not imagine that birds, or people who meet them, know what is advantageous for those seeking presages, but that the gods, by their means, signify what will be so; and such was the opinion that Socrates entertained. 4. Most people say that they are diverted from an object, or prompted to it, by birds, or by the people who meet them; but Socrates spoke as he thought, for he said it was the divinity that was his monitor. He also told many of his friends to do certain things, and not to do others, intimating that the divinity had forewarned him; and advantage attended those who obeyed his suggestions, but repentance, those who disregarded them.

5. Yet who would not acknowledge that Socrates wished to appear to his friends neither a fool nor a boaster? But he would have seemed to be both, if, after saying that intimations were given him by a god, he had then been proved guilty of falsehood. It is manifest, therefore, that he would have uttered no predictions, if he had not trusted that they would prove true. But who, in such matters, would trust to any one but a god? And how could he, who trusted the gods, think that there were no gods?[2]

[1] *Φήμαις.*] *Φήμη*, an omen taken from the voices of men. See Cicero de Div. i. 45. 102; where it is said that the Pythagoreans observed not only the voices of the gods, but also those of men, and called the signs from them *omina*. See Eustath. ad Il. *κ'*, p. 799; Xen. Apol. 12; Bornemann ad Apol. 18, p. 51, ed. 1824; Herbst on Sympos. iv. 48, and on this passage. *Kühner.*

[2] Πῶς *οὐκ εἶναι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν*;] Xenophon here goes out of his line of argument, and introduces a new point, which is not given in the charge against Socrates as it stands in sect. 1. He there says that Socrates was accused of introducing new gods, not of denying that there were gods. Plato, in his Apology, p. 36, C., has made a far more accurate distinction between these two points of accusation. *Kühner.* It is observable, that if *εἶναι* were omitted, the question would be in ac-

6. He also acted toward his friends according to his convictions, for he recommended them to perform affairs of necessary consequence[1] in such a manner as he thought that they would be best managed; but concerning those of which it was doubtful how they would terminate, he sent them to take auguries whether they should be done or not. 7. Those who would govern families or cities well, he said, had need of divination; for to become skillful in architecture, or working in brass, or agriculture, or in commanding men, or to become a critic in any such arts,[2] or a good reasoner, or a skillful regulator of a household, or a well-qualified general, he considered as wholly matters of learning, and left to the choice of the human understanding; 8. but he said that the gods reserved to themselves the most important particulars attending such matters, of which nothing was apparent to men; for neither was it certain to him who had sown his field well, who should reap the fruit of it; nor certain to him who had built a house well, who should inhabit it; nor certain to him who was skilled in generalship, whether it would be for his advantage to act as a general; nor certain to him who was versed in political affairs, whether it would be for his profit to be at the head of the state; nor certain to him who had married a beautiful wife in hopes of happiness, whether he should not incur misery by her means; nor certain to him who had acquired powerful connections in the state, whether he might not be banished by them: 9. and those who thought that none of these things depended on the gods, but that all were dependent on the human understanding, he pronounced to be insane; as he also pronounced those to be insane who had recourse to omens respecting matters which the gods had granted to men to discover by the exercise of their faculties; as if, for instance, a man should inquire whether it would be better to take for the driver of his chariot one who knows how to drive, or one who does not know; or whether it would be better to place

cordance with the accusation: "How could he, who trusted in the gods, not pay respect to the gods?"

[1] Τὰ ἀναγκαῖα.] Things of which the event is certain, because necessary, as Ernesti interprets. *Schneider.*

[2] Τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐξεταστικόν.] Ἐξεταστικὸς appears to signify one who can point out the merits and defects in works, though he himself could not execute any thing better than what he criticises; a man of theory, not of practice. *Weiske.*

over his ship one who knows how to steer it, or one who does not know; or if men should ask respecting matters which they may learn by counting, or measuring, or weighing; for those who inquired of the gods concerning such matters he thought guilty of impiety, and said that it was the duty of men to learn whatever the gods had enabled them to do by learning, and to try to ascertain from the gods by augury whatever was obscure to men; as the gods always afford information to those to whom they are rendered propitious.

10. He was constantly in public, for he went in the morning to the places for walking and the gymnasia; at the time when the market was full[1] he was to be seen there; and the rest of the day he was where he was likely to meet the greatest number of people; he was generally engaged in discourse, and all who pleased were at liberty to hear him; 11. yet no one ever either saw Socrates doing, or heard him saying, any thing impious or profane; for he did not dispute about the nature of things as most other philosophers disputed,[2] speculating how that which is called by sophists *the world* was produced, and by what necessary laws every thing in the heavens is effected, but endeavored to show that those who chose such subjects of contemplation were foolish; 12. and used in the first place to inquire of them whether they thought that they already knew sufficient of human affairs, and therefore proceeded to such subjects of meditation, or whether, when they neglected human affairs entirely, and speculated on celestial matters, they thought that they were doing what became them. 13. He wondered, too, that it was not apparent to them that it is impossible for man to satisfy himself on such points, since even those who pride themselves most on discussing them, do not hold the same opinions one with another,

[1] Πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς.] See note on Anab. i. 8. 1.

[2] That Socrates used at times to discuss physical subjects, appears from Xenophon himself (see c. 4, and Symp. vi. 6), as well as from Plato's Apology and Phædo, c. 46, and Diog. Laert. ii. 45; but he pursued a different method from that of other philosophers in such discussions; for, abstaining from subtle and useless inquiries as to the origin of things, the courses of the heavenly bodies, and other obscure topics, he directed his inquiries to the consideration of the divine power, the nature of man, the connection of the human with the divine nature, and the government of the world by divine influence. *Kühner.*

but are, compared with each other, like madmen; 14. for of madmen some have no fear of what is to be feared, and others fear what is not to be feared; some think it no shame to say or do any thing whatever before men, and others think that they ought not to go among men at all; some pay no respect to temple, or altar, or any thing dedicated to the gods, and others worship stones, and common stocks, and beasts: so of those who speculate on the nature of the universe, some imagine that all that exists is one, others that there are worlds infinite in number; some that all things are in perpetual motion, others that nothing is ever moved; some that all things are generated and decay, and others that nothing is either generated or decays.

15. He would ask, also, concerning such philosophers, whether, as those who have learned arts practiced by men, expect that they will be able to carry into effect what they have learned, either for themselves, or for any one else whom they may wish, so those who inquire into celestial things, imagine that, when they have discovered by what laws every thing is effected, they will be able to produce, whenever they please, wind, rain, changes of the seasons, and whatever else of that sort they may desire, or whether they have no such expectation, but are content merely to know how every thing of that nature is generated. 16. Such were the observations which he made about those who busied themselves in such speculations; but for himself, he would hold discourse, from time to time, on what concerned mankind, considering what was pious, what impious; what was becoming, what unbecoming; what was just, what unjust; what was sanity, what insanity; what was fortitude, what cowardice; what a state was, and what the character of a statesman; what was the nature of government over men, and the qualities of one skilled in governing them; and touching on other subjects, with which he thought that those who were acquainted were men of worth and estimation, but that those who were ignorant of them might justly be deemed no better than slaves.

17. As to those matters, then, on which Socrates gave no intimation what his sentiments were, it is not at all wonderful that his judges should have decided erroneously concerning him; but is it not wonderful that they should have taken no account of such things as all men knew? 18. For when he

was a member of the senate, and had taken the senator's oath, in which it was expressed that *he would vote in accordance with the laws*, he, being president in the assembly of the people when they were eager to put to death Thrasyllus, Erasinides, and all the nine generals, by a single vote contrary to the law, refused,[1] though the multitude were enraged at him, and many of those in power uttered threats against him, to put the question to the vote, but considered it of more importance to observe his oath than to gratify the people contrary to what was right, or to seek safety against those who menaced him; 19. for he thought that the gods paid regard to men, not in the way in which some people suppose, who imagine that the gods know some things and do not know others, but he considered that the gods know all things, both what is said, what is done, and what is meditated in silence, and are present every where, and give admonitions to men concerning every thing human.

20. I wonder, therefore, how the Athenians were ever persuaded that Socrates had not right sentiments concerning the gods; a man who never said or did any thing impious toward the gods, but spoke and acted in such a manner with respect to them, that any other who had spoken and acted in the same manner, would have been, and have been considered, eminently pious.

CHAPTER II.

Reply to the other charge against Socrates. He did not corrupt the youth, for his whole teaching dissuaded them from vice, and encouraged them to temperance and virtue of every kind, sect. 1–8. He exhorted them to obey the laws, 9–11. If Critias and Alcibiades, who listened to his discourses, became corrupt, the fault was not his, 12–28; he endeavored to reclaim them, till they deserted him; and others, who resigned themselves wholly to his instructions, became virtuous and honorable men, 28–48. Other frivolous assertions refuted, 49–60. His benevolence, disinterestedness, and general merits, 61–64.

1. It also seems wonderful to me, that any should have been persuaded that Socrates corrupted the youth; Socrates, who, in addition to what has been said of him, was not only

[1] See Xen. Hell. i. 7, especially sect. 15.

the most rigid of all men in the government of his passions and appetites, but also most able to withstand cold, heat, and every kind of labor; and, besides, so inured to frugality, that, though he possessed very little, he very easily made it a sufficiency. 2. How, then, being of such a character himself, could he have rendered others impious, or lawless, or luxurious, or incontinent, or too effeminate to endure labor? On the contrary, he restrained many of them from such vices, leading them to love virtue, and giving them hopes, that if they would take care of themselves, they would become honorable and worthy characters. 3. Not indeed that he ever professed to be an instructor in that way, but, by showing that he was himself such a character, he made those in his society hope that, by imitating him, they would become such as he was.

4. Of the body he was not neglectful, nor did he commend those who were. He did not approve that a person should eat to excess, and then use immoderate exercise, but recommended that he should work off, by a proper degree of exercise, as much as the appetite received with pleasure; for such a habit, he said, was peculiarly conducive to health, and did not prevent attention to the mind. 5. He was not, however, fine or ostentatious in his clothes or sandals, or in any of his habits of life; yet he did not make those about him lovers of money,[1] for he checked them in this as well as other passions, and asked no remuneration from those who desired his company. 6. By refraining from such demand, he thought that he consulted his liberty, and called those who took money for their discourses their own enslavers, since they must of necessity hold discussions with those from whom they received pay. 7. He expressed wonder, too, that any one who professed to teach virtue, should demand money, and not think that he gained the greatest profit in securing a good friend, but fear that he whom he had made an honorable and worthy character would not retain the greatest gratitude toward his greatest benefactor. 8. Socrates, indeed, never expressed so much to any one; yet he believed that those of his associates who imbibed what he approved, would be always good friends both to himself and to each other. How then

[1] Though he was not extravagant, he was not avaricious; nor had his conversation a tendency to make others avaricious.

could a man of such a character corrupt the young, unless, indeed, the study of virtue be corruption?

9. "But assuredly," said the accuser, "he caused those who conversed with him to despise the established laws, by saying how foolish it was to elect the magistrates of a state by beans,[1] when nobody would be willing to take a pilot elected by beans, or an architect, or a flute-player,[2] or a person in any other profession, which, if erroneously exercised, would cause far less harm than errors in the administration of a state;" and declared that "such remarks excited the young to contemn the established form of government, and disposed them to acts of violence." 10. But I think that young men who exercise their understanding, and expect to become capable of teaching their fellow-citizens what is for their interest, grow by no means addicted to violence, knowing that on violence attend enmity and danger, but that, by persuasion, the same results are attained without peril, and with good-will; for those who are compelled by us, hate us as if despoiled of something, while those who are persuaded by us, love us as if they had received a favor. It is not the part, therefore, of those who cultivate the intellect to use violence; for to adopt such a course belongs to those who possess brute force without intellect. 11. Besides, he who would venture to use force, had need of no small number of allies, but he who can succeed with persuasion, has need of none, for, though left alone, he would think himself still able to persuade; and it by no means belongs to such men to shed blood, for who would wish to put another man to death rather than to have him as a living subject persuaded to obey?

12. "But," said the accuser, "Critias and Alcibiades, after having been associates of Socrates, inflicted a great number of evils on the state; for Critias was the most avaricious and violent of all that composed the oligarchy, and Alcibiades was the most intemperate, insolent, and turbulent of all those in the democracy." 13. For whatever evil they did the state, I shall make no apology; but as to their intimacy with

[1] *Ἀπὸ κυάμου.*] Black and white beans were used in voting for the magistrates at Athens.

[2] *Μηδ' αὐλητῇ.*] These words, which occur in the texts of Weiske, Schneider, and all others that I have seen, are omitted by Kühner; perhaps inadvertently.

Socrates, I will state how it took place. 14. These two men were by nature the most ambitious of all the Athenians, and wished that every thing should be done by their means, and that they themselves should become the most celebrated of all men. But they knew that Socrates lived with the utmost contentment on very small means, that he was most abstinent from every kind of pleasure, and that he swayed those with whom he conversed just as he pleased by his arguments; 15. and, seeing such to be the case, and being such characters as they have just been stated to be, whether will any one say that they sought his society from a desire to lead such a life as Socrates led, and to practice such temperance as he practiced, or from an expectation, that if they associated with him, they would become eminently able to speak and act? 16. I myself, indeed, am of opinion, that if a god had given them their choice, whether they would live their whole lives as they saw Socrates living, or die, they would have chosen rather to die; and they showed this disposition by what they did; for as soon as they considered themselves superior to their associates, they at once started away from Socrates, and engaged in political life, to qualify themselves for which they had sought the society of Socrates.

17. Perhaps some one may observe on this point, that Socrates should not have taught his followers politics before he taught them self-control. To this remark I make no reply at present;[1] but I see that all teachers make themselves examples to their pupils how far they practice what they teach, and stimulate them by precepts; 18. and I know that Socrates made himself an example to those who associated with him as a man of honorable and excellent character, and that he discoursed admirably concerning virtue and other things that concern mankind. I know, too, that those men exercised self-control as long as they conversed with Socrates, not from fear lest they should be fined or beaten by him, but from a persuasion at the time that it was best to observe such conduct.

19. Perhaps, however, many of those who profess to be philosophers, may say that a man once just, can never become unjust, or once modest, immodest; and that, with regard to

[1] Xenophon leaves this point for the present, intending to reply to it in iv. 3. *Kühner.*

any other qualification (among such as can be taught), he who has once learned it can never become ignorant of it. But regarding such points I am not of that opinion; for I see that as those who do not exercise the body can not perform what is proper to the body, so those who can not exercise the mind, can not perform what is proper to the mind; for they can neither do that which they ought to do, nor refrain from that from which they ought to refrain. 20. For which reason fathers keep their sons, though they be of a virtuous disposition, from the society of bad men, in the belief that association with the good is an exercise of virtue, but that association with the bad is the destruction of it. One of the poets also bears testimony to this truth, who says,

'Εσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι· ἢν δὲ κακοῖσι
Συμμίσγῃς, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

From good men you will learn what is good; but if you associate with the bad, you will lose the understanding which is in you.[1]

And another, who observes,

Αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τότε μὲν κακὸς, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλός.

A good man is at one time good, and at another bad.

21. I also concur with them; for I see that as people forget metrical compositions when they do not practice the repetition of them, so forgetfulness of precepts of instruction is produced in those who neglect them. But where a person forgets moral admonitions, he forgets also what the mind felt when it had a desire for self-government; and, when he forgets this, it is not at all wonderful that he forgets self-government also. 22. I see, too, that those who are given up to a fondness for drinking, and those who have fallen in love, are less able to attend to what they ought to do, and to refrain from what they ought not to do; for many who can be frugal in their expenses before they fall in love, are, after falling in love, unable to continue so; and, when they have exhausted their resources, they no longer abstain from means of gain from which they previously shrunk as thinking them dishonorable. 23. How is it impossible, then, that he who has once had a control over

[1] This distich is taken from Theognis, v. 35, 36. That Socrates was fond of quoting it, appears also from Xen. Symp. ii. 4, and Plato, Menon, p. 95, D. Whence the following verse is taken is unknown. *Kühner.*

himself, may afterward cease to maintain it, and that he who was once able to observe justice, may subsequently become unable? To me every thing honorable and good seems to be maintained by exercise, and self-control not the least; for sensual desires, generated in the same body with the soul, are constantly exciting it to abandon self-control, and to gratify themselves and the body as soon as possible.

24. Critias and Alcibiades, then, as long as they associated with Socrates, were able, with the assistance of his example, to maintain a mastery over their immoral inclinations; but, when they were separated from him, Critias, fleeing to Thessaly, formed connections there with men who practiced dishonesty rather than justice; and Alcibiades also, being sought by many women, even of high rank, for his beauty, and being corrupted by many men, who were well able to seduce him by their flattery, on account of his influence in the city and among the allies, and being also honored by the people, and easily obtaining the pre-eminence among them, became like the wrestlers in the gymnastic games, who, when they are fairly superior to others, neglect their exercise; so he grew neglectful of self-control. 25. When such was their fortune, and when they were proud of their birth, elated with their wealth, puffed up with their power, corrupted by many associates, demoralized by all these means, and long absent from Socrates, what wonder is it if they became headstrong? 26. And then, if they did any thing wrong, does the accuser blame Socrates for it? and does Socrates seem to the accuser deserving of no praise, for having, when they were young, and when it is likely that they were most inconsiderate and intractable, rendered them discreet? 27. Yet other affairs are not judged of in such a way; for what flute-player, or what teacher of the harp, or what other instructor, if he produces competent pupils, and if they, attaching themselves to other masters, become less skillful, is blamed for their deterioration? Or what father, if his son, while he associated with one man, should be virtuous, but afterward, on uniting himself to some other person, should become vicious, would blame the former of the two? would he not rather, the more corrupt his son became with the second, bestow the greater praise on the first? Not even parents themselves, when they have their sons in their society, are blamed if their sons do any thing

wrong, provided they themselves are correct in their conduct. 28. In the same manner it would be right to judge of Socrates; if he had done any thing immoral, he would justly be thought to be a bad man; but if he constantly observed morality, how can he reasonably bear the blame of vice which was not in him?

29. Or even if he himself did nothing wrong, but commended others when he saw them doing wrong, he would justly be censured. When he perceived, however, that Critias was enamored of Euthydemus, and was seeking to have the enjoyment of his society, like those who abuse the persons of others for licentious purposes, he dissuaded him from his intention, by saying that it was illiberal, and unbecoming a man of honor and proper feeling, to offer supplications to the object of his affections, with whom he wished to be held in high esteem, beseeching and entreating him, like a beggar, to grant a favor, especially when such favor was for no good end. 30. But as Critias paid no regard to such remonstrances, and was not diverted from his pursuit, it is said that Socrates, in the presence of many others as well as of Euthydemus, observed that "Critias seemed to him to have some feeling like that of a pig, as he wished to rub against Euthydemus as swine against stones." 31. Critias, in consequence, conceived such a hatred to Socrates, that when he was one of the Thirty Tyrants, and was appointed a law-maker[1] with Charicles, he remembered the circumstance to his disadvantage, and inserted in his laws that "none should teach the art of disputation," intending an insult to Socrates, yet not knowing how to affect him in particular, but laying to his charge what was imputed to the philosophers by the multitude,[2] and calumniating him to the people; at least such was my opinion; for I myself never heard this from Socrates, nor do I remember having known any one say that heard it from him. 32.

[1] See Hellen. ii. 3. 2. Of the Thirty, Charicles alone is here named, besides Critias the chief of them, because, by conspiring with Critias and a few of the others, he afterward acquired great authority and power in the state. *Kühner*. The law here mentioned was abrogated after the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants. See Potter's Antiquities of Greece, vol. i. c. 25.

[2] The common charge brought by the multitude against the philoso- and sophists, was, that they endeavored to "make the worse ap- ıe better reason:" *τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν.*

But Critias showed that such was the case; for when the Thirty had put to death many of the citizens, and those not of the inferior class, and had encouraged many to acts of injustice,[1] Socrates happened to observe that "it seemed surprising to him if a man, becoming herdsman of a number of cattle, and rendering the cattle fewer and in worse condition, should not confess that he was a bad herdsman, and still more surprising if a man, becoming governor of a city, and rendering the people fewer and in worse condition, should not feel ashamed, and be conscious of being a bad governor of the city." 33. This remark being repeated to the Thirty, Critias and Charicles summoned Socrates before them, showed him the law, and forbade him to hold discourse with the youth. Socrates inquired of them if he might be permitted to ask a question as to any point in the prohibitions that might not be understood by him. They gave him permission. 34. "Then," said he, "I am prepared to obey the laws; but that I may not unconsciously transgress through ignorance, I wish to ascertain exactly from you, 'whether it is because you think that the art of reasoning is an auxiliary to what is rightly spoken,[2] or to what is not rightly spoken, that you give command to abstain from it; for if it be an adjunct to what is rightly spoken, it is plain that we have to abstain from speaking rightly; but if to what is not rightly spoken, it is plain that we ought to endeavor to speak rightly.'" 35. Charicles, falling into a passion with him, said, "Since, Socrates, you are ignorant of this particular, we give you an order more easily to be understood, *not to discourse at all with the young.*" "That it may not be doubtful, then," said Socrates, "whether I do any thing contrary to what is enjoined, define for me till what age I must consider men to be young." "As long," replied Charicles, "as they are not allowed to fill the office of senator, as not being yet come to maturity of understanding; and do

[1] See Plato's Apology of Socrates, c. 20: *Οἷα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιων.*

[2] *Σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις εἶναι.*] That is, "that the art of speaking supports what is rightly said;" for *σὺν τινι εἶναι* signifies *alicui auxilio esse.* See my Gr. Gr. vol. ii. § 601. *Kühner.* Schneider took *σὺν* for *ἐν*, giving the passage the meaning of *inter illa quæ rectè dicuntur*, which is, as *Weiske* says, a forced sense of *σὺν*, but which, it must be confessed, suits very well with the sequel of the question put by Socrates.

not discourse with such as are under thirty years of age." 36. "And if I wish to buy any thing," said Socrates, "and a person under thirty years of age has it for sale, may I not ask him at what price he sells it?" "Yes, such questions as these," replied Charicles, "but you are accustomed to ask most of your questions about things, when you know very well how they stand; such questions, therefore, do not ask." "If then any young man," said he, "should ask me such a question as 'where does Charicles live?' or 'where is Critias?' may I not answer him, if I know?" "Yes, you may answer such questions," said Charicles. 37. "But," added Critias, "it will be necessary for you to abstain from speaking of those shoemakers,[1] and carpenters, and smiths; indeed I think that they must now be worn out from being so often in your mouth." "I must therefore," said Socrates, "abstain from the illustrations that I attach to the mention of those people, illustrations on justice, piety, and other such subjects." "Yes, by Jupiter," retorted Charicles, "and you must abstain from illustrations taken from herdsmen; for, if you do not, take care lest you yourself make cattle fewer."[2] 38. Hence it was evident that they were angry with Socrates on account of his remark about the cattle having been reported to them.

What sort of intercourse Critias had with Socrates, and how they stood toward each other, has now been stated. 39. But I would say that no regular training is derived by any one from a teacher who does not please him; and Critias and Alcibiades did not associate with Socrates, while their association with him lasted, as being an instructor that pleased them, but they were, from the very first, eager to be at the head of the state, for, while they still attended Socrates, they sought to converse with none more than with those who were most

[1] Ἀπέχεσθαι—τῶν σκυτέων, κ. τ. λ.] A brief mode of expression for "to abstain from drawing illustrations from those shoemakers," etc. Socrates, in his conversation, was accustomed to illustrate or support his precepts and opinions by examples taken from fullers, leather-cutters, potters, and other artizans; a mode of lecturing quite the reverse of that of the sophists, who sought to dazzle or delight the minds of their hearers, by the splendor and magnificence of their illustrations, and the grandiloquence of their speeches, and derided the method of Socrates as common, trite, and mean. See b. iv. 4. 5; Plato, Symp. p. 221, E; Gorg. 491, A. *Kühner.*

[2] By losing your own life.

engaged in affairs of government. 40. Alcibiades, it is said, before he was twenty years of age, held the following discourse with Pericles, who was his guardian, and chief ruler of the state about laws. 41. "Tell me," said he, "Pericles, can you teach me what a law is." "Certainly," replied Pericles. "Teach me then, in the name of the gods," said Alcibiades, "for I, hearing some persons praised as being obedient to the laws, consider that no one can fairly obtain such praise who does not know what a law is." 42. "You desire no very difficult matter, Alcibiades," said Pericles, "when you wish to know what a law is; for all those regulations are laws, which the people, on meeting together and approving them, have enacted, directing what we should do and what we should not do." "And whether do they direct that we should do good things, or that we should do bad things?" "Good, by Jupiter, my child," said he, "but bad by no means." 43. "And if it should not be the whole people, but a few, as where there is an oligarchy, that should meet together, and enact what we are to do, what are such enactments?" "Every thing," replied Pericles, "which the supreme power in the state, on determining what the people ought to do, has enacted, is called a law." "And if a tyrant, holding rule over the state, prescribes to the citizens what they must do, is such prescription called a law." "Whatever a tyrant in authority prescribes," returned Pericles, "is also called a law." 44. "What then, Pericles," asked Alcibiades, "is force and lawlessness? Is it not when the stronger obliges the weaker, not by persuasion, but by compulsion, to do what he pleases?" "So it appears to me," replied Pericles. "Whatever then a tyrant compels the people to do, by enacting it without gaining their consent, is that an act of lawlessness?" "Yes," said Pericles, "it appears to me that it is, for I retract my admission[1] that what a tyrant prescribes to the people without persuading them, is a law." 45. "But what the few enact, not from gaining the consent of the many, but from having superior power, should we say that that is force or that it is not?" "Every thing," said Pericles, "which one man obliges another to do without gaining

[1] 'Ανατίθεμαι.] A metaphorical expression from the game of πεττοὶ or *calculi*, in which ἀναθεῖναι πεττοὺς is to replace or re-arrange the *calculi*, after discovering that one or more of them are misplaced. *Kühner*. See Suidas sub voce ἀναθέσθαι.

his consent, whether he enact it in writing or not, seems to me to be force rather than law." "Whatever, then, the whole people, when they are stronger than the wealthier class, enact without their consent, would be an act of force rather than a law?" 46. "Certainly, Alcibiades," said Pericles; "and I, when I was of your age, was very acute at such disquisitions; for we used to meditate and argue about such subjects as you now appear to meditate." "Would, therefore," said Alcibiades, "that I had conversed with you, Pericles, at the time when you were most acute in discussing such topics!" 47. When Alcibiades and Critias, therefore, began to think themselves superior to those who were then governing the state, they no longer attended Socrates (for he was not agreeable to them in other respects, and they were offended, if they went to him at all, at being reproved for any error that they had committed), but devoted themselves to political employments, with a view to which they had at first associated with Socrates. 48. But Crito was also an attendant on Socrates, as well as Chærephon, Chærecrates, Hermocrates, Simmias, Cebes, and Phædondes, who, with others that attended him, did not seek his society that they might be fitted for popular orators or forensic pleaders, but that, becoming honorable and good men, they might conduct themselves irreproachably toward their families, connections, dependents, and friends, as well as toward their country and their fellow-citizens; and no one of all these, whether in youth or at a more advanced age, either was guilty, or was accused, of any crime.

49. "But Socrates," said the accuser, "taught children to show contempt for[1] their parents, persuading his followers that he rendered them wiser than their fathers, and observing that a son was allowed by the law to confine his father on convicting him of being deranged, using that circumstance as an argument that it was lawful for the more ignorant to be confined by the wiser." 50. But what Socrates said was, that he

[1] Προπηλακίζειν.] See Apolog. sect. 20, and Atistoph. Nub. 1407, where Phidippides is introduced, as a disciple of Socrates, beating his father with a stick, and proving that he was right in doing so. Προπηλακίζειν is properly *stercore aliquem inquinare*; treatment to which they were subjected who were punished with ἀτιμία: but it was at length applied to every kind of insult. See Bremi ad Demosth. de Cor. p. 229. *Kühner.*

thought he who confined another for ignorance, might justly be himself confined by those who knew what he did not know; and, with a view to such cases, he used to consider in what respect ignorance differed from madness, and expressed his opinion that madmen might be confined with advantage to themselves and their friends, but that those who did not know what they ought to know, might reasonably learn from those who did know.

51. "But Socrates," proceeded the accuser, "not only caused parents, but other relations, to be held in contempt by his followers, saying that relatives, as relatives, were of no profit to people who were sick, or to people going to law, but that physicians aided the one, and lawyers the other." 52. The accuser asserted, too, that Socrates said concerning friends that "it was of no profit that they were well-disposed, unless they were able also to assist; and that he insisted that those only were deserving of honor who knew what was for the advantage of others, and could make it intelligible to them; and that by thus persuading the young that he himself was the wisest of mankind, and most capable of making others wise, he so disposed his pupils toward him, that other people were of no account with them in comparison with himself." 53. I am aware, indeed, that he did express himself concerning parents and other relatives, and concerning friends, in such a manner as this: and used to say, besides, that when the soul has departed, in which alone intelligence exists, men take away the body of their dearest friend, and put it out of sight as soon as possible. 54. He was accustomed to say, also, that every man while he is alive, removes of himself from his own body, which he loves most of all things, and allows others to remove from it, every thing that is useless and unprofitable; since men themselves take off portions of their nails, and hair, and callous parts, and resign themselves to surgeons to cut and burn them with labor and pain, and think it their duty even to pay them money for their operations; and the saliva from the mouth, he said, men spit away as far as possible, because, while it is in the mouth, it profits them nothing, but is far more likely to harm them. 55. But such observations Socrates uttered, not to teach any one of his followers to bury his father alive, or to cut himself to pieces, but, by showing that what is senseless is worthless, he exhorted each to

study to become as intelligent and useful as possible, so that, whether he wished to be honored by his father, by his brother, or by any one else, he might not be neglectful of himself through trusting to his relationship, but might endeavor to be serviceable to those by whom he desired to be respected.

56. The accuser also said that Socrates, selecting the worst passages of the most celebrated poets, and using them as arguments, taught those who kept him company to be unprincipled and tyrannical. The verse of Hesiod, for example,

Ἔργον δ' οὐδὲν ὄνειδος, ἀεργίη δὲ ὄνειδος,

Work is no disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace,[1]

they say that he used to explain as intimating that the poet bids us abstain from no kind of work, dishonest or dishonorable, but to do such work for the sake of profit. 57. But when Socrates maintained that to be busy was useful and beneficial for a man, and that to be unemployed was noxious and ill for him, that to work was a good, and to be idle an evil, he at the same time observed that those only who do something good really work, and are useful workmen,[2] but those who gamble or do any thing bad and pernicious, he called idle; and in this view the sentiment of the poet will be unobjectionable.

Work is no disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.

58. That passage of Homer, too, the accuser stated that he often used to quote, in which it is said that Ulysses,

Whatever king or eminent hero he found,
Stood beside him, and detained him with gentle words:
"Illustrious chief, it is not fit that you should shrink back as a coward;
Sit down yourself, and make the rest of the people sit down."
But whatever man of the people he noticed, and found clamoring,
He struck him with his staff, and rebuked him with words:
"Worthless fellow, sit down in peace, and hear the exhortations of others,

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[1] Not toil, but sloth, shall ignominious be.—*Elton.*

The enemies of Socrates insinuated that he joined οὐδὲν, not with its proper substantive ὄνειδος, but with ἔργον, making the sense to be "no work is disgraceful."

[2] Compare iii. 9. 9.

Who are much better than you; for you are unwarlike and powerless,
Neither to be numbered in the field nor in the council."[1]

59. And he said that he used to explain it as if the poet recommended that plebeians and poor people should be beaten. Socrates, however, said no such thing (for he would thus have given an opinion that he himself ought to be beaten), but what he did say was, that those who benefited others neither by word nor deed, and who were incapable of serving the army, or the state, or the common people, if they should ever be called upon to serve, should, especially if, in addition to their incapacity, they were of an insolent spirit, be curbed in every way, even though they might be ever so rich. 60. But, contrary to the charge of the accuser, Socrates was evidently a friend to the common people, and of a liberal disposition; for though he received numbers of persons desirous to hear him discourse, as well citizens as foreigners, he never required payment for his communications from any one, but imparted to every one in abundance from his stores, of which some[2] receiving fragments from him for nothing, sold them at a great price to others, and were not, like him, friends to the common people, for they declined to converse with such as had not money to give them. 61. But Socrates, in the eyes of other men, conferred glory on the city, far more than Lichas, who was celebrated in this respect, on that of the Lacedæmonians; for Lichas indeed entertained the strangers that visited Lacedæmon at the Gymnopædiæ,[3] but Socrates, through

[1] Il. ii. 188, *seqq.*

Each prince of name, or chief in arms approv'd,
He fir'd with praise, or with persuasion mov'd;
Warriors like you, with strength and wisdom blest,
By brave examples should confirm the rest.
But if a clamorous, vile plebeian rose,
Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with blows:
Be still, thou slave, and to thy betters yield,
Unknown alike in council and in field.—*Pope.*

[2] Xenophon alludes to other hearers of Socrates, but especially to Aristippus, who was the first of the Socratic philosophers that taught for hire. *Ruhnken.* See Diog. Laert. ii. 65.

[3] A festival at Sparta, which lasted for several days during the month of Hecatombæon, and in which dances were performed by youths in honor of Apollo, Diana, and Latona. It was partly intended to celebrate the victory of the Spartans over the Argives at

the whole course of his life freely imparted whatever he had to bestow, and thus benefited in the highest degree all who were willing to receive from him, making those who associated with him better before he let them go.

62. To me, therefore, Socrates, being a man of such a character, appeared to be worthy of honor rather than of death; and any one, considering his case according to the laws, would find such to be the fact; for, by the laws, death is the punishment for a man if he be found stealing, or stripping people of their clothes, or cutting purses, or housebreaking, or kidnapping, or sacrilege, of which crimes Socrates was the most innocent of all men. 63. Nor was he ever the cause of any war ending unfortunately for the state, or of any sedition or treachery; nor did he ever, in his private transactions, either deprive any man of what was for his good, or involve him in evil; nor did he ever lie under suspicion of any of the crimes which I have mentioned.

64. How then could he have been guilty of the charges brought against him? a man who, instead of not acknowledging the gods, as was stated in the indictment, evidently paid respect to the gods more than other men; and instead of corrupting the youth, as the accuser laid to his charge, plainly led such of his associates as had vicious inclinations, to cease from indulging them, and exhorted them to cherish a love of that most honorable and excellent virtue, by which men successfully govern states and families. How then, pursuing such a course of conduct, was he not deserving of great honor from the city?

CHAPTER III.

Confirmation of the character of Socrates given in the preceding chapters. He worshiped the gods, and exhorted others to worship them, sect. 1. His notions how the gods were to be supplicated, 2. His judgment as to what was acceptable to them in a sacrifice, 3. His regard for omens, 4. His observance of temperance, and recommendation of it to others, 5–15.

1. But to show how he appeared to improve those who associated with him, partly by showing them what his

Thyrea. See Smith's Dictionary of Gr. and Rom. Ant. art. Γυμνοπαιδία.

character was, and partly by his conversation, I shall record whatever I can remember of him relating to these points.

As to what had reference to the gods, then he evidently acted and spoke in conformity with the answer which the priestess of Apollo gives to those who inquire how they ought to proceed with regard to a sacrifice, to the worship of their ancestors, or to any such matter; for the priestess replies that *they will act piously, if they act in agreement with the law of their country;* and Socrates both acted in this manner himself, and exhorted others to act similarly; and such as acted in any other way he regarded as doing what was not to the purpose,[1] and guilty of folly.

2. To the gods he simply prayed that they would give him good things, as believing that the gods knew best what things are good; and those who prayed for gold, or silver, or dominion, or any thing of that kind, he considered to utter no other sort of requests than if they were to pray that they might play at dice, or fight, or do any thing else of which it is quite uncertain what the result will be.

3. When he offered small sacrifices from his small means, he thought that he was not at all inferior in merit to those who offered numerous and great sacrifices from ample and abundant means; for he said that it would not become the gods to delight in large rather than in small sacrifices; since, if such were the case, the offerings of the bad would oftentimes be more acceptable to them than those of the good; nor would life be of any account in the eyes of men, if oblations from the bad were better received by the gods than oblations from the good; but he thought that the gods had most pleasure in the offerings of the most pious. He also used to quote, with approbation, the verse,

> Κὰδδ' δύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἱερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
>
> Perform sacrifices to the gods according to your ability,

and used to say that it was a good exhortation to men, with regard to friends, and guests, and all other relations of life, *to perform according to their ability.*

4. If any thing appeared to be intimated to him from the gods, he could no more have been persuaded to act contrary

[1] Περιέργους.] Doing what was superfluous; not adhering, as they ought, to what was prescribed by law.

to such intimation, than any one could have persuaded him to take for his guide on a journey a blind man, or one who did not know the way, instead of one who could see, and did know it; and he condemned the folly of others, who act contrary to what is signified by the gods, through anxiety to avoid the ill opinion of men. As for himself, he undervalued every thing human, in comparison with counsel from the gods.[1]

5. He disciplined his mind and body by such a course of life, that he who should adopt a similar one, would, if no supernatural influence prevented, live in good spirits and uninterrupted health; nor would he ever be in want of the necessary expenses for it. So frugal was he, that I do not know whether any one could earn so little by the labor of his hands, as not to procure sufficient to have satisfied Socrates. He took only so much food as he could eat with a keen relish; and, to this end, he came to his meals[2] so disposed that the appetite for his meat was the sauce to it. Every kind of drink was agreeable to him, because he never drank unless he was thirsty. 6. If he ever complied with an invitation to go to a feast, he very easily guarded, what is extremely difficult to most men, against loading his stomach to excess. Those who were unable to do so, he advised to be cautious of taking any thing that would stimulate them to eat when they were not hungry, and to drink when they were not thirsty; for he said that those were the things that disordered the stomach, the head and the mind; 7. and he used to say, in jest, that he thought Circe transformed men into swine, by entertaining them with abundance of such luxuries, but that Ulysses, through the admonition of Mercury, and through being himself temperate, and forbearing to partake of such delicacies to excess, was in consequence not changed into a swine.

[1] Schneider thinks that some clause is wanting here, to connect this paragraph with what follows. Kühner supposes that Xenophon, in passing from the duties of men toward the gods to their duties toward themselves and their fellow-creatures, hardly thought any connecting observation necessary.

[2] Ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ᾔει.] Kühner prefers ἐπὶ τούτῳ, "on this account, with this view," understanding ἐπὶ σῖτον with ᾔει. ... ἐπὶ τοῦτον, from a conjecture of Neiske. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ is ... almost all the manuscripts.

8. Such jests he would utter on these subjects, but with an earnest meaning. As to love, his counsel was to abstain rigidly from familiarity with beautiful persons; for he observed that it was not easy to be in communication with such persons, and observe continence. Hearing, on one occasion, that Critobulus, the son of Criton, had kissed the son of Alcibiades,[1] a handsome youth, he asked Xenophon, in the presence of Critobulus, saying, "Tell me, Xenophon, did you not think that Critobulus was one of the modest rather than the forward, one of the thoughtful rather than of the thoughtless and inconsiderate?" 9. "Certainly," replied Xenophon. "You must now, then, think him extremely headstrong and daring; one who would even spring upon drawn swords, and leap into the fire." 10. "And what," said Xenophon, "have you seen him doing, that you form so unfavorable an opinion of him?" "Why, has he not dared," rejoined Socrates, "to kiss the son of Alcibiades, a youth extremely handsome, and in the flower of his age?" "If such a deed," returned Xenophon, "is one of daring and peril, I think that even I could undergo such peril." 11. "Unhappy man!" exclaimed Socrates, "and what do you think that you incur by kissing a handsome person? Do you not expect to become at once a slave instead of a freeman? To spend much money upon hurtful pleasures? To have too much occupation to attend to any thing honorable and profitable? And to be compelled to pursue what not even a madman would pursue?" 12. "By Hercules," said Xenophon, "what extraordinary power you represent to be in a kiss!" "Do you wonder at this?" rejoined Socrates; "are you not aware that the Tarantula,[2] an insect not as large

[1] The various opinions of critics on this passage have been considered by Cobet, Prosop. p. 59–69, who conjectures that we should read τὸν τοῦ Ἀξιόχου υἱόν, "the son of Axiochus," named Clinias. *Kühner.*

[2] Φαλάγγια.] Insects similar in form to scorpions or spiders, of which the most venomous and destructive are found in Italy, and are called *Tarantulæ*, from Tarentum. Concerning the madness said to be caused by their bite, sensible men entertain doubts in the present pay. *Weiske.* The comparison of it to the half obolus shows at once the shape and smallness of the insect. *Schneider.* Kircher, in his *Musurgia*, Sir Thomas Brown, *Vulg. Err.* b. iii. c. 28, and Boyle, in his treatise *On Languid and Unheeded Motions*, express belief in the effects ascribed to the bite of the Tarantula. Opinions unfavorable to the truth of the accounts respecting it, may be found in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1672 and 1770, and

as half an obolus, by just touching a part of the body with his mouth, wears men down with pain, and deprives them of their senses?" "Yes, indeed," said Xenophon, "but the Tarantula infuses something at the bitten part?" 13. "And do you not think, foolish man," rejoined Socrates, "that beautiful persons infuse something when they kiss, something which you do not see? Do you not know that the animal, which they call *a handsome and a beautiful object*, is so much more formidable than the Tarantula, as those insects instill something when they touch the body, but this creature, without even touching, but if a person only looks at it, though from a very great distance, instills something of such potency, as to drive people mad? Perhaps indeed Cupids are called archers for no other reason but because the beautiful wound from a distance. But I advise you, Xenophon, whenever you see any handsome person, to flee without looking behind you; and I recommend to you, Critobulus, to absent yourself from hence for a year, for perhaps you may in that time, though hardly indeed, be cured of your wound."

14. Thus he thought that those should act with regard to objects of love who were not secure against the attractions of such objects; objects of such a nature, that if the body did not at all desire them, the mind would not contemplate them, and which, if the body did desire them, should cause us no trouble. For himself, he was evidently so disciplined with respect to such matters, that he could more easily keep aloof from the fairest and most blooming objects than others from the most deformed and unattractive.

15. Such was the state of his feelings in regard to eating, drinking, and amorous gratification; and he believed that he himself, with self-restraint, would have no less pleasure from them, than those who took great trouble to pursue such gratifications, and that he would suffer far less anxiety.

in Swinburne's *Travels in the Two Sicilies*. The popular opinion regarding it is now generally supposed to have arisen from impostures of the lower class of people; no instance of any respectable person having died of the bite of the insect, or having been made to dance by it, being known.

CHAPTER IV.

Socrates not only exhorted men to practice virtue, but led them to the practice of it; his dialogue with Aristodemus, sect. 1, 2. Things formed for a purpose, must be the production, not of chance, but of reason, 3, 4. The human frame is a structure of great excellence, and admirably fitted for its purposes; and we must therefore suppose that man is the object of divine forethought, 5–7. The order of things throughout the universe shows that it is under the providence of a superior nature, 8, 9. The superiority of man over the inferior animals proves that he is more immediately under the care of the higher powers, 10–14. The gods also give instruction to man as to his conduct, 15. That they care for man both individually and collectively is evident from various considerations, 15, 16. As the mind governs the body, so the providence of the gods governs the world, 17. If men therefore worship the gods rightly, they may feel persuaded that the gods will be ready to aid them, 18, 19.

1. But if any suppose that Socrates, as some write and speak of him on conjecture,[1] was excellently qualified to exhort men to virtue, but incapable of leading them forward in it, let them consider not only what he said in refutation, by questioning, of those who thought that they knew every thing (refutations intended to check the progress of those disputants),[2] but what he used to say in his daily intercourse with his associates, and then form an opinion whether he was capable of making those who conversed with him better. 2. I will first mention what I myself once heard him advance in a dialogue with Aristodemus, surnamed The Little,[3] concerning the gods; for having heard that Aristodemus neither sacrificed to the gods, nor prayed to them, nor attended to auguries, but ridiculed those who regarded such matters, he said to him, "Tell me, Aristodemus, do you admire any men for their genius?" "I do," replied he. "Tell us their names, then," said Socrates. 3. "In epic poetry I most admire

[1] Τεκμαιρόμενοι.] Forming conjectures from those men, who, after being under the instruction of Socrates, fell into vice. *Weiske.*

[2] Κολαστηρίου ἕνεκα.] I have been obliged to paraphrase this expression. Κολάζω was often used in the signification of "to restrain, check, or keep within bounds," like the Latin *castigare*, as Liddell and Scott observe. "Xenophon seems to allude to the διάλογοι ἐριστικοὶ of Plato and the other disciples of Socrates, in which Socrates refutes the subtleties of the sophists." *Schneider.*

[3] An Athenian whom Plato names in his Symposium, a constant auditor of Socrates, and a man of much austerity." *Schneider.*

Homer, in dithyrambic Melanippides,[1] in tragedy Sephocles, in statuary Polycletus, in painting Zeuxis." 4. "And whether do those who form images without sense and motion, or those who form animals endowed with sense and vital energy, appear to you the more worthy of admiration?" "Those who form animals, by Jupiter, for they are not produced by chance, but by understanding." "And regarding things of which it is uncertain for what purpose they exist, and those evidently existing for some useful purpose, which of the two would you say were the productions of chance, and which of intelligence?" "Doubtless those which exist for some useful purpose must be the productions of intelligence." 5. "Does not he, then," proceeded Socrates, "who made men at first, appear to you to have given them, for some useful purpose, those parts by which they perceive different objects, the eyes to see what is to be seen, the ears to hear what is to be heard? What would be the use of smells, if no nostrils had been assigned us? What perception would there have been of sweet and sour, and of all that is pleasant to the mouth, if a tongue had not been formed in it to have a sense of them? 6. In addition to these things, does it not seem to you like the work of forethought, to guard the eye, since it is tender, with eyelids, like doors, which, when it is necessary to use the sight, are set open, but in sleep are closed? To make the eyelashes grow as a screen, that winds may not injure it? To make a coping on the parts above the eyes with the eye-brows, that the perspiration from the head may not annoy them? To provide that the ears may receive all kinds of sounds, yet never be obstructed? and that the front teeth in all animals may be adapted to cut, and the back teeth to receive food from them and grind it? To place the mouth, through which animals take in what they desire, near the eyes and the nose? and since what passes off from the stomach is offensive, to turn the channels of it away, and remove them as far as possible from the senses?—can you doubt whether such a disposition of things, made thus apparently with attention, is the result of chance or of intelligence?" 7. "No, indeed," replied Aristodemus, "but to one who looks at those matters in this light,

[1] He flourished about B.C. 520. Another Melanippides, his grandson, lived about sixty years later, at the court of Perdiccas II. of Macedonia.

they appear like the work of some wise maker who studied the welfare of animals?" "And to have engendered in them a love of having offspring, and in mothers a desire to rear their progeny, and to have implanted in the young that are reared a desire of life, and the greatest dread of death?" "Assuredly these appear to be the contrivances of some one who designed that animals should continue to exist."

8. "And do you think that you yourself have any portion of intelligence?" "Question me, at least, and I will answer."[1] "And can you suppose that nothing intelligent exists any where else? When you know that you have in your body but a small portion of the earth, which is vast, and a small portion of the water, which is vast, and that your frame is constituted for you to receive only a small portion of each of other things, that are vast, do you think that you have seized for yourself, by some extraordinary good fortune, intelligence alone which exists nowhere else, and that this assemblage of vast bodies, countless in number, is maintained in order by some thing void of reason?" 9. "By Jupiter, *I can hardly suppose that there is any ruling intelligence among that assemblage of bodies*,[2] for I do not see the directors, as I see the agent of things which are done here." "Nor do you

[1] Ἐρώτα γοῦν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι.] These words are wanting in many editions, though found, as Kühner says, who has replaced them, in all the manuscripts. "As modesty prevented Aristodemus from expressly affirming, and a regard for truth kept him from exactly denying, that he had any intelligence, he answers guardedly and ingeniously, 'Question me and I will answer;' and, when I answer, you will understand that I have in me some portion of intelligence." *Lange.* "Lange, therefore, thinks that Aristodemus did not wish his possession of intelligence to be concluded from the matter of his answer or answers, but from the mere fact of his answering; intimating that he who could give an answer to a question must necessarily be possessed of intellect." *Kühner.* Zeune gives this sense to the passage: "Question me as to other things which necessarily follow from hence, and which you are accustomed to infer from premises of this kind, and you will find me prepared to answer you." The true sense, however, seems to be, "Question me, and judge from my answers whether I ought to be considered as possessed of intellect or not."

[2] The words in italics are supplied according to the sense given to the passage by Kühner, who observes that the expression "By Jupiter," Μὰ Δία, has reference to the first part of the question of Socrates, "can you suppose that nothing intelligent exists any where else?"

see your own soul, which is the director of your body; so that, by like reasoning, you may say that you yourself do nothing with undestanding, but every thing by chance."

10. "However, Socrates," said Aristodemus, "I do not despise the gods, but consider them as too exalted to need my attention." "But," said Socrates, "the more exalted they are, while they deign to attend to you, the more ought you to honor them." 11. "Be assured," replied Aristodemus, "that if I believed the gods took any thought for men, I would not neglect them." "Do you not, then, believe that the gods take thought for men? the gods who, in the first place, have made man alone, of all animals, upright (which uprightness enables him to look forward to a greater distance, and to contemplate better what is above, and renders those parts less liable to injury in which[1] the gods have placed the eyes, and ears, and mouth); and, in the next place, have given to other animals only feet, which merely give them the capacity of walking, while to men they have added hands, which execute most of those things through which we are better off than they. 12. And though all animals have tongues, they have made that of man alone of such a nature, as by touching sometimes one part of the mouth, and sometimes another, to express articulate sounds, and to signify every thing that we wish to communicate one to another. Do you not see too, that to other animals they have so given the pleasures of sexual intercourse as to limit them to a certain season of the year, but that they allow them to us uninterruptedly till extreme old age? 13. Nor did it satisfy the gods to take care of the body merely, but, what is most important of all, they implanted in him the soul, his most excellent part. For what other animal has a soul to understand, first of all, that the gods, who have arranged such a vast and noble order of things, exist? What other species of animal, besides man, offers worship to the gods? What other animal has a mind better fitted than that of man, to guard against hunger or thirst, or cold or heat, or to relieve disease, or to acquire strength by exercise, or to labor to obtain knowledge; or more capable of remembering whatever it has heard, or seen, or learned? 14. Is it not clearly evident to you, that in comparison with

[1] This passage admitted of no satisfactory interpretation till Kühner substituted *οἷς* for *καί*.

other animals, men live like gods, excelling them by nature, both in body and mind? For an animal, having the body of an ox, and the understanding of a man, would be unable to execute what it might meditate; and animals which have hands,[1] but are without reason, have no advantage over others; and do you, who share both these excellent endowments, think that the gods take no thought for you? What then must they do, before you will think that they take thought for you?"[2] 15. "I will think so," observed Aristodemus, "when they send me, as you say that they send to you, monitors, to show what I ought, and what I ought not, to do." "But when they send admonitions to the Athenians, on consulting them by divination, do you not thing that they admonish you also? Or when they give warnings to the Greeks by sending portents, or when they give them to the whole human race, do they except you alone from the whole, and utterly neglect you? 16. Do you suppose, too, that the gods would have engendered a persuasion in men that they are able to benefit or injure them, unless they were really able to do so, and that men, if they had been thus perpetually deluded, would not have become sensible of the delusion? Do you not see that the oldest and wisest of human communities, the oldest and wisest cities and nations, are the most respectful to the gods, and that the wisest age of man is the most observant of their worship? 17. Consider also, my good youth," continued Socrates, "that your mind, existing within your body, directs your body as it pleases; and it becomes you therefore to believe that the intelligence pervading all things directs all things as may be agreeable to it, and not to think that while your eye can extend its sight over many furlongs, that of the divinity[3] is unable to see all things at once, or that while your mind can think of things here, or things in Egypt or Sicily, the mind of the deity is incapable of regarding every

[1] Apes have hands resembling those of men, but are not on that account equal to men in ability. *Schneider.*

[2] Ἀλλ', ὅταν τι ποιήσωσι, νομιεῖς αὐτοὺς σοῦ φροντίζειν;] "But when they have done what, will you think that they care for you?"

[3] Τοῦ θεοῦ.] Xenophon sometimes makes Socrates use the singular, *ὁ θεὸς*, in speaking of the gods. But it is not *hence* to be inferred that he insinuated that there was only one god; for the Greeks frequently used the singular when they might have been expected to use the plural. Compare iv. 3. 14.

thing at the same time. 18. If, however, as you discover, by paying court to men, those who are willing to pay court to you in return, and, by doing favors to men, those who are willing to return your favors, and as, by asking counsel of men, you discover who are wise, you should, in like manner, make trial of the gods by offering worship to them, whether they will advise you concerning matters hidden from man, you will then find that the divinity is of such power, and of such a nature, as to see all things and hear all things at once, to be present every where, and to have a care for all things at the same time.

19. By delivering such sentiments, Socrates seems to me to have led his associates to refrain from what was impious, or unjust, or dishonorable, not merely when they were seen by men, but when they were in solitude, since they would conceive that nothing that they did would escape the knowledge of the gods.

CHAPTER V.

Temperance and self-control recommended: he that is destitute of temperance can be profitable or agreeable neither to himself nor others, sect. 1–4. Without temperance nothing can be learned or done with due effect, 5. Socrates not only encouraged to temperance by precept, but by his example, 6.

1. If temperance, moreover, be an honorable and valuable quality in a man, let us consider whether he at all promoted its observance by reflections of the following kind concerning it. "If, my friends, when a war was coming upon us, we should wish to choose a man by whose exertions we might ourselves be preserved, and might gain the mastery over our enemies, should we select one whom we knew to be unable to resist gluttony, or wine, or sensuality, or fatigue, or sleep? How could we think that such a man would either serve us, or conquer our adversaries? 2. Or if, being at the close of life, we should wish to commit to any one the guardianship of our sons, or the care of our unmarried daughters, or the preservation of our property, should we think an intemperate man worthy of confidence for such purposes? Should we in-

trust to an intemperate slave our herds, our granaries, or the superintendence of our agriculture? Should we be willing to accept such a slave as an agent, or purveyor, even for nothing? 3. But if we would not even accept an intemperate slave, how can it be otherwise than important for every man to take care that he himself does not become such a character? For the intemperate man is not injurious to his neighbor and profitable to himself (like the avaricious, who, by despoiling others of their property, seem to enrich themselves), but, while he is mischievous to others, is still more mischievous to himself, for it is, indeed, mischievous in the highest degree, to ruin not only his family, but his body and mind. 4. In society, too, who could find pleasure in the company of such a man, who, he would be aware, felt more delight in eating and drinking than in intercourse with his friends, and preferred the company of harlots to that of his fellows? Is it not the duty of every man to consider that temperance is the foundation of every virtue, and to establish the observance of it in his mind before all things? 5. For who, without it, can either learn any thing good, or sufficiently practice it? Who, that is a slave to pleasure, is not in an ill condition both as to his body and his mind? It appears to me, by Juno,[1] that a freeman ought to pray that he may never meet with a slave of such a character, and that he who is a slave to pleasure should pray to the gods that he may find well-disposed masters; for by such means only can a man of that sort be saved."

6. While such were the remarks that he made, he proved himself more a friend to temperance by his life than by his words; for he was not only superior to all corporeal pleasures, but also to those attendant on the acquisition of money; thinking that he who received money from any one,[2] set up a master over himself, and submitted to a slavery as disgraceful as any that could be.

[1] Νὴ τὴν Ἥραν.] This mode of swearing, which was commonly used by women, was very frequently adopted by Socrates. See below, iii. 10. 9; 11. 5; iv. 2. 9; 4. 8; Œcon. x. 1; Plato, Phædr. p. 230, B. *Kühner.*

[2] παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος.] From any one that happened to present himself; from any one indiscriminately.

CHAPTER VI.

Three dialogues of Socrates with Antipho. I. Antipho ridicules the poverty and frugality of Socrates, and his forbearance to receive pay for his instructions, sect. 1–3; Socrates replies that, by not receiving remuneration, he is more at liberty to choose his audience, 4, 5; that there are various advantages attendant on plainness of diet and dress, 6, 7; that the frugal man has the advantage over the man of pleasure in facilities for self-improvement, for doing his duty to his country, and for securing general happiness, 8–10. II. Antipho asserts that Socrates might be a just man, but was by no means wise, in accepting no payment, 11, 12; Socrates replies that to sell wisdom is to degrade it, and that more good is gained by the acquisition of friends than of money, 13, 14. III. Antipho asks Socrates why, when he trained others to manage public affairs, he took no part in public affairs himself; Socrates replies that he was of more service to his country by training many to govern it, than he could have been by giving his single aid in the government of it, 15.

1. It is due to Socrates, also, not to omit the dialogues which he held with Antipho the sophist. Antipho, on one occasion, wishing to draw away his associates from him, came up to Socrates when they were present, and said, 2. "I thought, Socrates, that those who studied philosophy were to become happier than other men; but you seem to have reaped from philosophy fruits of an opposite kind; at least you live in a way in which no slave would continue to live with his master; you eat food, and drink drink, of the worst kind; you wear a dress, not only bad, but the same both summer and winter, and you continue shoeless and coatless.[1] 3. Money, which cheers men when they receive it, and enables those who possess it to live more generously and pleasantly, you do not take; and if, therefore, as teachers in other professions make their pupils imitate themselves, you also shall produce a similar effect on your followers, you must consider yourself but a teacher of wretchedness." 4. Socrates, in reply to these

[1] *'Ανυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων.*] On the *ἀνυποδησίᾳ* of Socrates, see Forster on Plato Phædon. p. 64, D.; and the commentators on Aristoph. Nub. 103, 362, and on Plato Phædr. p. 229, A. *Kühner.* By *ἀχίτων* is not to be understood that Socrates had covered his bare body only with his cloak, but that he wore only the inner tunic, *ὑπενδύτης*, not having the upper, *ἐπενδύτης*, which they called the tunic *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, [illegible] those who were without it *ἀχίτωνας*, as Salmasius has fully [illegible] Tertullian, de Pallio, p. 70, *seq.* and 400, *seq.* *Ernesti.*

remarks, said, "You seem to me, Antipho, to have conceived a notion that I live so wretchedly, that I feel persuaded you yourself would rather choose to die than pass your life as I pass mine. Let us then consider what it is that you find disagreeable in my mode of life. 5. Is it that while others, who receive money, must perform the service for which they receive it, while I, who receive none, am under no necessity to discourse with any one that I do not like? Or do you despise my way of living, on the supposition that I eat less wholesome or less strengthening food than yourself? Or is it that my diet is more difficult to procure than yours, as being more rare and expensive? Or is it that what you procure for yourself is more agreeable to you than what I provide for myself is to me? Do you not know that he who eats with the most pleasure is he who less requires sauce, and that he who drinks with the greatest pleasure is he who least desires other drink than that which he has? 6. You know that those who change their clothes, change them because of cold and heat, and that men put on sandals that they may not be prevented from walking through annoyances to the feet; but have you ever observed me remaining at home, on account of cold, more than any other man, or fighting with any one for shade because of heat, or not walking wherever I please because my feet suffer? 7. Do you not know that those who are by nature the weakest, become, by exercising their bodies, stronger in those things in which they exercise them, than those who neglect them, and bear the fatigue of exercise with greater ease? And do you not think that I, who am constantly preparing my body by exercise to endure whatever may happen to it, bear every thing more easily than you who take no exercise? 8. And to prevent me from being a slave to gluttony, or sleep, or other animal gratifications, can you imagine any cause more efficient than having other objects of attention more attractive than they, which not only afford pleasure in the moment of enjoying them, but give hopes that they will benefit me perpetually? You are aware of this also, that those who think themselves successful in nothing, are far from being cheerful, but that those who regard their agriculture, their seamanship, or whatever other occupation they pursue, as going on favorably for them, are delighted as with present success? 9. But do you think that from all these

gratifications so much pleasure can arise as from the consciousness that you are growing better yourself, and are acquiring more valuable friends? Such is the consciousness, then, which I continue to enjoy.

"But if there should be occasion to assist our friends or our country, which of the two would have most leisure to attend to such objects, he who lives as I live now, or he who lives, as you think, in happiness? Which of the two would most readily seek the field of battle, he who can not exist without expensive dishes, or he who is content with whatever comes before him? Which of the two would sooner be reduced by a siege, he who requires what is most difficult to be found, or he who is fully content with what is easiest to be met with? 10. You, Antipho, seem to think that happiness consists in luxury and extravagance; but I think that to want nothing is to resemble the gods, and that to want as little as possible is to make the nearest approach to the gods; that the Divine nature is perfection, and that to be nearest to the Divine nature is to be nearest to perfection."

11. On another occasion, Antipho, in a conversation with Socrates, said, "I consider you indeed to be a just man, Socrates, but by no means a wise one; and you appear to me yourself to be conscious of this; for you ask money from no one for the privilege of associating with you; although, if you considered a garment of yours, or a house, or any other thing that you possess, to be worth money, you would not only not give it to any body for nothing, but you would not take less than its full value for it. 12. It is evident, therefore, that if you thought your conversation to be worth any thing, you would demand for it no less remuneration than it is worth. You may, accordingly, be a just man, because you deceive nobody from covetousness, but wise you can not be, as you have no knowledge that is of any value." 13. Socrates, in reply, said, "It is believed among us, Antipho, that it is possible to dispose of beauty, or of wisdom, alike honorably or dishonorably;[1] for if a person sells his beauty for money

[1] *Νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι.*] The sense seems to be, that it is alike honorable or dishonorable to dispose of beauty (in a certain way) and to dispose of wisdom (in a certain way): *i. e.*, that there is a certain way of disposing of beauty honorably, and a certain way of disposing of it dis-

to any one that wishes to purchase, men call him a male prostitute; but if any one makes a friend of a person whom he knows to be an honorable and worthy admirer, we regard him as prudent: and, in like manner, those who sell their wisdom for money, to any that will buy, men call sophists, or, as it were, prostituters of wisdom; but whoever makes a friend of a person whom he knows to be deserving, by teaching him all the good that he knows, we consider him to act the part which becomes an honorable and good citizen. 14. As any other man, therefore, Antipho, takes delight in a good horse, or dog, or bird, so I, to a still greater degree, take delight in valuable friends; and, if I know any thing good, I communicate it to them, and recommend them, also, to any other teachers by whom I conceive that they will be at all advanced in virtue. The treasures, too, of the wise men of old, which they have left written in books, I turn over and peruse in company with my friends, and if we find any thing good in them, we remark it, and think it a great gain, if we thus become more attached[1] to one another." To me, who heard him utter these sentiments, Socrates appeared to be both happy himself, and to lead those that listened to him to honor and virtue.

15. Again, when Antipho asked him how he imagined that he could make men skillful statesmen, when he himself took no part in state affairs, if indeed he knew any thing of them, "In which of the two ways," said he, "Antipho, should I better promote the management of affairs; if I myself engage in them alone, or if I make it my care that as many as possible may be qualified to engage in them?"

honorably, and that the same is the case with regard to wisdom, or talent. My translation is much the same as the Latin of Schneider. *Apud nos existimatur eodem modo posse aliquem et formâ et sapientiâ vel honestè vel turpiter uti.*

[1] Φίλοι γιγνώμεθα.] For φίλοι Ernesti substituted from one manuscript ὠφέλιμοι, which Kühner stigmatizes as "apertum glossema," and restores the old φίλοι, with the comment, "Si nos jam antea amicitiæ vinculis constricti, etiam horum studiorum communione cari ac dilecti fiamus." I have rendered φίλοι by the comparative degree, but think Ernesti's correction far more eligible.

CHAPTER VII.

Dissuasions from ostentation. He that desires to be distinguished, should endeavor to be what he would wish to seem. He that pretends to be what he is not, exposes himself to great inconvenience and ridicule, and may bring disgrace and detriment on his country.

1. Let us consider also, whether, by dissuading his followers from ostentation he excited them to pursue vitrtue. He always used to say that there was no better road to honorable distinction, than that by which a person should become excellent in that in which he wished to appear excellent.

2. That he said what was just, he used to prove by the following arguments. "Let us consider," he would say, "what a person must do, if, not being a good flute-player, he should wish to appear so? Must he not imitate good flute-players in the adjuncts of their art? In the first place, as flute-players procure fine dresses, and go about with a great number of attendants, he must act in a similar manner; and as many people applaud them, he must get many to applaud him; yet he must never attempt to play, or he will at once be shown to be ridiculous, and not only a bad flute-player, but a vain boaster. Thus, after having been at great expense without the least benefit, and having, in addition, incurred evil repute, how will he live otherwise than in uneasiness, unprofitableness, and derision?

3. "In like manner, if any one should wish to be thought a good general, or a good steersman of a ship, without being so, let us reflect what would be his success. If, when he longed to seem capable of performing the duties of those characters, he should be unable to persuade others of his capability, would not this be a trouble to him? and, if he should persuade them of it, would it not be still more unfortunate for him? For it is evident that he who is appointed to steer a vessel, or to lead an army, without having the necessary knowledge, would be likely to destroy those[1] whom he would not wish to destroy, and would come off himself with disgrace and suffering."

4. By similar examples he showed that it was of no profit

[1] His friends, and such as he would wish to applaud him

for a man to appear rich, or valiant, or strong, without being so; for he said that demands were made upon such persons too great for their ability, and that, not being able to comply with them, when they seemed to be able, they met with no indulgence.

5. He called him, also, no small impostor, who, obtaining money or furniture from his neighbor by persuasion, should defraud him; but pronounced him the greatest of all imposters, who, possessed of no valuable qualifications, should deceive men by representing himself capable of governing his country. To me he appeared, by discoursing in this manner, to deter his associates from vain boasting.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Socrates, suspecting that Aristippus, a man of pleasure, was aspiring to a place in the government, admonishes him that temperance is an essential qualification in a statesman, sect. 1–7. But as Aristippus says that he looked only to a life of leisure and tranquil enjoyment, Socrates introduces the question, whether those who govern, or those who are governed, live the happier life, 8–10. Aristippus signifies that he wished neither to govern nor to be governed, but to enjoy liberty; and Socrates shows that such liberty as he desired is inconsistent with the nature of human society, 11–13. Aristippus still adhering to his own views, and declaring his intention not to remain in any one country, but to visit and sojourn in many, Socrates shows him the dangers of such a mode of life, 14–16. But as Aristippus proceeds to accuse those of folly who prefer a life of toil in the affairs of government to a life of ease, Socrates shows the difference between those who labor voluntarily, and those who labor from compulsion, and observes that nothing good is given to mortals without labor, 17–20; in illustration of which remark he relates the fable of Prodicus, THE CHOICE OF HERCULES, 21–34

1. HE appeared also to me, by such discourses as the following, to exhort his hearers to practice temperance in their desires for food, drink, sensual gratification, and sleep, and endurance of cold, heat, and labor. But finding that one of his associates was too intemperately disposed with regard to such matters, he said to him, "Tell me, Aristippus,[1] if it were

[1] Aristippus of Cyrene, the founder of the Cyrenaic sect of philosophers,

required of you to take two of our youths and educate them, the one in such a manner that he would be qualified to govern, and the other in such a manner that he would never seek to govern, how would you train them respectively? Will you allow us to consider the matter by commencing with their food, as with the first principles?" "Food, indeed," replied Aristippus, "appears to me one of the first principles; for a person could not even live if he were not to take food." 2. "It will be natural for them both, then," said Socrates, "to desire to partake of food when a certain hour comes." "It will be natural," said Aristippus. "And which of the two, then," said Socrates, "should we accustom to prefer the discharge of any urgent business to the gratification of his appetite?" "The one, undoubtedly," rejoined Aristippus, "who is trained to rule, that the business of the state may not be neglected during his administration." "And on the same person," continued Socrates, "we must, when they desire to drink, impose the duty of being able to endure thirst?" "Assuredly," replied Aristippus. 3. "And on which of the two should we lay the necessity of being temperate in sleep, so as to be able to go to rest late, to rise early, or to remain awake if it should be necessary?" "Upon the same, doubtless. "And on which of the two should we impose the obligation to control his sensual appetites, that he may not be hindered by their influence from discharging whatever duty may be required of him?" "Upon the same." "And on which of the two should we enjoin the duty of not shrinking from labor, but willingly submitting to it?" "This also, is to be enjoined on him who is trained to rule." "And to which of the two would it more properly belong to acquire whatever knowledge would assist him to secure the mastery over his rivals?" "Far more, doubtless, to him who is trained to govern, for without such sort of acquirements there would be no profit in any of his other qualifications." 4. "A man, then, who is thus instructed, would appear to you less liable to be surprised by his enemies, than other animals, of which some, we know, are caught by their greediness; and others, though very shy, are yet attracted to the bait by their desire to swallow it, and consequently taken; while others

who thought pleasure the greatest good, and pain the greatest evil. See b. iii. ch. 8.

also are entrapped by drink." "Indisputably," replied Aristippus. "Are not others, too, caught through their salaciousness, as quails and partridges, which, being attracted to the call of the female by desire and hope of enjoyment, and losing all consideration of danger, fall into traps?" To this Aristippus expressed his assent. 5. "Does it not then," proceeded Socrates, "appear to you shameful for a man to yield to the same influence as the most senseless of animals; as adulterers, for instance, knowing that the adulterer is in danger of suffering what the law threatens, and of being watched, and disgraced if caught, yet enter into closets; and, though there are such dangers and dishonors hanging over the intriguer, and so many occupations that will free him from the desire of sensual gratification, does it not seem to you the part of one tormented with an evil genius, to run, nevertheless, into imminent peril?" "It does not seem so to me," said Aristippus. 6. "And since the greater part of the most necessary employments of life, such as those of war and agriculture, and not a few others, are to be carried on in the open air, does it not appear to you to show great negligence, that the majority of mankind should be wholy unexercised to bear cold and heat?" Aristippus replied in the affirmative. "Does it not then appear to you that we ought to train him who is intended to rule, to bear these inconveniences also without difficulty?" "Doubtless," answered Aristippus. 7. "If, therefore, we class those capable of enduring these things among those who are qualified to govern, shall we not class such as are incapable of enduring them among those who will not even aspire to govern?" Aristippus expressed his assent. "In conclusion, then, since you know the position of each of these classes of men, have you ever considered in which of them you can reasonably place yourself?" 8. "I have indeed," said Aristippus, "and I by no means place myself in the class of those desiring to rule; for it appears to me that, when it is a task of great difficulty to procure necessaries for one's self, it is the mark of a very foolish man not to be satisfied with that occupation,[1] but to add to it the labor of procuring for his fellow-countrymen whatever they need. And is it not the

[1] Μὴ ἀρκεῖν τοῦτο.] That is, τοῦτο μὴ ἀρκεῖν αὐτῷ, "that that occupation should not be sufficient for him;" should not content him.

greatest folly in him, that while many things which he desires are out of his reach, he should, by setting himself at the head of the state, subject himself, if he does not accomplish all that the people desire, to be punished for his failure? 9. For the people think it right to use their governors as I use my slaves; for I require my slaves to supply me with the necesseries of life in abundance, but to take no part of them themselves; and the people think it the duty of their governors to supply them with as many enjoyments as possible, but themselves to abstain from all of them. Those, therefore, who wish to have much trouble themselves, and to give trouble to others,[1] I would train in this manner, and rank among those qualified to govern; but myself I would number with those who wish to pass their lives in the greatest possible ease and pleasure."

10. Socrates then said, "Will you allow us to consider this point also, whether the governors or the governed live with the greater pleasure?" "By all means," said Aristippus. "In the first place, then, of the nations of which we have any knowledge, the Persians bear rule in Asia, and the Syrians, Phrygians, and Lydians are under subjection; the Scythians govern in Europe, and the Mæotians[2] are held in subjection; the Carthaginians rule in Africa, and the Libyans are under subjection. Which of these do you regard as living with the greater pleasure? Or among the Greeks, of whom you yourself are, which of the two appear to you to live more happily, those who rule, or those who are in subjection?" 11. "Yet, on the other hand,"[3] said Aristippus, "I do not consign myself to slavery; but there appears to me to be a certain middle path between the two, in which I endeavor to pro-

[1] He that holds the reins of government, must not only undergo much toil and trouble himself, but must also enjoin many tasks and duties on others, and incite them to exertion and industry. * * * With this passage of Xenophon may aptly be compared what the Corinthians say of the Athenians in Thucydides, i. 70: "If any one should say, in a word, that they are formed by nature neither to enjoy quiet themselves, nor to suffer others to enjoy it, he would speak of them rightly." *Kühner.*

[2] The people bordering on the lake Mæotis, which was in Sarmatia Europæa, and is now called the Sea of Azov. *Kühner.*

[3] Αὖ.] Compare sect. 8, where Aristippus says that he does not rank himself among those who wish to rule; here he states that, *on the other hand*, he does not wish to be a slave.

ceed, and which leads, not through slavery, but through liberty, a path that most surely conducts to happiness." 12. "If this path of yours, indeed," said Socrates, "as it lies neither through sovereignty nor servitude, did not also lie through human society, what you say would perhaps be worth consideration; but if, while living among mankind, you shall neither think proper to rule nor to be ruled, and shall not willingly pay respect to those in power, I think that you will see that the stronger know how to treat the weaker as slaves, making them to lament both publicly and privately. 13. Do those escape your knowledge who fell and destroy the corn and trees of others that have sown and planted them, and who assail in every way such as are inferior to them, and are unwilling to flatter them, until they prevail on them to prefer slavery to carrying on war against their superiors? In private life, too, do you not see that the spirited and strong enslave the timorous and weak, and enjoy the fruits of their labors?" "But for my part," answered Aristippus, "in order that I may not suffer such treatment, I shall not shut myself up in any one state, but shall be a traveler every where." 14. "Doubtless," rejoined Socrates, "this is an admirable plan that you propose; for since Sinnis, and Sciron, and Procrustes[1] were killed, nobody injures travelers. Yet those who manage the government in their several countries, even now make laws, in order that they may not be injured, and attach to themselves, in addition to such as are called their necessary connections, other supporters; they also surround their cities with ramparts, and procure weapons with which they may repel aggressors, securing, besides all these means of defense, other allies from abroad; and yet those who have provided themselves with all these bulwarks, nevertheless suffer injury; 15. and do you, having no protection of the sort, spending a long time on roads on which a very great number are outraged, weaker than all the inhabitants of whatever city you may arrive at, and being such a character[2] as those who are

[1] Celebrated robbers, put to death by Theseus. This is a pleasant irony, says Weiske, in the remark of Socrates: though Sinnis, Sciron, and Procrustes no longer rob on the highways, yet there is no lack of successors to them.

[2] A person without any settled abode, without friends or supporters; not under the protection of any particular state, but wandering from one state to another. *Kühner.*

eager to commit violence most readily attack, think, nevertheless, that you will not be wronged because you are a stranger? Or are you without fear, because these cities proclaim safety to any one arriving or departing? Or because you think that you would prove a slave of such a character as would profit no master, for who, you perhaps ask yourself, would wish to keep in his house a man not at all disposed to labor, and delighting in the most expensive fare? 16. But let us consider how masters treat slaves of such a sort. Do they not tame down their fondness for dainties by hunger? Do they not hinder them from stealing by excluding them from every place from whence they may take any thing? Do they not prevent them from running away by putting fetters on them? Do they not overcome their laziness with stripes? Or how do you yourself act, when you find any one of your slaves to be of such a disposition?" 17. "I chastise him," said Aristippus, "with every kind of punishment, until I compel him to serve me. But how do those, Socrates, who are trained to the art of ruling, which you seem to me to consider as happiness, differ from those who undergo hardships from necessity, since they will have (though it be with their own consent) to endure hunger, and thirst, and cold, and want of sleep, and suffer all other inconveniences of the same kind? 18. For I, for my own part, do not know what difference it makes to a man who is scourged on the same skin, whether it be voluntarily or involuntarily, or, in short, to one who suffers with the same body in all such points, whether he suffer with his consent or against it, except that folly is to be attributed to him who endures troubles voluntarily." "What then, Aristippus," said Socrates, "do not voluntary endurances of this kind seem to you to differ from the involuntary, inasmuch as he who is hungry from choice may eat when he pleases, and he who is thirsty from choice may drink when he pleases, the same being the case with regard to other voluntary sufferings, while he who endures such hardships from necessity has no liberty to relieve himself from them when he wishes? Besides, he who undergoes trouble willingly, is cheered in undergoing it with some expectation of good, as the hunters of wild animals bear fatigue with pleasure in the hope of capturing them. 19. And such rewards of toil are indeed but of small worth; but as for those who

toil that they may acquire valuable friends, or that they may subdue their enemies, or they may, by becoming vigorous in body and mind, manage their own household judiciously, and be of service to their friends and of advantage to their country, how can you think that they labor for such objects otherwise than cheerfully, or that they do not live in happiness, esteeming themselves, and being praised and envied by others? 20. But indolence, moreover, and pleasures enjoyed at the moment of desire,[1] are neither capable of producing a good constitution of body, as the teachers of gymnastic exercises say, nor do they bring to the mind any knowledge worthy of consideration;[2] but exercises pursued with persevering labor lead men to the attainment of honorable and valuable objects, as worthy men inform us; and Hesiod somewhere says,

> Vice it is possible to find in abundance and with ease; for the way to it is smooth, and lies very near. But before the temple of Virtue the immortal gods have placed labor, and the way to it is long and steep, and at the commencement rough; but when the traveler has arrived at the summit, it then becomes easy, however difficult it was at first.[3]

A sentiment to which Epicharmus gives his testimony in this verse,

> The gods for labor sell us all good things;

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[1] Ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἡδοναί.] The interpretation of this phrase given in the text is that which is adopted by Kühner: *Voluptates ejusmodi, quas, ubi concupiveris, statim, utpote sine ullo labore parabiles, percipere liceat;* an interpretation taken from Ernesti. But the expression often seems to signify nothing more than what we mean by "present pleasures;" as in Cyrop. i. 5. 9; ii. 2. 24; so Schneider understands *eas voluptates quæ statim percipiuntur, et quarum usus breve tempus durat*, with Heindorf. ad Plat. Protag. p. 353.

[2] Ἐπιστήμην ἀξιόλογον οὐδεμίαν.] Ἀξιόλογον is very properly added; for it can not be said that αἱ παραυτίκα ἡδοναὶ convey *no knowledge* to the mind; for who can deny that from listening to music, contemplating pictures, and other pleasures of that kind, *some knowledge* may be gained? *Kühner.*

[3] Choose Sin, by troops she shall beside thee stand;
Smooth is the track, her mansion is at hand:
Where Virtue dwells the gods have placed before
The dropping sweat that springs from every pore;
And ere the foot can reach her high abode,
Long, rugged, steep th' ascent, and rough the road:
The ridge once gain'd, the path so hard of late
Runs easy on, and level to the gate. *Elton.*

and in another place he says,

> O wretched mortal, desire not what is soft, lest you find what is hard.

21. Prodicus the sophist,[1] also, in his narrative concerning Hercules,[2] which indeed he declaims to most people as a specimen of his ability, expresses a similar notion respecting virtue, speaking, as far as I remember, to the following effect: For he says that Hercules, when he was advancing from boyhood to manhood, a period at which the young, becoming their own masters, begin to give intimations whether they will enter on life by the path of virtue or that of vice, went forth into a solitary place, and sat down, perplexed as to which of these two paths he should pursue; 22. and that two female figures, of lofty stature, seemed to advance toward him, the one of an engaging and graceful mien, gifted by nature with elegance of form, modesty of look, and sobriety of demeanor,[3] and clad in a white robe; the other fed to plumpness and softness, but assisted by art both in her complexion, so as to seem fairer and rosier than she really was, and in her gesture, so as to seem taller than her natural height; she had her eyes wide open,[4] and a robe through which her beauty would readily show itself; she frequently contemplated her figure, and looked about to see if any one else was observing her; and she frequently glanced back at her own shadow. 23. As

[1] Ὁ σοφός.] Sturz and others consider σοφός, in this passage, to be the same as σοφιστής; but there seems no particular reason why it should not be rendered *the wise*. "On Prodicus, the famous sophist of Ceos, there is an excellent note of Beierus ad Cic. Off. i. 32. See Cobet, Prosop. Xen. p. 35. C. Fr. Hermann, in his *Disp. de Socr. Magistris*, Marb. 1837, p. 49, *seq.*, judiciously shows that those are mistaken who think that Prodicus was a teacher of Socrates." *Kühner.*

[2] There is an allusion to this fable in Cic. de Off. i. 32. It has been versified in English, with much elegance, though rather verbosely, by Bishop Lowth.

[3] Κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαριότητι, κ. τ. λ.] "Adorned as to her person with elegance, as to her eyes with modesty, and as to her gesture with sobriety." The reading καθαριότητι is properly preferred by Kühner to καθαρότητι, the first meaning *elegance* or *gracefulness*, the second, *purity*.

[4] Ἀναπεπταμένα.] "Wide open," says Kühner, is equivalent to "looking or staring boldly," in opposition to "modestly cast down."

they approached nearer to Hercules, she, whom I first described, came forward at the same pace, but the other, eager to get before her, ran up to Hercules, and exclaimed, "I see that you are hesitating, Hercules, by what path you shall enter upon life; if, then, you make a friend of me, I will conduct you by the most delightful and easy road, and you shall taste of every species of pleasure, and lead a life free from every sort of trouble. 24. In the first place, you shall take no thought of wars or state affairs, but shall pass your time considering what meat or drink you may find to gratify your appetite, what you may delight yourself by seeing or hearing, what you may be pleased with smelling or touching, with what objects of affection you may have most pleasure in associating, how you may sleep most softly, and how you may secure all these enjoyments with the least degree of trouble. 25. If an apprehension of want of means, by which such delights may be obtained, should ever arise in you, there is no fear that I shall urge you to procure them by toil or suffering either of body or mind; but you shall enjoy what others acquire by labor, abstaining from nothing by which it may be possible to profit, for I give my followers liberty to benefit themselves from any source whatever."

26. Hercules, on hearing this address, said, "And what, O, woman, is your name?" "My friends," she replied, "call me Happiness, but those who hate me, give me, to my disparagement, the name of Vice."

27. In the mean time the other female approached, and said, "I also am come to address you, Hercules, because I know your parents, and have observed your disposition in the training of your childhood, from which I entertain hopes, that if you direct your steps along the path that leads to my dwelling, you will become an excellent performer of whatever is honorable and noble, and that I shall appear more honorable and attractive through your illustrious deeds. I will not deceive you, however, with promises of pleasure, but will set before you things as they really are, and as the gods have appointed them; 28. for of what is valuable and excellent, the gods grant nothing to mankind without labor and care; and if you wish the gods, therefore, to be propitious to you, you must worship the gods; if you seek to be beloved by your friends, you must serve your friends; if you desire to be

honored by any city, you must benefit that city; if you long to be admired by all Greece for your merit, you must endeavor to be of advantage to all Greece; if you are anxious that the earth should yield you abundance of fruit, you must cultivate the earth; if you think that you should enrich yourself from herds of cattle, you must bestow care upon herds of cattle; if you are eager to increase your means by war, and to secure freedom to your friends and subdue your enemies, you must learn the arts of war, and learn them from such as understand them, and practice how to use them with advantage; or if you wish to be vigorous in body, you must accustom your body to obey your mind, and exercise it with toil and exertion."

29. Here Vice, interrupting her speech said, (as Prodicus relates), "Do you see, Hercules, by how difficult and tedious a road this woman conducts you to gratification, while I shall lead you, by an easy and short path, to perfect happiness?"

30. "Wretched being," rejoined Virtue, "of what good are you in possession? Or what real pleasure do you experience, when you are unwilling to do any thing for the attainment of it? You, who do not even wait for the natural desire of gratification, but fill yourself with all manner of dainties before you have an appetite for them, eating before you are hungry, drinking before you are thirsty, procuring cooks that you may eat with pleasure, buying costly wines that you may drink with pleasure, and running about seeking for snow[1] in summer; while, in order to sleep with pleasure, you prepare not only soft beds,[2] but couches, and rockers under your

[1] "To cool wine; for they deposited snow and ice in pits for such purposes. See notes on Athen. iii. p. 124; Plin. H. N. ix. 4; Aul. Gell. xix. 5; Macrob. Sat. vii. 12." *Schneider*. See Wyttenbach ad Plutarch. Præcept. Sanit. p. 809. *Bornemann*.

[2] Στρωμνάς.] Properly, couches or beds spread on the ground. With these the luxurious were not content, but prepared for themselves *κλίναι*, or couches with legs, to which they afterward added *ὑπόβαθρα*, rockers or rollers. "Commentators used to interpret *ὑπόβαθρα*, *carpets spread under the feet of couches*, referring to Cyrop. viii. 8. 16; but the true signification of the word has been very learnedly made clear by Schneider from three passages of Antyllus in Fragm. Medicorum. ed. Oribas. ed. Matthæi, p. 114, 170, 172; from which it appears that the *ὑπόβαθρα* were *fulcra diagonalia*, diagonal props, put under the feet of couches, in order that a *σεισμὸς* or rocking might be produced. The effect, as he observes, would be the same as that of suspended cradles." *Kühner*.

couches, for you do not desire sleep in consequence of labor, but in consequence of having nothing to do; you force the sensual inclinations before they require gratification, using every species of contrivance for the purpose, and abusing male and female; for thus it is that you treat your friends, insulting their modesty at night, and making them sleep away the most useful part of their day. 31. Though you are one of the immortal, you are cast out from the society of the gods, and despised by the good among mankind; the sweetest of all sounds, the praises of yourself,[1] you have never heard, nor have you ever seen the most pleasing of all sights, for you have never beheld one meritorious work of your own hand. Who would believe you when you give your word for any thing? Or who would assist you when in need of any thing? Or who, that has proper feeling, would venture to join your company of revelers? for while they are young they grow impotent in body, and when they are older they are impotent in mind; they live without labor, and in fatness, through their youth, and pass laboriously, and in wretchedness, through old age; ashamed of what they have done, oppressed with what they have to do, having run through their pleasures in early years, and laid up afflictions for the close of life. 32. But I am the companion of the gods; I associate with virtuous men; no honorable deed, divine or human, is done without me; I am honored, most of all, by the deities, and by those among men to whom it belongs to honor me, being a welcome co-operator with artisans, a faithful household guardian to masters, a benevolent assistant to servants, a benign promoter of the labors of peace, a constant auxiliary to the efforts of war, an excellent sharer in friendship. 33. My friends have a sweet and untroubled enjoyment of meat and drink, for they refrain from them till they feel an appetite. They have also sweeter sleep than the idle; and are neither annoyed if they lose a portion of it, nor neglect to do their duties for the sake of it. The young are pleased with praises from the old; the old are delighted with honors from the young. They remember their former acts with pleasure,

[1] "It is said that Themistocles, when he was asked what *acroama*, or whose voice, he would hear with most pleasure, replied, 'The voice of him by whom his merits would be best set forth.'" Cicero Pro Archiâ, c. 9.

and rejoice to perform their present occupations with success; being, through my influence, dear to the gods, beloved by their friends, and honored by their country. And when the destined end of life comes, they do not lie in oblivion and dishonor, but, celebrated with songs of praise, flourish forever in the memory of mankind. By such a course of conduct, O Hercules, son of noble parents, you may secure the most exalted happiness."

34. Nearly thus it was that Prodicus related the instruction of Hercules by Virtue; adorning the sentiments, however, with far more magnificent language than that in which I now give them. It becomes you, therefore, Aristippus, reflecting on these admonitions, to endeavor to think of what concerns the future period of your life.

CHAPTER II.

A dialogue between Socrates and his son Lamprocles, who had expressed resentment against his mother, on the duty of children to their parents. The ungrateful are to be deemed unjust, sect. 1, 2. The greater benefits a person has received, the more unjust is he if he is ungrateful; and there are no greater benefits than those which children experience from their parents, 3–6. Hence it follows that a son ought to reverence his mother, though she be severe, when he knows that her severity proceeds from kind motives, 7–12. How great a crime the neglect of filial duty is, appears from the fact that it is punished by the laws and execrated by mankind, 13, 14.

1. Having learned, one day, that Lamprocles, the eldest[1] of his sons, had exhibited anger against his mother, "Tell me, my son," said he, "do you know that certain persons are called ungrateful?" "Certainly," replied the youth. "And do you understand how it is they act that men give them this appellation?" "I do," said Lamprocles, "for it is those that have received a kindness, and that do not make a return when they are able to make one, whom they call ungrateful." "They then appear to you to class the ungrateful with the unjust?" "I think so." 2. "And have you ever considered whether, as it is thought unjust to make slaves of our friends, but just to

[1] Socrates had three sons, Lamprocles, Sophroniscus, and Menexenus. See Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 57. *Kühner.*

make slaves of our enemies, so it is unjust to be ungrateful toward our friends, but just to be so toward our enemies?" "I certainly have," answered Lamprocles, "and from whomsoever a man receives a favor, whether friend or enemy, and does not endeavor to make a return for it, he is in my opinion unjust."

3. "If such, then, be the case," pursued Socrates, "ingratitude must be manifest injustice?" Lamprocles expressed his assent. "The greater benefits, therefore, a person has received, and makes no return, the more unjust he must be." He assented to this position also. "Whom, then," asked Socrates, "can we find receiving greater benefits from any persons than children receive from their parents? children whom their parents have brought from non-existence into existence, to view so many beautiful objects, and to share in so many blessings, as the gods grant to men; blessings which appear to us so inestimable, that we shrink, in the highest degree, from relinquishing them; and governments have made death the penalty for the most heinous crimes, in the supposition that they could not suppress injustice by the terror of any greater evil. 4. You do not, surely, suppose that men beget children merely to gratify their passions, since the streets are full, as well as the brothels, of means to allay desire; but what we evidently consider, is, from what sort of women the finest[1] children may be born to us, and, uniting with them, we beget children. 5. The man maintains her who joins with him to produce offspring, and provides, for the children that are likely to be born to him, whatever he thinks will conduce to their support, in as great abundance as he can; while the woman receives and bears the burden, oppressed and endangering her life, and imparting a portion of the nutriment with which she herself is supported; and, at length, after bearing it the full time, and bringing it forth with great pain, she suckles and cherishes it, though she has received no previous benefit from it, nor does the infant know by whom it is tended, nor is it able to signify what it wants, but she, conjecturing what will nourish and please it, tries to satisfy his calls, and feeds it for a long time, both night and day, submitting to the trouble

[1] Βέλτιστα.] Kühner interprets this word *robustissima*; but it is better to understand it as meaning good it every way; excellent in shape, vigor, health, and understanding.

and not knowing what return she will receive for it. 6. Nor does it satisfy the parents merely to feed their offspring, but as soon as the children appear capable of learning any thing, they teach them whatever they know that may be of use for their conduct in life; and whatever they consider another more capable of communicating than themselves, they send their sons to him at their own expense, and take care to adopt every course that their children may be as much improved as possible."

7. Upon this the young man said, "But, even if she has done all this, and many times more than this, no one, assuredly, could endure her ill-humor." "And which do you think," asked Socrates, "more difficult to be endured, the ill-humor of a wild beast, or that of a mother?" "I think," replied Lamprocles, "that of a mother, at least of such a mother as mine is." "Has she ever then inflicted any hurt upon you, by biting or kicking you, as many have often suffered from wild beasts?" 8. "No; but, by Jupiter, she says such things as no one would endure to hear for the value of all that he possesses." "And do you reflect," returned Socrates, "how much grievous trouble you have given her by your peevishness, by voice and by action, in the day and in the night, and how much anxiety you have caused her when you were ill?" "But I have never said or done any thing to her," replied Lamprocles, "at which she could feel ashamed." 9. "Do you think it, then," inquired Socrates, "a more difficult thing for you to to listen to what she says, than for actors to listen when they utter the bitterest reproaches against one another in tragedies?" "But actors, I imagine, endure such reproaches easily, because they do not think that, of the speakers, the one who utters reproaches, utters them with intent to do harm, or that the one who utters threats, utters them with any evil purpose." "Yet you are displeased at your mother, although you will know that whatever she says, she not only says nothing with intent to do you harm, but that she wishes you more good than any other human being. Or do you suppose that your mother meditates evil toward you?" "No, indeed," said Lamprocles, "that I do not imagine." 10. "Do you then say that this mother," rejoined Socrates, "who is so benevolent to you, who, when you are ill, takes care of you, to the utmost of her power, that you may recover your health,

and that you may want nothing that is necessary for you, and who, besides, entreats the gods for many blessings on your head, and pays vows for you, is a harsh mother? For my part, I think that if you can not endure such a mother, you can not endure any thing that is good? 11. But tell me," continued he, "whether you think that you ought to pay respect to any other human being, or whether you are resolved to try to please nobody, and to follow or obey neither a general nor any other commander?" No, indeed," replied Lamprocles, "I have formed no such resolutions." 12. "Are you then willing," inquired Socrates, "to cultivate the good-will of your neighbor, that he may kindle a fire for you when you want it, or aid you in obtaining some good, or, if you happen to meet with any misfortune, may assist you with willing and ready help?" "I am," replied he. "Or would it make no difference," rejoined Socrates, whether a fellow-traveler, or a fellow-voyager, or any other person that you met with, should be your friend or enemy? Or do you think that you ought to cultivate their good-will?" "I think that I ought," replied Lamprocles. 13. "You are then prepared," returned Socrates, "to pay attention to such persons; and do you think that you ought to pay no respect to your mother, who loves you more than any one else? Do you not know that the state takes no account of any other species of ingratitude, nor allows any action at law for it, overlooking such as receive a favor and make no return for it, but that if a person does not pay due regard to his parents, it imposes a punishment on him,[1] rejects his services, and does not allow him to hold the archonship, considering that such a person can not piously perform the sacrifices offered for the country, or discharge any other duty with propriety and justice. Indeed, if any one does not keep up the sepulchers of his dead parents, the state inquires into it in the examinations of candidates for office. 14. You therefore, my son, if you are wise, will entreat the gods to pardon you if you have been wanting in respect toward your mother, lest, regarding you as an ungrateful person, they should be disinclined to do you good; and you will have regard, also,

[1] Concerning the law against disrespect to parents, or ill treatment of them, see Meier and Schoemann, Att Proc. iii. 1, p. 288; and C. F. Hermann, Gr. Staats-alterthümer, sect. 133, 11, p. 254. *Kühner*.

to the opinion of men, lest, observing you to be neglectful of your parents, they should all condemn you, and you should then be found destitute of friends; for if men surmise that you are ungrateful toward your parents, no one will believe that if he does you a kindness he will meet with gratitude in return.

CHAPTER III.

Socrates, hearing that two brothers, Chærephon and Chærecrates, had quarreled, recommends brotherly love to Chærecrates by the following arguments. A brother ought to be regarded as a friend, and esteemed more than wealth, sect. 1; for wealth is an uncertain possession, if the possessor of it is destitute of friends, 2, 3. Fraternal love, an appointment of Nature; and men who have brothers are more respected than those who have none, 4. Even though a brother should conceive ill feelings toward us, we should still endeavor to conciliate him, 5–9. How such conciliation may be effected, 10–14. The endeavor to conciliate is still more the duty of a younger than of an elder brother, and the more noble the disposition of a brother is, the more easy will it be to conciliate him, 15–17. Brothers should act in unison with one another, like different members of the same body, 18, 19.

1. Socrates, having observed that Chærephon and Chærecrates, two brothers well known to him, were at variance with each other, and having met with Chærecrates, said, "Tell me, Chærecrates, you surely are not one of those men, are you, who think wealth more valuable than brothers, when wealth is but a senseless thing, and a brother endowed with reason, when wealth needs protection, while a brother can afford protection, and when wealth, besides, is plentiful, and a brother but one?[1] 2. It is wonderful, too, that a man should consider brothers to be a detriment to him, because he does not possess his brothers' fortunes, while he does not consider his fellow-citizens to be a detriment, because he does not possess their fortunes; but, in the latter case, he can reason with himself, that it is better for him, living in society with many, to enjoy a competency in security, than, living alone, to possess all the property of his fellow-citizens in fear of danger, while, with regard to brothers, he knows not how to apply such rea-

[1] "After all, there is more money than brothers." *Bysshe's Translation.*

soning. 3. Those who are able, too, purchase slaves, that they may have helpers in their work, and procure friends, as being in need of supporters, while they neglect their brothers, as if friends could be made of fellow-citizens, but could not be made of brothers. 4. Yet it surely conduces greatly to friendship to have been born of the same parents, and to have been brought up together, since, even among brutes, a certain affection springs up between those that are reared together. In addition to these considerations, men pay more respect to those who have brothers than to those who have none, and are less forward to commit aggression on them."

5. To this Chærecrates made answer, "If, indeed, Socrates, the dissension between us were not great, it might perhaps be my duty to bear with my brother, and not shun his society for slight causes; for a brother, as you say, is a valuable possession, if he be such as he ought to be; but when he is nothing of the sort, and is indeed quite the reverse of what he should be, why should I attempt impossibilities?" 6. "Whether, then, Chærecrates," rejoined Socrates, "is Chærephon unable to please any body, as he is unable to please you, or are there some whom he certainly can please?" "Yes," replied Chærecrates, "for it is for this very reason that I justly hate him, that he can please others, while to me he is on all occasions, whenever he comes in contact with me, a harm rather than a good, both in word and deed." 7. "Is the case then thus," said Socrates, "that as a horse is a harm to him who knows not how to manage him, and yet tries to do so, so a brother is a harm, when a person tries to manage him without knowing how to do it?" 8. "But how can I be ignorant," replied Chærecrates, "how to manage my brother, when I know how to speak well of him who speaks well of me, and to do well to him who does well to me? As to one, however, who seeks to vex me both by word and deed, I should not be able either to speak well of him, or to act well toward him, nor will I try." 9. "You speak strangely, Chærecrates," rejoined Socrates, "for if a dog of yours were of service to watch your sheep, and fawned upon your shepherds, but snarled when you approached him, you would forbear to show any ill feeling toward him, but would endeavor to tame him by kindness; but as for your brother, though you admit that he would be a great good to you if he were

such as he ought to be, and though you confess that you know how to act and speak well with respect to him, you do not even attempt to make him of such service to you as he might be."[1] 10. "I fear, Socrates," replied Chærecrates, "that I have not wisdom enough to render Chærephon such as he ought to be toward me." "Yet there is no need to contrive any thing artful or novel to act upon him," said Socrates, "as it appears to me; for I think that he may be gained over by means which you already know, and may conceive a high esteem for you." 11. "Tell me first," said the other, "whether you have observed that I possess any love-charm, which I was not aware that I knew?" "Answer me this question," said Socrates: "If you wished to induce any one of your acquaintance, when he offered sacrifice, to invite you to his feast, what would you do?" "I should doubtless begin by inviting him when I offered sacrifice." 12. "And if you wished to prevail on any of your friends to take care of your property, when you went from home, what would you do?" "I should certainly first offer to take care of his property, when he went from home." 13. "And if you wished to induce an acquaintance in a foreign land to receive you hospitably when you visited his country, what would you do?" "I should unquestionably be the first to receive him hospitably when he came to Athens; and if I wished him to be desirous to effect for me the objects for which I went thither, it is clear that I must first confer a similar service on him." 14. "Have you not long been unawares acquainted, then, with all the love-charms that exist among mankind? Or are you afraid," continued Socrates, "to make the first advances, lest you should seem to degrade yourself, if you should be the first to propitiate your brother? Yet he is thought to be a man deserving of great praise, who is the first to do harm to the enemy, and to do good to his friends. If, then, Chærephon had appeared to me more likely to bring you to this frame of mind, I would have endeavored to persuade him first to try to make you his friend; but, as things stand, you seem more likely, if you take the lead, to effect the desired object." 15. "You speak unreasonably, Socrates," rejoined Chærecrates. "and

[1] Kühner, differing from other editors, puts a note of interrogation at the end of this sentence. It seems better not to take it interrogatively.

not as might be expected from you, when you desire me, who am the younger, to take the lead; for the established practice among all men is quite the reverse, being that the elder should always be first, both to act and speak." 16. "How," said Socrates; "is it not the custom every where that the younger should yield the path to the elder when he meets him, rise from his seat before him, honor him with the softest couch, and give place to him in conversation? Do not therefore hesitate, my good young friend, but endeavor to conciliate your brother, and he will very soon listen to you. Do you not see how fond of honor, and how liberal-minded, he is? Mean-minded persons you can not attract more effectually than by giving them something; but honorable and good men you may best gain by treating them in a friendly spirit." 17. "But what if he should become no kinder," said Chærecrates, "after I have done what you advise?" "It will be of no consequence," replied Socrates, "for what other risk will you run but that of showing that you are kind and full of brotherly affection, and that he is mean-spirited and unworthy of any kindness? But I apprehend no such result; for I conceive that when he finds you challenging him to such a contest, he will be extremely emulous to excel you in doing kindnesses both by word and deed. 18. At present, you are in the same case as if the two hands, which the gods have made to assist each other, should neglect this duty, and begin to impede each other; or as if the two feet, formed by divine providence to co-operate with one another, should give up this office, and obstruct one another. 19. Would it not be a great folly and misfortune to use for our hurt what was formed for our benefit? And indeed, as it appears to me, the gods have designed brothers to be of greater mutual service than the hands, or feet, or eyes, or other members which they have made in pairs for men; for the hands, if required to do things, at the same time, at greater distance than a fathom, would be unable to do them; the feet can not reach two objects, at the same time, that are distant even a fathom; and the eyes, which seem to reach to the greatest distance, can not, of objects that are much nearer, see at the same time those that are before and behind them; but brothers, if they are in friendship, can, even at the greatest distance, act in concert and for mutual benefit."

CHAPTER IV.

On the value of friendship. Many are more desirous to acquire property than friends, sect. 1–4. But no species of property is more valuable, lasting, and useful than a good friend: his qualities enumerated, 5–7.

1. I HEARD him, also, on one occasion, holding a discourse concerning friends,[1] by which, as it seems to me, a person might be greatly benefited, both as to the acquisition and use of friends; for he said that he had heard many people observe that a true and honest friend was the most valuable of all possessions, but that he saw the greater part of mankind attending to any thing rather than securing friends. 2. He observed them, he added, industriously endeavoring to procure houses and lands, slaves, cattle, and furniture; but as for a friend, whom they called the greatest of blessings, he saw the majority considering neither how to procure one, nor how those whom they had might be retained. 3. Even when friends and slaves were sick, he said that he noticed people calling in physicians to their slaves, and carefully providing other means for their recovery, but paying no attention to their friends; and that, if both died, they grieved for their slaves, and thought that they had suffered a loss, but considered that they lost nothing in losing friends. Of their other possessions they left nothing untended or unheeded, but when their friends required attention, they utterly neglected them.

4. In addition to these remarks he observed that he saw the greater part of mankind acquainted with the number of their other possessions, although they might be very numerous, but of their friends, though but few, they were not only ignorant of the number, but even when they attempted to reckon it to such as asked them, they set aside again[2] some that they had previously counted among their friends; so little did they allow their friends to occupy their thoughts. 5. Yet in comparison with what possession, of all others, would not

[1] The sentiments of Plato's Socrates concerning friendship are given in his Lysis; but Stallbaum, in a note on it, p. 89, has justly observed that that subject is much more acutely and copiously discussed in the Symposium and Phædrus. *Kühner*

[2] See note on i. 2. 44.

a good friend appear far more valuable? What sort of horse, or yoke of oxen, is so useful as a truly good friend? What slave is so well-disposed or so attached, or what other acquisition so beneficial? 6. For a good friend is ready to supply whatever is wanting on the part of his friend, whether in his private affairs, or for the public interests; if he is required to do a service to any one, he assists him with the means; if any apprehension alarms him, he lends him his aid, sometimes sharing expenditure with him, sometimes co-operating with him, sometimes joining with him to persuade others, sometimes using force toward others; frequently cheering him when he is successful, and frequently supporting him when he is in danger of falling. 7. What the hands do, what the eyes foresee, what the ears hear, what the feet accomplish, for each individual, his friend, of all such services, fails to perform no one; and oftentimes, what a person has not effected for himself, or has not seen, or has not heard, or has not accomplished, a friend has succeeded in executing for his friend; and yet, while people try to foster trees for the sake of their fruit, the greater portion of mankind are heedless and neglectful[1] of that most productive possession which is called a friend.

CHAPTER V.

On the different estimation in which different friends are to be held. We ought to examine ourselves, and ascertain at what value we may expect our friends to hold us.

1. I HEARD one day another dissertation of his, which seemed to me to exhort the hearer to examine himself, and ascertain of how much value he was to his friends. Finding that one of his followers was neglectful of a friend who was oppressed with poverty, he asked Antisthenes, in the presence of the man that neglected his friend, and of several others, saying, "Are their certain settled values for friends, Antisthenes, as there are for slaves? 2. For, of slaves, one, perhaps, is worth two minæ, another not even half a mina, another five minæ, another ten. Nicias, the son of Niceratus, is

[1] Ἀργῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως ἐπιμέλονται.] "Idly and negligently attend to—."

said to have bought an overseer for his silver mines[1] at the price of a whole talent. I am therefore considering whether, as there are certain values for slaves, there are also certain values for friends." 3. "There are, undoubtedly," replied Antisthenes; "at least I, for my part, should wish one man to be my friend rather than have two minæ; another I should not value even at half a mina; another I should prefer to ten minæ; and another I would buy for my friend at the sacrifice of all the money and revenues in the world."[2] 4. "If such be the case, therefore," said Socrates, "it would be well for each of us to examine himself, to consider of what value he is in the estimation of his friends; and to try to be of as much value to them as possible, in order that his friends may be less likely to desert him; for I often hear one man saying that his friend has abandoned him, and another, that a person whom he thought to be his friend has preferred a mina to him. 5. I am considering, accordingly, whether, as one sells a bad slave, and parts with him for whatever he will fetch, so it may be advisable to give up a worthless friend, when there is an opportunity of receiving more than he is worth. Good slaves I do not often see sold at all, or good friends abandoned."

CHAPTER VI.

What sort of persons we should choose for our friends, sect. 1–5. How we may ascertain the characters of men, before we form a friendship with them, 6, 7. How we may attach men to us as friends, 8–13. Friendship can exist only between the good and honorable, 14–19; between whom it will continue to subsist in spite of differences of opinion, 19–28. Deductions from the preceding remarks, 29–39.

1. He appeared to me, also, to make his followers wise in examining what sort of persons it was right to attach to

[1] *Τἀργυρεῖα.*] Kühner reads *τἀργύρια*, "money," but without giving any reason for his preference of that reading. I have thought it better to follow the generality of editors

[2] *Πρὸ πάντων χρημάτων καὶ πόρων.*] *Πόρων* is the conjecture of Portus or Leunclavius, which many editors have adopted instead of the old *πόνων*, which Kühner retains, supposing that it means *what is gained by labor*, agreeably to the saying in ii. 1. 20, "the gods sell us all good things for labor;" and that *πρὸ πάντων χρημάνων καὶ πόνων* may be a proverbial expression. But this sense of *πόνων*

themselves as friends, by such conversations as the following: "Tell me, Critobulus," said he, "if we were in need of a good friend, how should we proceed to look for one? Should we not, in the first place, seek for a person who can govern his appetite, his inclination to wine or sensuality, and abstain from immoderate sleep and idleness? for one who is overcome by such propensities would be unable to do his duty either to himself or his friend." "Assuredly he would not," said Critobulus. "It appears then to you that we must avoid one who is at the mercy of such inclinations?" "Undoubtedly," replied Critobulus. 2. "Besides," continued Socrates, "does not a man who is extravagant and yet unable to support himself, but is always in want of assistance from his neighbor, a man who, when he borrows, can not pay, and when he can not borrow, hates him who will not lend, appear to you to be a dangerous friend?" "Assuredly," replied Critobulus. "We must therefore avoid such a character?" "We must indeed." 3. "Again: what sort of friend would he be who has the means of getting money, and covets great wealth, and who, on this account, is a driver of hard bargains, and delights to receive, but is unwilling to pay?" "Such a person appears to me," said Critobulus, "to be a still worse character than the former." 4. "What then do you think of him, who, from love of getting money, allows himself no time for thinking of any thing else but whence he may obtain it?" "We must avoid him, as it seems to me; for he would be useless to any one that should make an associate of him." "And what do you think of him who is quarrelsome, and likely to raise up many enemies against his friends?" "We must avoid him also, by Jupiter." "But if a man have none of these bad qualities, but is content to receive obligations, taking no thought of returning them?" "He also would be useless as a friend. But what sort of person, then, Socrates, should we endeavor to make our friend?" 5. "A person, I think, who, being the reverse of all this, is proof against the seductions of bodily pleasures, is upright and fair in his dealings, and emulous not to be outdone in serving those who serve him, so that he is of advantage to those who associate with him." 6. "How

is so forced, and so destitute of support, that I have preferred the emendation, especially as it is effected with the change of one letter.

then shall we find proof of these qualities in him, Socrates, before we associate with him?" "We make proof of statuaries," rejoined Socrates, "not by forming opinions from their words, but whomsoever we observe to have executed his previous statues skillfully, we trust that he will execute others well." 7. "You mean, then, that the man who is known to have served his former friends, will doubtless be likely to serve such as may be his friends hereafter?" "Yes; for whomsoever I know to have previously managed horses with skill, I expect to manage other horses with skill."

8. "Be it so," said Critobulus; "but by what means must we make a friend of him who appears to us worthy of our friendship?" "In the first place," answered Socrates, "we must consult the gods, whether they recommend us to make him our friend." "Can you tell me, then," said Critobulus, "how he, who appears eligible to us, and whom the gods do not disapprove, is to be secured?" 9. "Assuredly," returned Socrates, "he is not to be caught by tracking him like the hare, or by wiles, like birds, or by making him prisoner by force, like enemies; for it would be an arduous task to make a man your friend against his will, or to hold him fast if you were to bind him like a slave; for those who suffer such treatment are rendered enemies rather than friends." 10. "How then are men made friends?" inquired Critobulus. "They say that there are certain incantations, which those who know them, chant to whomsoever they please, and thus make them their friends; and that there are also love-potions, which those who know them, administer to whomsoever they will, and are in consequence beloved by them." 11. "And how can we discover these charms?" "You have heard from Homer the song which the Sirens sung to Ulysses, the commencement of which runs thus:

'Come hither, much-extolled Ulysses, great glory of the Greeks.'"

"Did the Sirens then, by singing this same song to other men also, detain them so that they were charmed and could not depart from them?" "No; but they sang thus to those who were desirous of being honored for virtue." 12. "You seem to mean that we ought to apply as charms to any person, such commendations as, when he hears them, he will not suspect that his eulogist utters to ridicule him; for, if he con-

ceived such a suspicion, he would rather be rendered an enemy, and would repel men from him; as, for instance, if a person were to praise as beautiful, and tall, and strong, one who is conscious that he is short, and deformed, and weak.

But," added Critobulus, "do you know any other charms?" 13. "No," said Socrates, "but I have heard that Pericles knew many, which he used to chant to the city, and make it love him." "And how did Themistocles make the city love him?" "Not, by Jupiter, by uttering charms to it, but by conferring[1] on it some advantage." 14. "You appear to me to mean, Socrates, that if we would attach to us any good person as a friend, we ourselves should be good both in speaking and acting."[2] "And did you think it possible," said Socrates, "for a bad person to attach to himself good men as his friends?" 15. "I have seen," rejoined Critobulus, "bad orators become friends to good orators and men bad at commanding an army becoming friends to men eminently good in the military art." 16. "Do you then," said Socrates, "regarding the subject of which we are speaking,[3] know any persons, who, being themselves useless, can make useful persons their friends?" "No, by Jupiter," replied Critobulus; "but if it is impossible for a worthless person to attach to himself good and honorable friends, it becomes now an object of consideration with me, whether it is possible for one who is himself honorable and good, to become, with ease, a friend to the honorable and good." 17. "What perplexes you, Critobulus, is, that you often see men who are honorable in their conduct, and who refrain from every thing disgraceful, involved, instead of being friends, in dissensions with one another, and showing more severity toward each other than the worthless part of mankind." 18. "Nor is it only private persons," rejoined Critobulus, "that act in this manner, but even whole communities, which have the greatest regard for

[1] Περιάψας.] An expression borrowed from witchcraft or sorcery, when an amulet, or any thing supposed to have a fascinating power, is applied or attached to the person, and termed, in consequence, *περίαπτον* and *περίαμμα*, as is justly observed by Ernesti. *Schneider*.

[2] Ἀγαθοὺς λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.] Referring, as Coray and Herbst think, to the eloquence of Pericles, and the exploits of Themistocles.

[3] Περὶ οὗ διαλεγόμεθα.] Socrates wishes to recall the attention of Critobulus to the subject immediately under discussion. *Kühner*.

what is honorable, and are least inclined to any thing disgraceful, are often hostilely disposed toward one another.

19. When I reflect on these differences," continued Critobulus, "I am quite in despair about the acquisition of friends, for I see that the bad can not be friends with one another; for how can the ungrateful, or careless, or avaricious, or faithless, or intemperate, be friends to each other? indeed the bad appear to me to be altogether disposed by nature to be mutual enemies rather than friends. 20. Again, the bad, as you observe, can never harmonize in friendship with the good; for how can those who commit bad actions be friends with those who abhor such actions? And yet, if those also who practice virtue fall into dissensions with one another about pre-eminence in their respective communities, and even hate each other through envy, who will ever be friends, or among what class of mankind shall affection and attachment be found?" 21. "But these affections act in various ways," rejoined Socrates, "for men have by nature inclinations to attachment, since they stand in need of each other, and feel compassion for each other, and co-operate for mutual benefit, and, being conscious that such is the case, have a sense of gratitude toward one another; but they have also propensities to enmity, for such as think the same objects honorable and desirable, engage in contention for them, and, divided in feelings, become enemies. Disputations and anger lead to war; the desire of aggrandizement excites ill-will; and envy is followed by hatred. 22. But, nevertheless, friendship, insinuating itself through all these hinderances, unites together the honorable and good; for such characters, through affection for virtue, prefer the enjoyment of a moderate competency without strife, to the attainment of unlimited power by means of war; they can endure hunger and thirst without discontent, and take only a fair share of meat and drink, and, though delighted with the attractions of youthful beauty, they can control themselves, so as to forbear from offending those whom they ought not to offend. 23. By laying aside all avaricious feelings too, they can not only be satisfied with their lawful share of the common property, but can even assist one another. They can settle their differences, not only without mutual offense, but even to their mutual benefit. They can prevent their anger from going so far as to cause

them repentance; and envy they entirely banish, by sharing their own property with their friends, and considering that of their friends as their own.

24. "How, then, can it be otherwise than natural, that the honorable and good should be sharers in political distinctions, not only without detriment, but even with advantage to each other? Those indeed who covet honor and power in states, merely that they may be able to embezzle money, to do violence to others, and to live a life of luxury, must be regarded as unprincipled and abandoned characters, and incapable of harmonious union with other men. 25. But when a person wishes to attain honors in a community, in order, not merely that he may not suffer wrong himself, but that he may assist his friends as far as is lawful, and may endeavor, in his term of office, to do some service to his country, why should he not, being of such a character, form a close union with another of similar character? Will he be less able to benefit his friends if he unite himself with the honorable and good, or will he be less able to serve his country if he have the honorable and good for his colleagues? 26. In the public games, indeed, it is plain, that if the strongest were allowed to unite and attack the weaker, they would conquer in all the contests, and carry off all the prizes; and accordingly people do not permit them, in those competitions, to act in such a manner; but since, in political affairs,[1] in which honorable and good men rule, no one hinders another from serving his country in concert with whomsoever he pleases, how can it be otherwise than profitable for him to conduct affairs with the best men as his friends, having these as colleagues and co-operators, rather than antagonists, in his proceedings? 27. It is evident, too, that if one man commences hostilities against another, he will need allies, and will need a great number of them, if he oppose the honorable and good; and those who consent to be his allies must be well treated by him, that they may be zealous in his interests; and it is much better for him to serve the best characters, who are the fewer, than the inferior, who are more numerous; for the bad require far more favours than the good. 28.

[1] Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἐῶσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς, κ. τ. λ.] "Since, accordingly, they do not permit to act so there (*i. e*, in the public games), but in political affairs," etc.

But strive with good courage, Critobulus," he continued, "to be good yourself, and, having become so, endeavor to gain the friendship of men of honor and virtue. Perhaps I myself also may be able to assist you in this pursuit of the honorable and virtuous, from being naturally disposed to love, for, for whatever persons I conceive a liking, I devote myself with ardor, and with my whole mind, to love them, and be loved in return by them, regretting their absence to have mine regretted by them, and longing for their society while they on the other hand long for mine. 29. I know that you also must cultivate such feelings, whenever you desire to form a friendship with any person. Do not conceal from my knowledge, therefore, the persons to whom you may wish to become a friend; for, from my carefulness to please those who please me, I do not think that I am unskilled in the art of gaining men's affections."

30. "Indeed, Socrates," replied Critobulus, "I have long desired to receive such instructions as yours, especially if the same knowledge will have effect at once on those who are amiable in mind, and handsome in person." 31. "But, Critobulus," replied Socrates, "there is nothing in the knowledge that I communicate to make those who are handsome in person endure him who lays hands upon them; for I am persuaded that men shrunk from Scylla because she offered to put her hands on them; while every one, they say, was ready to listen to the Sirens, and were enchanted as they listened, because they laid hands on no one, but sang to all men from a distance." 32. "On the understanding, then, that I shall lay my hands on no one," said Critobulus, "tell me if you know any effectual means for securing friends." "But will you never," asked Socrates, "apply your lips to theirs?" "Be of good courage, Socrates," said Critobulus, "for I will never apply my lips to those of any person, unless that person be beautiful." "You have now said," rejoined Socrates, the exact contrary to what will promote your object; for the beautiful[1] will not allow such liberties, though the deformed receive them with pleasure, thinking that they are accounted beautiful for their mental qualities." 33. "As I shall caress the beautiful, then," said Critobulus, "and caress the good with

[1] Καλοί.] Socrates plays on the word καλοί, which referred, as Bornemann observes, both to beauty of person and beauty of mind.

the utmost ardor, teach me, with confidence, the art of attaching my friends to me." "When, therefore, Critobulus," said Socrates, "you wish to become a friend to any one, will you permit me to say to him concerning you, that you admire him, and desire to be his friend?" "You may say so," answered Critobulus, "for I have never known any one dislike those who praised him." 34. "But if I say of you, in addition, that, because you admire him, you feel kindly disposed toward him, will you not think that false information is given of you by me?" "No: for a kind feeling springs up in myself also toward those whom I regard as kindly disposed toward me." 35. "Such information, then," continued Socrates, "I may communicate regarding you to such as you may wish to make your friends; but if you enable me also to say concerning you, that you are attentive to your friends; that you delight in nothing so much as in the possession of good friends; that you pride yourself on the honorable conduct of your friends not less than on your own; that you rejoice at the good fortune of your friends not less than at your own; that you are never weary of contriving means by which good fortune may come to your friends; and that you think it the great virtue of a man to surpass his friends in doing them good and his enemies in doing them harm, I think that I shall be a very useful assistant to you in gaining the affections of worthy friends." 36. "But why," said Critobulus, "do you say this to me, as if you were not at liberty to say of me any thing you please?" "No, by Jupiter," replied Socrates; "I have no such liberty, according to a remark that I once heard from Aspasia; for she said that skillful match-makers, by reporting with truth good points of character, had great influence in leading people to form unions, but that those who said what was false, did no good by their praises, for that such as were deceived hated each other and the match-maker alike; and as I am persuaded that this opinion is correct, I think that I ought not to say, when I praise you, any thing that I can not utter with truth." 37. "You are, therefore," returned Critobulus, "a friend of such a kind to me, Socrates, as to assist me, if I have myself any qualities adapted to gain friends; but if not, you would not be willing to invent any thing to serve me." "And whether, Critobulus," said Socrates, "should I appear to serve you more by extolling you

with false praises, or by persuading you to endeavor to become a truly deserving man? 38. If this point is not clear to you, consider it with the following illustrations: If, wishing to make the owner of a ship your friend, I should praise you falsely to him, pronouncing you a skillful pilot, and he, believing me, should intrust his ship to you to steer when you are incapable of steering it, would you have any expectation that you would not destroy both yourself and the ship? Or if, by false representations, I should persuade the state, publicly, to intrust itself to you as a man skilled in military tactics, in judicial proceedings, or in political affairs, what do you think that yourself and the state would suffer at your hands? Or if, in private intercourse, I should induce any of the citizens, by unfounded statements, to commit their property to your care, as being a good and diligent manager, would you not, when you came to give proof of your abilities, be convicted of dishonesty, and make yourself appear ridiculous? 39. But the shortest, and safest, and best way, Critobulus, is to strive to be really good in that in which you wish to be thought good. Whatever are called virtues among mankind, you will find, on consideration, capable of being increased by study and exercise. I am of opinion, that it is in accordance with these sentiments, that we ought to endeavor to acquire friends; if you know any other way, make me acquainted with it." "I should be indeed ashamed," replied Critobulus, "to say any thing in opposition to such an opinion; for I should say what was neither honorable nor true."

CHAPTER VII.

Socrates endeavored to alleviate the necessities of his friends by his instructions, and by exhorting them to assist each other. In this chapter it is particularly shown that any person of liberal education may, when oppressed by poverty, honorably use his talents and accomplishments for his support.

1. SUCH difficulties of his friends as arose from ignorance, he endeavored to remedy by his counsel; such as sprung from poverty, by admonishing them to assist each other according to their means. With reference to this point, I will

relate what I know of him from having been an ear-witness of what he said.

Observing Aristarchus,[1] on one occasion looking gloomily, "You seem," said he, "Aristarchus, to be taking something to heart; but you ought to impart the cause of your uneasiness to your friends; for perhaps we may by some means lighten it." 2. "I am indeed, Socrates," replied Aristarchus, "in great perplexity; for since the city has been disturbed,[2] and many of our people have fled to the Piræeus, my surviving sisters, and nieces, and cousins have gathered about me in such numbers, that there are now in my house fourteen free-born persons.[3] At the same time, we receive no profit from our lands, for the enemy are in possession of them; nor any rent from our houses, for but few inhabitants are left in the city; no one will buy our furniture, nor is it possible to borrow money from any quarter; a person, indeed, as it seems to me, would sooner find money by seeking it on the road, than get it by borrowing it. It is a grievous thing to me, therefore, to leave my relations to perish; and it is impossible for me to support such a number under such circumstances." 3. Socrates, on hearing this, replied, "And how is it that Ceramon,[4] yonder, though maintaining a great number of people, is not only able to procure what is necessary for himself and them, but gains so much more, also, as to be positively rich, while you, having many to support, are afraid lest you should all perish for want of necessaries?" "Because, assuredly," replied Aristarchus, "he mantains slaves, while I have to support free-born persons." 4. "And which of the two," inquired Socrates, "do you consider to be the better, the free-born persons that are with you, or the slaves that are with Ceramon?" "I consider the free persons with me as the

[1] Nothing more is known of him than is here mentioned. *Kühner*.

[2] When Lysander had taken the city, and established the Thirty Tyrants, those who sought to restore the democracy and regain their ancient liberty, occupied the Piræeus under the leadership of Thrasybulus, and began to make war on the supporters of the oligarchy. See Xen. Hellen. ii. 4. *Schneider*.

[3] Τοὺς ἐλευθέρους.] Observe the force of the article: "Fourteen, and those free persons, to say nothing of slaves." *Ernesti*.

[4] Ὁ Κεράμων.] He is nowhere else mentioned. The article is here used δεικτικῶς, *Ceramon ille*. Kühner

better." "Is it not then a disgrace that he should gain abundance by means of the inferior sort, and that you should be in difficulties while having with you those of the better class?" "Such certainly is the case; but it is not at all wonderful; for[1] he supports artisans; but I, persons of liberal education." 5. "Artisans, then," asked Socrates, "are persons that know how to make something useful?" "Unquestionably," replied Aristarchus. "Is barley-meal, then, useful?" "Very." "Is bread?" "Not less so." "And are men's and women's garments, coats, cloaks, and mantles, useful?" "They are all extremely useful." "And do those who are residing with you then, not know how to make any of these things?" "They know how to make them all, as I believe." 6. "And are you not aware that from the manufacture of one of these articles, that of barley-meal, Nausicydes[2] supports not only himself and his household but a great number of swine and oxen besides, and gains, indeed, so much more than he wants, that he often even assists the government with his money? Are you not aware that Cyrebus, by making bread, maintains his whole household, and lives luxuriously; that Demea, of Collytus,[3] supports himself by making cloaks, Menon by making woolen cloaks, and that most of the Megarians live by making mantles?" "Certainly they do," said Aristarchus; "for they purchase barbarian slaves and keep them, in order to force them to do what they please; but I have with me free-born persons and relatives." 7. "Then," added Socrates, "because they are free and related to you, do you think that they ought to do nothing else but eat and sleep? Among other free persons, do you see that those who live thus spend their time more pleasantly, and do you consider them happier, than those who practice the arts which they know, and which are useful to support life? Do

[1] Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, κ. τ. λ.] I have been obliged to supply some words here, which it is absolutely necessary to understand, if we adhere, with Kühner, to the reading Νὴ Δί'. "Profecto ille in abundantiâ vivit, ego in egestate; neque id mirum est, nam," etc. *Finck* apud *Kühner*. Zeune and Schneider would read negatively μὰ Δί'. "No, indeed, it is not at all disgraceful, for," etc.; a change which I can not but think would much improve the passage.

[2] By the Scholiast on Aristoph. Eccl. 426, he is called ἀλφιταμοιβός. *Sturz, Lex. Xen.*

[3] One of the boroughs or districts into which Attica was divided.

you find that idleness and carelessness are serviceable to mankind, either for learning what it becomes them to know, or for remembering what they have learned, or for maintaining the health and strength of their bodies, or for acquiring and preserving what is useful for the support of life, and that industry and diligence are of no service at all? 8. And as to the arts which you say they know, whether did they learn them as being useless to maintain life, and with the intention of never practicing any of them, or, on the contrary, with a view to occupy themselves about them, and to reap profit from them? In which condition will men be more temperate, living in idleness, or attending to useful employments? In which condition will they be more honest, if they work, or if they sit in idleness meditating how to procure necessaries? 9. Under present circumstances, as I should suppose, you neither feel attached to your relatives, nor they to you, for you find them burdensome to you, and they see that you are annoyed with their company. For such feelings there is danger that dislike may grow stronger and stronger, and that previous friendly inclination may be diminished. But if you take them under your direction, so that they may be employed, you will love them, when you see that they are serviceable to you, and they will grow attached to you, when they find that you feel satisfaction in their society; and remembering past services with greater pleasure, you will increase the friendly feeling resulting from them, and consequently grow more attached and better disposed toward each other. 10. If, indeed, they were going to employ themselves in any thing dishonorable, death would be preferable to it; but the accomplishments which they know, are, as it appears, such as are most honorable and becoming to women; and all people execute what they know with the greatest ease and expedition, and with the utmost credit and pleasure. Do not hesitate, therefore," concluded Socrates, "to recommend to them this line of conduct, which will benefit both you and them; and they, as it is probable, will cheerfully comply with your wishes." 11. "By the gods," exclaimed Aristarchus, "you seem to me to give such excellent advice, Socrates, that though hitherto I did not like to borrow money, knowing that, when I had spent what I got, I should have no means of repay-

ing it, I now think that I can endure to do so, in order to gain the necessary means of commencing work."

12. The necessary means were accordingly provided; wool was bought; and the women took their dinners as they continued at work, and supped when they had finished their tasks; they became cheerful instead of gloomy in countenance, and, instead of regarding each other with dislike, met the looks of one another with pleasure; they loved Aristarchus as their protector, and he loved them as being of use to him. At last he came to Socrates, and told him with delight of the state of things in his house; adding that "the women complained of him as being the only person in the house that ate the bread of idleness." 13. "And do you not tell them," said Socrates, "the fable of the dog? For they say that when beasts had the faculty of speech, the sheep said to her master, 'you act strangely, in granting nothing to us who supply you with wool, and lambs, and cheese, except what we get from the ground; while to the dog, who brings you no such profits, you give a share of the food which you take yourself.' 14. The dog, hearing these remarks, said, 'And not indeed without reason; for I am he that protects even yourselves, so that you are neither stolen by men, or carried off by wolves; while, if I were not to guard you, you would be unable even to feed, for fear lest you should be destroyed.' In consequence it is said that the sheep agreed that the dog should have the superior honor. You, accordingly, tell your relations that you are, in the place of the dog, their guardian and protector, and that, by your means, they work and live in security and pleasure, without suffering injury from any one."

CHAPTER VIII.

Socrates persuades Eutherus, who was working for hire, to seek some more eligible employment, as his present occupation was not suited for old age, and recommends to him the post of steward to some rich man. An objection on the part of Eutherus, that he should dislike to have to render an account to a master, Socrates opposes with the remark that there is no office in the world free from responsibility.

1. SEEING an old friend one day, after a considerable interval of time, he said, "Whence do you come, Eutherus?" "I am returned, Socrates," replied Eutherus, "from my retirement abroad at the conclusion of the war;[1] and I come now from the immediate neighborhood; for since we were robbed of all our possessions beyond the borders, and my father left me nothing in Attica, I am obliged to live in the city and work with my own hands to procure the necessaries of life; but this seems to me better than to ask aid of any body, especially as I have nothing on which I could borrow." 2. "And how long," said Socrates, "do you think that your bodily labor will serve to earn what you require?" "Not very long, by Jupiter," replied Eutherus. "Then," said Socrates, "when you grow older, you will doubtless be in want of money, and no one will be willing to give you wages for your bodily labor." "What you say is true," rejoined Eutherus. 3. "It will be better for you, therefore," continued Socrates, "to apply yourself immediately to some employment which will maintain you when you are old, and, attaching yourself to some one of those that have larger fortunes (who requires a person to assist him), and, superintending his works, helping to gather in his fruits, and preserve his property, to benefit him, and to be benefited by him in return." 4. "I should with great reluctance, Socrates," said he, "submit to slavery." "Yet those who have the superintendence in states, and who take care of the public interests, are not the more like slaves on that account, but are thought to have more of the free-

[1] There is no doubt that the allusion here is to the peace of Theramenes, by which every thing that the Athenians possessed beyond the limits of Attica was taken from them. See Plutarch. Lys. 14. Andoc. de Pace, 12. *Krüger*.

man." 5. "In a word, however," rejoined Eutherus, "I am not at all willing to make myself liable to any one's censure." "But assuredly, Eutherus," said Socrates, "it is not very easy to find an employment in which a person would not be exposed to censure; for it is difficult to do any thing so as to commit no error; and it is difficult, even if you have done it without error, to meet with a considerate judge; for even in the occupation in which you are now engaged I should wonder if it be easy for you to go through it without blame. 6. But you must endeavor to avoid such employers as are given to censure, and seek such as are candid; to undertake such duties as you are able to do, and to decline such as you can not fulfill; and to execute whatever you take upon you in the best manner and with the utmost zeal; for I think that, by such conduct, you will be least exposed to censure, you will most readily find assistance in time of need, and you will live with the greatest ease and freedom from danger, and with the best provision for old age.

CHAPTER IX.

Crito, a rich man, complaining that he is harassed by informers, Socrates recommends him to secure the services of Archedemus, a poor man well skilled in the law, to defend him against them; a plan by which both are benefited. Archedemus also assists others, and gains both reputation and emolument.

1. I KNOW that he also heard Crito once observe, how difficult it was for a man who wished to mind his own business to live at Athens.[1] "For at this very time," added he, "there are people bringing actions against me, not because they have suffered any wrong from me, but because they think that I would rather pay them a sum of money than have the trouble of law proceedings." 2. "Tell me, Crito," said Socrates, "do you not keep dogs, that they may drive away the wolves from your sheep?" "Certainly," answered

[1] To live at Athens is said to have been troublesome on account of the *sycophantæ*, or informers, whom the populace allowed to harass and annoy the richer class, in the belief that such liberty helped to support the democracy. *Schneider.*

Crito, "for it is more profitable to me to keep them than not." "Would you not then be inclined to keep a man also, who would be willing and able to drive away from you those that try to molest you?" "I would with pleasure," returned Crito, "if I were not afraid that he would turn against me." 3. "But do you not see," said Socrates, "that it would be much more pleasant for him to serve himself by gratifying such a man as you than by incurring your enmity. And be assured that there are such characters here, who would be extremely ambitious to have you for a friend."

4. In consequence of this conversation, they fixed upon Archedemus, a man of great ability both in speaking and acting, but poor; for he was not of a character to make money by every means, but was a lover of honesty, and a person of superior mind, so that he could draw money from the informers.[1] Crito, therefore, whenever he gathered in his corn, or oil, or wine, or wool, or any thing else that grew on his land, used to select a portion of it, and give it to Archedemus; and used to invite him whenever he sacrificed,[2] and paid him attention in every similar way. 5. Archedemus, accordingly, thinking that Crito's house would be a place of refuge for him, showed him much respect, and quickly discovered, on the part of Crito's accusers, many illegal acts, and many persons who were enemies to those accusers, one of whom he summoned to a public trial, in which it would be settled what he should suffer or pay.[3] 6. This person, being conscious of many crimes, tried every means to get out of the hands of Archedemus; but Archedemus would not let him off, until he ceased to molest Crito, and gave himself a sum of money besides.

7. When Archedemus had succeeded in this and some

[1] *Φιλόχρηστός τε καὶ εὐφυέστερος ὢν, ἀπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν.*] Understand *ὥστε*, "so that he could get the better of the sycophants, and draw money from them, instead of allowing them to practice on Crito." This is the reading of Kühner; most editions have *ἔφη ῥᾷστον εἶναι*, "he said that it was very easy to get money from the sycophants."

[2] When the sacrifice was ended, an entertainment followed, to which it was usual to invite kinsmen and friends, as a mark of respect. See Bachius ad Hieron. viii. 3. *Kühner.*

[3] *Ὅ τι δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτῖσαι.*] A legal expression, *παθεῖν* referring to corporal punishment, *ἀποτῖσαι* to a pecuniary fine.

other similar proceedings, then, as when any shepherd has a good dog, other shepherds wish to station their flocks near him, in order to have the benefit of his dog, so likewise many of the friends of Crito begged him to lend them the services of Archedemus as a protector. 8. Archedemus willingly gratified Crito in this respect, and thus not only Crito himself was left at peace, but his friends. And if any of those with whom he was at variance taunted him with receiving favors from Crito, and paying court to him, Archedemus would ask, "whether is it disgraceful to be benefited by honest men, and to make them your friends by serving them in return, and to be at variance with the unprincipled, or to make the honorable and good your enemies by trying to wrong them, and to make the bad your friends by co-operating with them, and associate with the vicious instead of the virtuous?" From this time Archedemus was one of Crito's friends, and was honored by the other friends of Crito.

CHAPTER X.

Socrates exhorts Diodorus, a rich man, to aid his friend Hermogenes, who is in extreme poverty. A man endeavors to preserve the life of a slave, and ought surely to use greater exertions to save a friend, who will well repay our kindness.

1. I AM aware that he also held a conversation with Diodorus, one of his followers, to the following effect. "Tell me, Diodorus," said he, "if one of your slaves runs away, do you use any care to recover him?" 2. "Yes, indeed," answered he, "and I call others to my aid, by offering rewards for capturing him." "And if any of your slaves falls ill," continued Socrates, "do you pay any attention to him, and call in medical men, that he may not die?" "Certainly," replied the other. "And if any one of your friends, who is far more valuable to you than all your slaves, is in danger of perishing of want, do you not think that it becomes you to take care of him, that his life may be saved? 3. But you are not ignorant that Hermogenes is not ungrateful, and would be ashamed, if, after being assisted by you, he were not to serve you in return; and indeed to secure such a supporter as

he, willing, well-disposed, steady, and not only able to do what he is directed, but capable of being useful of himself, and of taking forethought, and forming plans for you, I consider equivalent to the value of many slaves. 4. Good economists say that you ought to buy, when you can purchase for a little what is worth much; but now, in consequence of the troubled state of affairs, it is possible to obtain good friends at a very easy rate." 5. "You say well, Socrates," rejoined Diodorus; "and therefore tell Hermogenes to come to me." "No, by Jupiter," said Socrates, "I shall not; for I think it not so honorable for you to send for him as to go yourself to him; nor do I consider it a greater benefit to him than to you that this intercourse should take place." 6. Diodorus accordingly went to Hermogenes, and secured, at no great expense, a friend who made it his business to consider by what words or deeds he could profit or please Diodorus.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Socrates used to exhort those who aspired to public offices to learn the duties that would be required in them. The duties of a military commander, and his responsibilities, sect. 1–5. He must know many things besides military tactics, 6–11.

1. I WILL now show that Socrates was of great service to those who aspired to posts of honor,[1] by rendering them attentive to the duties of the offices which they sought.

Having heard that Dionysodorus[2] had arrived at the city, offering to teach the art of a general, he said to one of those who were with him, whom he observed to be desirous of obtaining that honor in the state, 2. "It is indeed unbecoming, young man, that he who wishes to be commander of

[1] Τῶν καλῶν.] Τὰ καλὰ are here *munera publica, honores.* See Weiske ad h. l., and Haas. ad lib. de Rep. Lac. p. 95, seq. *Kühner.*

[2] A native of Chios, and brother of Euthydemus. He first taught the military art at Athens, and then devoted himself to the profession of the Sophists. See Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 38. *Kühner.*

an army in his country should neglect to learn the duties of that office when he has an opportunity of learning them; and such a person would be far more justly punished by his country than one who should contract to make statues for it, when he had not learned to make them; 3. for as the whole state, in the perils of war, is intrusted to the care of the general, it is likely that great advantages will occur if he act well, and great evils if he fall into error. How, then, would not he, who neglects to learn the duties of the office, while he is eager to be elected to it, be deservedly punished?" By making such observations, he induced the young man to go and learn.

4. When, after having learned, he returned to Socrates again, he began to joke upon him, saying, "Since Homer, my friends, has represented Agamemnon as dignified,[1] does not this young man, after learning to be a general, seem to you to look more dignified than before? For as he who has learned to play the lyre is a lyrist, though he may not use the instrument, and he who has learned the art of healing is a physician, though he may not practice his art, so this youth will from henceforth be a general, though no one may elect him to command; but he who wants the proper knowledge is neither general nor physician, even though he be chosen to act as such by all the people in the world. 5. But," he continued, "in order that we may have a better knowledge of the military art, in case any one of us should have to command a troop or company under you, tell us how he began to teach you generalship?" "He began," replied the youth, "with the same thing with which he ended; for he taught me *tactics*, and nothing else." 6. "But," said Socrates, "how small a part of the qualifications of a general is this! For a general must be skillful in preparing what is necessary for war, able[2] in securing provisions for his troops, a man of great contrivance and activity, careful, persevering, and sagacious; kind, and yet severe; open, yet crafty; careful of his own, yet ready to steal from others; profuse, yet rapacious; lavish of presents, yet eager to acquire money; cautious, yet enterprising; and many other qualities there are, both natural and acquired, which he, who would fill the office of general with ability, must possess. 7. It is good, indeed, to be skilled in

[1] Γεραρόν. Il. iii. 171.

[2] Compare Cyrop. i. 6, 12, *seqq.*

tactics; for a well-arranged army is very different from a disorderly one; as stones and bricks, wood and tiles, if thrown together in confusion, are of no use whatever; but when the stones and tiles, materials not likely to rot or decay, are placed at the bottom and the top, and the bricks and wood are arranged in the middle (as in building), a house, which is a valuable piece of property, is formed."[1] 8. "What you have said, Socrates," rejoined the youth, "is an exact illustration of our practice; for in the field of battle we must place the bravest troops in the front and rear, and the cowardly in the middle, that they may be led on by those before them, and pushed forward by those behind."[2] 9. "If indeed he has taught you to distinguish the brave and cowardly," rejoined Socrates, "that rule may be of use; but if not, what profit is there in what you have learned? for if he ordered you, in arranging a number of coins, to lay the best first and last, and the worst in the middle, and gave you no instructions how to distinguish the good and bad, his orders to you would be to no purpose." "But indeed," he replied, "he did not teach me this; so that we must distinguish the brave from the cowardly ourselves."[3] 10. "Why should we not consider then," said Socrates, "how we may avoid mistakes as to that matter?" "I am willing," returned the young man. "If then we had to capture a sum of money, and were to place the most covetous men in front, should we not arrange them properly?" "It appears so to me." "And what must generals do when entering on a perilous enterprise? Must they not place the most ambitious in front?" "They at least," said the young man, "are those who are ready to brave danger for the sake of praise; and they are by no means difficult to discover, but will be every where conspicuous and easy to be selected."[4] 11. "But did your in-

[1] Compare Cyrop. vi. 3, 25.

[2] See Cyrop. vii. 5. 5. As Homer, Il. iv. 297, says of Nestor,

> The horse and chariots to the front assign'd,
> The foot (the strength of war) he rang'd behind;
> The middle space suspected troops supply,
> Inclos'd by both, nor left the power to fly. *Pope.*

[3] So that if we have to decide which are good, and which bad, we must make the decision for ourselves. *Kühner.*

[4] These remarks on the easiness of discovering the ambitious, are given to the young man by Schneider, Kühner, and, I believe, all other

structor," inquired Socrates, "teach you to arrange an army, merely, or did he tell you for what purpose, and in what manner, you must employ each division of your forces?" "Not at all," replied he. "Yet there are many occasions, on which it is not proper to draw up an army, or to conduct it, in the same way." "But, by Jupiter, he gave me no explanation as to such occasions." "Go, again, then, by all means," said Socrates, "and question him; for if he knows, and is not quite shameless, he will blush, after taking your money, to send you away in ignorance."

CHAPTER II.

A good general ought to take measures for the safety, maintenance, and success of his troops; and not to study his own honor alone, but that of his whole army.

1. Having met, on some occasion, a person who had been elected general, Socrates said to him, "Why is it, do you think, that Homer has styled Agamemnon 'Shepherd of the people?' Is it not for this reason, that as a shepherd must be careful that his sheep be safe, and have food, and the object may be effected for which they are kept, so a general must take care that his soldiers be safe, and have provisions, and that the object be effected for which they serve? and they serve, no doubt, that they may increase their gratifications by conquering the enemy. 2. Or why has he praised Agamemnon in the following manner, saying that he was

> Both characters, a good king, and an efficient warrior?[1]

Does he not mean that he would not have been "an efficient warrior" if he had fought courageously alone against the enemy, and if he had not been the cause of courage to his whole army; and that he would not have been "a good king," if he had attended to his own subsistence only, and had not been the cause of comfort to those over whom he ruled? 3.

editors; but it might be inquired whether they are not more suitable to the character of Socrates, to whom Sarah Fielding has taken the liberty of giving them.

[1] Il. iii. 179.

For a man is chosen king, not that he may take good care of himself, but that those who have chosen him may prosper by his means; and all men, when they take the field, take it that their lives may be rendered as happy as possible, and choose generals that they may conduct them to the accomplishment of that object. 4. It is incumbent on the leader of an army, therefore, to carry into execution the views of those who have chosen him their leader. Nor is it easy to find any thing more honorable than such exertion, or more disgraceful than an opposite course of conduct."

Thus considering what was the merit of a good leader, he omitted other points in his character, and left only this, *that he should render those whom he commanded happy.*

CHAPTER III.

The duty of a commander of cavalry is twofold, to improve the condition both of his men and his horses; and not to leave the care of the horses to the troops, sect. 1–4. How he should train his men, and how he should be himself qualified to do so, 5–10. He should acquire oratorial power, that he may incite his men to exertion, and fire them with the desire of glory, 11–15.

1. I REMEMBER that he held a dialogue with a person who had been chosen Hipparch,[1] to the following purport: "Could you tell me, young man," said he, "with what object you desired to be a Hipparch? It certainly was not for the sake of riding first among the cavalry; for the horse-archers are honored with that dignity, as they ride even before the Hipparchs." "You say the truth," said the youth. "Nor was it, surely, for the sake of being noticed, for even madmen are noticed by every body." "You say the truth in that respect also." 2. "But was it, then, that you expect to render the cavalry better, and present them in that condition to your country, and that, if there should be need for the services of

[1] There were at Athens two ἵππαρχοι, or commanders of the horse, who had supreme authority over the cavalry, but were subject to the orders of the ten στράτηγοι, or commanders of the infantry. The duties of a Hipparch, Xenophon has described in his treatise entitled Ἱππαρχικός. *Kühner.*

cavalry, you hope, as their leader, to be the author of some advantage to the state?" "I do hope so, certainly." "And it will be truly honorable to you," continued Socrates, "if you are able to effect that object. But the office, to which you have been chosen, takes charge of both the horses and riders?" "It does so," said the young man. 3. "Come then, tell me this first of all, how you propose to render the horses better?" "That," replied the other, "I do not consider to be my business; for I think that each man, individually, must take care or his own horse." 4. "If, then," said Socrates, "some of the men should present their horses before you so diseased in the feet, so weak in the legs, or so feeble in body, and others, theirs so ill-fed, that they could not follow you; others, theirs so unmanageable, that they would not remain where you posted them; others, theirs so vicious that it would not be possible to post them at all; what would be the use of such cavalry to you? Or how would you be able, at the head of them, to be of any service to your country?" "You admonish me well," said the youth, "and I will try to look to the horses as far as may be in my power." 5. "And will you not also endeavor," asked Socrates, "to make the riders better?" "I will," said he. "You will first of all, then, make them more expert in mounting their horses." "I ought to do so; for if any of them should fall off, they would thus be better prepared to recover themselves." 6. "If, then," said Socrates, "you should be obliged to hazard an engagement, whether will you order your men to bring the enemy down to the level sand[1] on which you have been accustomed to ride, or will you try to exercise them on such ground as that on which the enemy may show themselves?" "The latter method will be the better," said the young man. 7. "Will you also take any care that the greatest possible number of your men may be able to hurl the dart on horseback?" "That will be better, too," replied he. "And have you considered how to whet the courage of your cavalry, since you intend to make them more courageous, and animate them against the enemy?" "If I have not yet considered,"

[1] The cavalry were exercised on level ground strewed with sand; hence such places were called ἀμμόδρομοι. See Lexic. apud Ruhnk. ad Timæum, p. 23, ed. ii. *Schneider*. See also Hipparch. i. 5, and Schneider ad Hipparch. iii. 10.

said he, "I will now try to do so." 8. "And have you at all considered how your cavalry may be induced to obey you? For without obedience you will have no profit either from horses or horsemen, spirited and valiant as they may be." "You say the truth, Socrates," said he; "but by what means can a leader most effectually induce them to obedience?" 9. "You are doubtless aware that in all circumstances men most willingly obey those whom they consider most able to direct; for in sickness patients obey him whom they think the best physician; on shipboard, the passengers obey him whom they think the best pilot, and in agriculture, people obey him whom they deem the best husbandman." "Unquestionably," said the young man. "Is it not then likely," said Socrates, "that in horsemanship also, others will be most willing to obey him who appears to know best what he ought to do?" 10. "If, therefore, Socrates, I should myself appear the best horseman among them, will that circumstance be sufficient to induce them to obey me?" "If you convince them in addition," said Socrates, "that it is better and safer for them to obey you." "How, then, shall I convince them of that?" "With much more ease," replied Socrates, "than if you had to convince them that bad things are better and more profitable than good." 11. "You mean," said the young man, "that a commander of cavalry, in addition to his other qualifications, should study to acquire some ability in speaking." "And did you think," asked Socrates, "that you would command cavalry by silence? Have you not reflected, that whatever excellent principles we have learned according to law,[1] principles by which we know how to live, we learned all through the medium of speech; and that whatever other valuable instruction any person acquires, he acquires it by means of speech likewise? Do not those who teach best, use speech most; and those who know the most important truths, discuss them with the greatest eloquence? 12. Or have you not observed,[2] that when a band of dancers and musicians is

[1] Νόμῳ.] That is, *more et institutis civitatis.* Ernesti.

[2] The idea is, that though the Athenians excel other people in many respects, they excel them in nothing more than in their love of praise. If, therefore, you wish to improve the cavalry, you must bestow praise and honors upon them as often as they do their duty well. *Lange.*

formed from this city, as that, for instance, which is sent to Delos,[1] no one from any other quarter can compete with it; and that in no other city is manly grace[2] shown by numbers of people like that which is seen here?" "What you say is true," said he. 13. "But it is not so much in sweetness of voice, or in size and strength of body, that the Athenians excel other people, as in ambition, which is the greatest incitement to whatever is honorable and noble." "This also is true," said he. 14. "Do you not think, then," said Socrates, "that if any one should study to improve the cavalry here, the Athenians would excel other people in that department also (as well in the decoration of their arms and horses as in the good order of the men, and in boldly defying danger to encounter the enemy), if they thought that by such means they would acquire praise and honor?" "It is probable," said the young man. "Do not delay, therefore," added Socrates, "but try to excite your men to those exertions by which you will both be benefited yourself, and your countrymen through your means." "I will assuredly try," replied he.

CHAPTER IV.

Nicomachides complaining that the Athenians had not chosen him general, though he was experienced in war, but Antisthenes, who had seen no military service, Socrates proceeds to show that Antisthenes, although he had never filled the office of commander, might have qualities to indicate that he would fill it with success.

1. Seeing Nicomachides,[3] one day, coming from the assembly for the election of magistrates, he asked him, "Who

[1] The Athenians sent a chorus to Delos every year, and a sacred deputation, in which there was also a chorus, every fifth year, to celebrate games in honor of Apollo. It is of this deputation that the passage in iv. 8. 2 is to be understood. *Weiske.*

[2] He refers to the custom of selecting the best-looking men, both young and old, to walk as *Thallophori* at the Panathenæa, or feast of Minerva. See Harpocration sub h. v. ibique Valesius, p. 34. Old men are mentioned as *Thallophori* by Xen. Sympos. iv. 17. See Athenæus, lib. xiii. p. 565. *Schneider.*

[3] Nothing is said of him elsewhere. *Kühner.*

have been chosen generals, Nicomachides?" "Are not the Athenians the same as ever, Socrates?" he replied; "for they have not chosen me, who am worn out with serving on the list,[1] both as captain and centurion,[2] and with having received so many wounds from the enemy (he then drew aside his robe, and showed the scars of the wounds), but have elected Antisthenes, who has never served in the heavy-armed infantry, nor done any thing remarkable in the cavalry, and who indeed knows nothing, but how to get money." 2. "Is it not good, however, to know this," said Socrates, "since he will then be able to get necessaries for the troops?" "But merchants," replied Nicomachides, "are able to collect money; and yet would not on that account, be capable of leading an army." 3. "Antisthenes, however," continued Socrates, "is given to emulation, a quality necessary in a general. Do you not know that whenever he has been chorus-manager[3] he has gained the superiority in all his choruses?" "But, by Jupiter," rejoined Nicomachides, "there is nothing similar in managing a chorus and an army." 4. "Yet Antisthenes," said Socrates, "though neither skilled in music nor in teaching a chorus,[4] was able to find out the best masters in these departments." "In the army, accordingly," exclaimed Nicomachides, "he will find others to range his troops for him, and others to fight for him!" 5. "Well, then," rejoined Socrates, "if he find out and select the best men in military affairs, as he has done in the conduct of his choruses, he will probably attain superiority in this respect also; and it is likely that he will be more willing to spend money for a victory in war on behalf of the whole state, than for a victory with a chorus in behalf of his single tribe."[5] 6. "Do you

[1] Ἐκ καταλόγου.] *E delectu militans.* * * * Significatur *ratio quâ ad militares expeditiones venit.* Kühner: who also refers to Thucyd. viii. 24; Aristot. Polit. v. 2; and Suidas, v. *κατάλογος*.

[2] *Λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν.*] Serving as *λοχαγὸς*, captain of twenty-five, and *ταξιαρχὸς*, captain of a hundred.

[3] The *χορηγὸς*, or chorus-manager, among the Attic writers, is properly he who raised the chorus, and provided it with instruction and every thing necessary, at his own expense. *Schneider*. See Böckh, Sub. Œcon. of Athens, vol. i. p. 487.

[4] Χορῶν διδασκαλίας.] He that taught and disciplined the *χορὸς*, was called *χοροῦ διδάσκαλος*.

[5] The victory belonged, not to the *χορηγὸς*, but to his tribe, in the

say, then, Socrates," said he, "that it is in the power of the same man to manage a chorus well, and to manage an army well?" "I say," said Socrates, "that over whatever a man may preside, he will, if he knows what he needs, and is able to provide it, be a good president, whether he have the direction of a chorus, a family, a city, or an army." 7. "By Jupiter, Socrates," cried Nicomachides, "I should never have expected to hear from you that good managers of a family would also be good generals." "Come, then," proceeded Socrates, "let us consider what are the duties of each of them, that we may understand whether they are the same, or are in any respect different." "By all means," said he. 8. "Is it not, then, the duty of both," asked Socrates, "to render those under their command obedient and submissive to them?" "Unquestionably." "Is it not also the duty of both to intrust various employments to such as are fitted to execute them?" "That is also unquestionable." "To punish the bad, and to honor the good, too, belongs, I think, to each of them." "Undoubtedly." 9. "And is it not honorable in both to render those under them well-disposed toward them?" "That also is certain." "And do you think it for the interest of both to gain for themselves allies and auxiliaries or not?" "It assuredly is for their interest." "Is it not proper for both also to be careful of their resources?" "Assuredly." "And is it not proper for both, therefore, to be attentive and industrious in their respective duties?" 10. "All these particulars," said Nicomachides, "are common alike to both; but it is not common to both to fight." "Yet both have doubtless enemies," rejoined Socrates. "That is probably the case," said the other. "Is it not for the interest of both to gain the superiority over those enemies?" 11. "Certainly; but to say nothing on that point, what, I ask, will skill in managing a household avail, if it be necessary to fight?" "It will doubtless in that case, be of the greatest avail," said Socrates; "for a good manager of a house, knowing that nothing is so advantageous or profitable as to get the better of your enemies when you contend with them, nothing so unprofitable and prejudicial as to be defeated, will zealously seek and provide every thing that may conduce to victory, will carefully

name of which the money was expended. *Schneider.* Attica was divided into ten tribes.

watch and guard against whatever tends to defeat, will vigorously engage if he sees that his force is likely to conquer, and, what is not the least important point, will cautiously avoid engaging if he finds himself insufficiently prepared. 12. Do not, therefore, Nicomachides," he added, "despise men skillful in managing a household; for the conduct of private affairs differs from that of public concerns only in magnitude; in other respects they are similar; but what is most to be observed, is, that neither of them are managed without men, and that private matters are not managed by one species of men, and public matters by another; for those who conduct public business make use of men not at all differing in nature from those whom the managers of private affairs employ; and those who know how to employ them conduct either public or private affairs judiciously, while those who do not know will err in the management of both."

CHAPTER V.

Conversation of Socrates with Pericles the younger on the manner in which the Athenians might be made to recover their ancient spirit and ambition. They ought to be reminded of the deeds of their ancestors, sect. 1–12; and to be taught that indolence has been the cause of their degeneracy, 13. They ought to revive the institutions of their forefathers, or imitate those of the Lacedæmonians, 14; and to pay great attention to military affairs, 15–25. How the territory of Attica might be best secured against invasion, 26–28.

1. Conversing, on one occasion, with Pericles,[1] the son of the great Pericles, Socrates said, "I have hopes, Pericles, that under your leadership the city will become more eminent and famous in military affairs, and will get the better of her enemies." "I wish, Socrates," said Pericles, "that what you say may happen; but how such effects are to be produced, I can not understand." "Are you willing, then," asked Socrates,

[1] This is the Pericles, the illegitimate son of the great Pericles, whom the Athenians, when the legitimate sons of the elder Pericles were dead, naturalized, in order to gratify his father. See Plutarch in Pericl. extr. Being made general with Thrasylus and Erasinides, and being involved in the ill-success at Arginusæ, he was condemned to death, Olymp. xciii. 2. *Ernesti.*

"that we should have some conversation on these points, and consider how far there is a possibility of effecting what we desire." "I am quite willing," replied Pericles. 2. "Are you aware, then," said Socrates, "that the Athenians are not at all inferior in number to the Bœotians?" "I am," said Pericles. "And whether do you think that a greater number of efficient and well-formed men could be selected from the Bœotians, or from the Athenians?" "The Athenians do not appear to me to be inferior in this respect." "And which of the two peoples do you consider to be more united among themselves?" "I think that the Athenians are; for many of the Bœotians, being oppressed by the Thebans, entertain hostile feelings toward them. But at Athens I see nothing of the kind." 3. "But the Athenians are, moreover, of all people most eager for honor and most friendly in disposition; qualities which most effectually impel men to face danger in the cause of glory and of their country." "The Athenians are certainly not to be found fault with in these respects." "And assuredly there is no people that can boast of greater or more numerous exploits of their ancestors than the Athenians; a circumstance by which many are prompted and stimulated to cultivate manly courage and to become brave." 4. "All that you say is true, Socrates, but you see that since the slaughter of the thousand occurred at Lebadeia, under Tolmides,[1] and that at Delium under Hippocrates,[2] the reputation of the Athenians has suffered as far as regards the Bœotians, and the spirit of the Bœotians has been raised

[1] Lebadeia was a town of central Bœotia, between Haliartus and Chæronea; the whole province is now comprehended under the name of Livadia. From the proximity of these places, it has happened that the battle is sometimes called the battle of Lebadeia, sometimes at Chæronea, sometimes at Coronea. See Thucyd. i. 113; Plutarch, Pericl. c. 18; Agesil. c. 19; Diod. Sic. xii. 6; Plat. Alcib. I. p. 112, E. The battle was fought B. C. 447. The "slaughter" was of a thousand Athenians by the Bœotians. Tolmides was the Athenian general. *Kühner.*

[2] Hippocrates was a general of the Athenians killed by the Bœotians. See Krüger, de Xen. Vit. Questt. Critt. p. 6. Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 49. The battle at Delium was fought B.C. 424; Socrates, as Schneider observes, was present at it, according to Strabo, ix. p. 618, B., and Diogenes Laertius, Vit. Soc. See Thucyd. iv. 93, *seqq.* * * * Delium was a temple of Apollo in Bœotia, near which a little town seems gradually to have arisen; for Strabo and others speak of a *πολιχνίον.* *Kühner.*

as far as regards the Athenians, so that the Bœotians, indeed, who formerly did not dare, even on their own soil, to meet the Athenians in the field without the aid of the Spartans and other Peloponnesians, now threaten to invade Attica single-handed; while the Athenians, who formerly, when the Bœotians were unsupported, ravaged Bœotia, are afraid lest the Bœotians should lay waste Attica." 5. "I perceive, indeed," said Socrates, "that such is the case; but the city seems to me now to be more favorably disposed for any good general; for confidence produces in men carelessness, indolence, and disobedience, but fear renders them more attentive, obedient, and orderly. 6. You may form a notion of this from people in a ship; for as long as they fear nothing, they are all in disorder, but as soon as they begin to dread a storm, or the approach of an enemy, they not only do every thing that they are told to do, but are hushed in silence, waiting for the directions to be given, like a band of dancers."[1] 7. "Well, then," said Pericles, "if they would now, assuredly, obey, it would be time for us to discuss how we might incite them to struggle to regain their ancient spirit, glory, and happiness." 8. "If then," said Socrates, "we wished them to claim property of which others were in possession, we should most effectively urge them to lay claim to it, if we proved that it belonged to their fathers, and was their rightful inheritance; and since we wish that they should strive for pre-eminence in valor, we must show them that such pre-eminence was indisputably theirs of old, and that if they now exert themselves to recover it, they will be the most powerful of all people." 9. "How, then, can we convince them of this?" "I think that we may do so, if we remind them that they have heard that their most ancient forefathers, of whom we have any knowledge, were the bravest of men." 10. "Do you allude to the dispute between the gods, of which Cecrops[2] and his assessors had the decision on account of their valor?" "I do allude to that, and to the education and birth of Erech-

[1] Ὥσπερ χορευταί.] Who always look to the coryphæus, or chorus-leader. *Schneider.*

[2] Cecrops is said to have set as judge between Neptune and Minerva when they were contending for the dominion over Attica. The fable is related both by other writers and by Apollodorus, iii. 14. See Heyne, Observat. p. 321, *seqq.*, and the commentators on Ovid. Met. vi. 70. *Schneider.*

theus,[1] and the war which occurred in his time with the people of the whole adjoining continent,[2] as well as that which was waged under the Heracleidæ against the Peloponnesians,[3] and all the wars that were carried on under Theseus,[4] in all of which they showed themselves the bravest people of their time; 11. and also, if you please, to what their descendants have since done, who lived not long before our day, not only contending, with their own unassisted strength, against the lords of all Asia and of Europe, as far as Macedonia (who inherited vast power and wealth from their ancestors, and who had themselves performed great achievements), but also distinguished themselves, in conjunction with the Peloponnesians, both by land and sea. They, doubtless, are celebrated as having far surpassed other men of their time." "They are so," said Pericles. 12. "In consequence, though many migrations occurred in Greece, they remained[5] in their own country; and many, when contending for their rights, submitted their claims to their arbitration, while many others, also, when persecuted by more powerful people, sought refuge with them." 13. "I wonder, indeed, Socrates," said Pericles, "how our city ever degenerated." "I imagine," said Socrates, "that as some other nations[6] have grown indolent through excessive exaltation and

[1] Erectheus was the fourth king of Athens. Il. ii. 547:

Athens the fair, where great Erectheus sway'd,
That owed his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid,
But from the teeming furrow took his birth,
The mighty offspring of the foodful earth. *Pope.*

[2] The continent meant is the country of Thrace, which, in the earliest times, reached to the boundaries of Attica. See Isocrates, Panegyr. c. 19. The war intended is that which was waged by the Athenians against the Thracians and Eleusinians. See Goeller ad Thucyd. ii. 15, and Stallbaum ad Plat. Menex. p. 239, B. *Kühner.*

[3] The war carried on by the descendants of Hercules against Eurystheus and the Peloponnesians. *Kühner.*

[4] He alludes to the wars carried on against the Amazons and Thracians. Herodot. ix. 27; Isocr. Panegyr. c. 19; Plutarch, Thes. c. 27; Aristid. Panath. p. 201, *seqq.*; Lysiæ Epitaph. sect. 4, *seqq.*; Justin ii. 4. *Herbst.*

[5] Hence the Athenians wished to be thought αὐτόχθονες and γηγενεῖς: all their praises, to which Xenophon here alludes, are briefly given by Isocrates, in his Panegyric. *Schneider.*

[6] Ἄλλοι τινές.] Schneider, from a conjecture of Weiske or Heinz, reads ἀθληταί τινες; for, says he, "ineptè civitati Atheniensium ἄλλοι τινὲς opponuntur." Ἄλλοι τινὲς is however the reading of all the old copies, and is followed by Kühner.

power, so likewise the Athenians, after attaining great pre-eminence, grew neglectful of themselves, and consequently became degenerate."

14. "By what means, then," said Pericles, "could they now recover their pristine dignity?" "It appears to me," replied Socrates, "not at all difficult to discover; for I think that if they learn what were the practices of their ancestors, and observe them not less diligently than they, they will become not at all inferior to them; but if they do not take that course, yet, if they imitate those[1] who are now at the head of Greece, adhere to their institutions, and attend to the same duties with diligence equal to theirs, they will stand not at all below them, and, if they use greater exertion, even above them." 15. "You intimate," returned Pericles, "that honor and virtue are far away from our city; for when will the Athenians reverence their elders as the Spartans do, when they begin, even by their own fathers, to show disrespect for older men? Or when will they exercise themselves like them, when they not only are regardless of bodily vigor, but deride those who cultivate it. 16. Or when will they obey the magistrates like them, when they make it their pride to set them at naught? Or when will they be of one mind like them, when, instead of acting in concert for their mutual interests, they inflict injuries on one another, and envy one another more than they envy the rest of mankind? More than any other people, too, do they dispute in their private and public meetings; they institute more law-suits against one another, and prefer thus to prey upon one another than to unite for their mutual benefit. They conduct their public affairs as if they were those of a foreign state;[2] they contend about the management of them, and rejoice, above all things, in having power to engage in such contests. 17. From such conduct much ignorance and baseness prevail in the republic, and much envy and mutual hatred are engendered in the breasts of the citizens; on which accounts I am constantly in

[1] That the Lacedæmonians are meant is plain from what follows. *Schneider*. It is justly observed by Herbst, that Xenophon takes every occasion to praise the constitution of Sparta, and to prefer it to that of Athens, referring to iv. 4. 15; Cyrop. i. 6. 19; Symp. viii. 39; De Rep. Ath. and De Vectigal. *Kühner*.

[2] Ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίοις.] Negligently; as if they had no concern in them.

the greatest fear lest some evil should happen to the state too great for it to bear." 18. "Do not by any means suppose, Pericles," rejoined Socrates, "that the Athenians are thus disordered with an incurable depravity. Do you not see how orderly they are in their naval proceedings, how precisely they obey the presidents in the gymnastic games, and how, in the arrangement of the choruses, they submit to the directions of their teachers in a way inferior to none?" 19. "This is indeed surprising," said Pericles, "that men of that class[1] should obey those who are set over them, and that the infantry and cavalry, who are thought to excel the ordinary citizens in worth and valor, should be the least obedient of all the people." 20. "The council of the Areopagus, too," said Socrates, "is it not composed of men of approved character?"[2] "Undoubtedly," replied Pericles. "And do you know of any judges who decide causes, and conduct all their business with more exact conformity to the laws, or with more honor and justice?" "I find no fault with them," said Pericles. "We must not, therefore, despair," said Socrates, "as if we thought that the Athenians are not inclined to be lovers of order." 21. "Yet in military affairs," observed Pericles, "in which it is most requisite to act with prudence, and order, and obedience, they pay no regard to such duties." "It may be so," returned Socrates, "for perhaps in military affairs men who are greatly deficient in knowledge have the command of them. Do you not observe that of harp-players, choristers, dancers, wrestlers, or pancratiasts, no one ventures to assume the direction who has not the requisite knowledge for it, but that all who take the lead in such matters are able to show from whom they learned the arts in which they are masters; whereas the most of our generals undertake to command without previous study.[3] 22. I do not, however, imagine you to be one of that sort; for I am sensible that you can tell when you began to learn generalship not less certainly than

[1] *Τοὺς τοιούτους.*] Such men as the sailors, rowers, and *ἐπιβάται*, who were either slaves, or of the lower order of the citizens. *Kühner.*

[2] *Δεδοκιμασμένων.*] Those who had discharged their duties as magistrates with integrity and honor, and, on giving in their accounts at the end of their term of office, had been approved by the judgment of the people. *Schneider.*

[3] A similar complaint is made by Marius of the Roman generals in Sall. Jug. 85.

when you began to learn wrestling. I am sure, too, that you have learned, and keep in mind, many of your father's principles of warfare, and that you have collected many others from every quarter whence it was possible to acquire any thing that would add to your skill as a commander. 23. I have no doubt that you take great care that you may not unawares be ignorant of any thing conducive to generalship, and that, if you have ever found yourself deficient in any such matters, you have applied to persons experienced in them, sparing neither presents nor civilities, that you might learn from them what you did not know, and might render them efficient helpers to you." 24. "You make me well aware, Socrates," said Pericles, "that you do not say this from a belief that I have diligently attended to these matters, but from a wish to convince me that he who would be a general must attend to all such studies; and I indeed agree with you in that opinion."

25. "Have you considered this also, Pericles," asked Socrates, "that on the frontier of our territories lie great mountains,[1] extending down to Bœotia, through which there lead into our country narrow and precipitous defiles; and that our country is girded by strong mountains,[2] as it lies in the midst of them?" "Certainly," said he. 26. "Have you heard, too, that the Mysians and Pisidians, who occupy extremely strong positions in the country of the Great King,[3] and who are lightly armed, are able to make descents on the king's territory, and do it great damage, while they themselves preserve their liberty?" "This, too, I have heard," said Pericles. 27. "And do you not think that the Athenians," said Socrates, "if equipped with light arms while they are of an age for activity, and occupying the mountains that fence our country, might do great mischief to our enemies, and form a strong bulwark for the inhabitants of our country?" "I think, Socrates," said he, "that all these arrangements would be useful." 28. "If these plans, then," concluded Socrates, "appear satisfactory to you, endeavor, my excellent friend, to act upon them; for

[1] The frontier of Attica was defended by the mountains Cithæron, Cerastes, and others. *Schneider.*

[2] Parnes, Brilessus, Hymettus, Laurium. *Schneider.* Also Lycabettus, Pentelicum, Corydalus. *Herbst.*

[3] The king of Persia. See, respecting the Pisidians, Anab. iii. 2. 23; i. 1. 11.

whatsoever of them you carry into execution, it will be an honor to yourself and an advantage to the state; and if you fail in the attempt for want of power, you will neither injure the state nor disgrace yourself."

CHAPTER VI.

Socrates, by his usual process of interrogation, leads Glaucon, a young man who was extravagantly desirous of a post in the government, to confess that he was entirely destitute of the knowledge necessary for the office to which he aspired. He then shows that, unless a ruler has acquired an exact knowledge of state affairs, he can do no good to his country or credit to himself.

1. WHEN Glaucon,[1] the son of Ariston, attempted to harangue the people, from a desire, though he was not yet twenty years of age,[2] to have a share in the government of the state, no one of his relatives, or other friends, could prevent him from getting himself dragged down from the tribunal, and making himself ridiculous; but Socrates, who had a friendly feeling toward him on account of Charmides[3] the son of Glaucon, as well as on account of Plato,[4] succeeded in prevailing on him, by his sole dissuasion, to relinquish his purpose. 2. Meeting him by chance, he first stopped him by addressing him as follows, that he might be willing to listen to him: "Glaucon," said he, "have you formed an intention

[1] This Glaucon was the brother of Plato the philosopher. See Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 66. On the other Glaucon, see iii. 7. 1. *Kühner*.

[2] Young men at Athens were allowed to assume the right of citizens, and take part in the government, on attaining their twenty-second year. *Sauppe.* See Schoemann de Comit. Athen. p. 76, 105.

[3] He is mentioned iii. 7. 1.

[4] The philosopher, of whom Gellius (xiv. 13) denies that any mention is made in the writings of Xenophon. But Muretus has referred to this passage for a refutation of Gellius, Var. Lect. v. 14. *Schneider.* This question about the supposed enmity between Plato and Xenophon is learnedly and acutely considered by Boeckh in his treatise on the subject. Cobet, too, in his Prosopogr. Xen. p. 28, thinks that the belief of their rivalry rests on no good foundation, and ought to be rejected. *Kühner.*

to govern the state for us?" "I have, Socrates," replied Glaucon. "By Jupiter," rejoined Socrates, "it is an honorable office, if any other among men be so; for it is certain that, if you attain your object, you will be able yourself to secure whatever you may desire, and will be in a condition to benefit your friends; you will raise your father's house, and increase the power of your country; you will be celebrated, first of all in your own city, and afterward throughout Greece, and perhaps also, like Themistocles, among the Barbarians and, wherever you may be, you will be an object of general admiration." 3. Glaucon, hearing this, was highly elated, and cheerfully staid to listen. Socrates next proceeded to say, "But it is plain, Glaucon, that if you wish to be honored, you must benefit the state." "Certainly," answered Glaucon. "Then, in the name of the gods," said Socrates, "do not hide from us how you intend to act, but inform us with what proceeding you will begin to benefit the state?" 4. But as Glaucon was silent, as if just considering how he should begin, Socrates said, "As, if you wished to aggrandize the family of a friend, you would endeavor to make it richer, tell me whether you will in like manner also endeavor to make the state richer?" "Assuredly," said he. 5. "Would it then be richer, if its revenues were increased?" "That is at least probable," said Glaucon. "Tell me then," proceed Socrates, "from what the revenues of the state arise, and what is their amount; for you have doubtless considered, in order that if any of them fall short, you may make up the deficiency, and that if any of them fail, you may procure fresh supplies." "These matters, by Jupiter," replied Glaucon, "I have not considered." 6. "Well then," said Socrates, "if you have omitted to consider this point, tell me at least the annual expenditure of the state; for you undoubtedly mean to retrench whatever is superfluous in it." "Indeed," replied Glaucon, "I have not yet had time to turn my attention to that subject." "We will therefore," said Socrates, "put off making our state richer for the present; for how is it possible for him who is ignorant of its expenditure and its income to manage those matters?" 7. "But, Socrates," observed Glaucon, "it is possible to enrich the state at the expense of our enemies." "Extremely possible indeed," replied Socrates, "if we be stronger than they;

but if we be weaker, we may lose all that we have." "What you say is true," said Glaucon. 8. "Accordingly," said Socrates, "he who deliberates with whom he shall go to war, ought to know the force both of his own country and of the enemy, so that, if that of his own country be superior to that of the enemy, he may advise it to enter upon the war, but, if inferior, may persuade it to be cautious of doing so." "You say rightly," said Glaucon. 9. "In the first place, then," proceeded Socrates, "tell us the strength of the country by land and sea, and next that of the enemy." "But, by Jupiter," exclaimed Glaucon, "I should not be able to tell you on the moment, and at a word." "Well, then, if you have it written down," said Socrates, "bring it, for I should be extremely glad to hear what it is." "But to say the truth," replied Glaucon, "I have not yet written it down." 10. "We will therefore put off considering about war for the present," said Socrates, "for it is very likely that, on account of the magnitude of those subjects, and as you are just commencing your administration, you have not yet examined into them. But to the defense of the country, I am quite sure that you have directed your attention, and that you know how many garrisons are in advantageous positions, and how many not so, what number of men would be sufficient to maintain them, and what number would be insufficient, and that you will advise your countrymen to make the garrisons in advantageous positions stronger, and to remove the useless ones." 11. "By Jove," replied Glaucon, "I shall recommend them to remove them all, as they keep guard so negligently, that the property is secretly carried off out of the country." "Yet, if we remove the garrisons," said Socrates, "do you not think that liberty will be given to any body that pleases to pillage? But," added he, "have you gone personally, and examined as to this fact, or how do you know that the garrisons conduct themselves with such negligence?" "I form my conjectures," said he. "Well then," inquired Socrates, "shall we settle about these matters also, when we no longer rest upon conjecture, but have obtained certain knowledge?" "Perhaps that," said Glaucon, "will be the better course." 12. "To the silver mines, however," continued Socrates, "I know that you have not gone, so as to have the means of telling us why a smaller revenue is derived from them than came in some time

ago." "I have not gone thither," said he. "Indeed the place," said Socrates, "is said to be unhealthy, so that, when it is necessary to bring it under consideration, this will be a sufficient excuse for you." "You jest with me,"[1] said Glaucon. 13. "I am sure, however," proceeded Socrates, "that you have not neglected to consider, but have calculated, how long the corn, which is produced in the country, will suffice to maintain the city, and how much it requires for the year, in order that the city may not suffer from scarcity[2] unknown to you, but that, from your own knowledge, you may be able, by giving your advice concerning the necessaries of life, to support the city, and preserve it." "You propose a vast field for me," observed Glaucon, "if it will be necessary for me to attend to such subjects." 14. "Nevertheless," proceeded Socrates, "a man can not order his house properly, unless he ascertains all that it requires, and takes care to supply it with every thing necessary; but since the city consists of more than ten thousand houses, and since it is difficult to provide for so many at once, how is it that you have not tried to aid one first of all, suppose that of your uncle,[3] for it stands in need of help? If you be able to assist that one, you may proceed to assist more; but if you be unable to benefit one, how will you be able to benefit many? Just as it is plain that, if a man can not carry the weight of a talent, he need not attempt to carry a greater weight." 15. "But I would improve my uncle's house," said Glaucon, "if he would but be persuaded by me." "And then," resumed Socrates, "when you can not persuade your uncle, do you expect to make all the Athenians, together with your uncle, yield to your arguments? 16. Take care, Glaucon, lest, while you are eager to acquire glory, you meet with the reverse of it. Do you not see how dangerous it is for a person to speak of, or undertake, what he does not understand? Contemplate, among other men, such as you know to be characters that plainly talk of, and attempt to do, what they do

[1] *Σκώπτομαι.*] "I am jested with." This is the reading of five manuscripts; one gives *σκεψομαι*, which has been adopted by Ernesti, Schneider, and several other editors.

[2] *Ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο γε λάθῃ σέ ποτε ἡ πόλις ἐνδεὴς γενομένη.*] That is *κατὰ τοῦτο.* One manuscript exhibits *τουτοῦ*, which has been adopted by most editors. But Zeune refers to Cyrop. ii. 2. 1, and vi. 3. 1, for the examples of similar accusatives with *ἐνδεής*.

[3] Charmides. See iii. 7. 1. *Kühner.*

not know, and consider whether they appear to you, by such conduct, to obtain more applause or censure, whether they seem to be more admired or despised? 17. Contemplate, again, those who have some understanding of what they say and do, and you will find, I think, in all transactions, that such as are praised and admired are of the number of those who have most knowledge, and that those who incur censure and neglect are among those that have least. 18. If therefore you desire to gain esteem and reputation in your country, endeavor to succeed in gaining a knowledge of what you wish to do; for if, when you excel others in this qualification, you proceed to manage the affairs of the state, I shall not wonder if you very easily obtain what you desire."

CHAPTER VII.

Socrates exhorts Charmides, a man of ability, and acquainted with public affairs, to take part in the government, that he may not be charged with indolence, sect. 1–4. As Charmides distrusts his abilities for public speaking, Socrates encourages him by various observations, 5–9.

1. Observing that Charmides,[1] the son of Glaucon,[1] a man of worth, and of far more ability than those who then ruled the state, hesitated to address the people, or to take part in the government of the city, he said to him, "Tell me, Charmides, if any man, who was able to win the crown in the public games,[2] and, by that means, to gain honor for himself, and make his birth-place more celebrated in Greece, should nevertheless refuse to become a combatant, what sort of person would you consider him to be?" "I should certainly

[1] On Charmides, the son of Glaucon, a young man of great beauty and modesty, see Stallbaum's Prolegomena to Plato's Dialogue named from him; and Cobet in Prosop. p. 46. *Kühner.* The reader may find more about him in Xenophon's Symposium. "By Plato, in his Theages, t. i. p. 128, D., he is called ὁ καλός. He was one of the ten leaders at the Piræeus in the war with Thrasybulus against the Thirty Tyrants, in which he was killed. See Perizon. ad Ælian. V. H. viii. 1." *Sturz.*

[2] Τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγῶνας νικᾶν.] "To conquer in the crowned games," the games in which a crown was given as a prize.

think him indolent and wanting in spirit," replied Charmides. 2. "And if any one were able," continued Socrates, "by taking part in public affairs, to improve the condition of his country, and thus to attain honor for himself, but should yet shrink from doing so, might not he be justly regarded as wanting in spirit?" "Perhaps so," said Charmides; "but why do you ask me that question?" "Because," replied Socrates, "I think that you yourself, though possessed of sufficient ability, yet shrink from engaging even in those affairs in which it is your duty as a citizen to take a share." 3. "But in what transaction have you discovered my ability," said Charmides, "that you bring this charge against me?" "In those conferences," answered Socrates, "in which you meet those who are engaged in the government of the state; for when they consult you on any point, I observe that you give them excellent advice, and that, when they are in any way in the wrong, you offer judicious objections." 4. "But it is not the same thing, Socrates," said he, "to converse with people in private, and to try one's powers at a public assembly." "Yet," said Socrates, "he that is able to count, can count with no less exactness before a multitude than alone, and those who can play the harp best in solitude are also the best performers on it in company." 5. "But do you not see," said Charmides, "that bashfulness and timidity are naturally inherent in mankind, and affect us far more before a multitude than in private conversations?" "But I am prompted to remind you," answered Socrates, "that while you neither feel bashfulness before the most intelligent, nor timid before the most powerful, it is in the presence of the most foolish and weak that you are ashamed to speak. 6. And is it the fullers among them, or the cobblers, or the carpenters, or the copper-smiths, or the ship-merchants,[1] or those who barter in the market, and meditate what they may buy for little and sell for more, that you are ashamed to address? For it is of all such characters that the assembly is composed. 7. How then do you think that your conduct differs from that of a wrestler, who, being superior to well-practiced opponents, should yet fear the unpracticed? For is not this the case with

[1] 'Εμπόρους.] The ἔμποροι were merchants who traded by sea, and are opposed to "those who barter in the forum," mentioned immediately afterward. See Schneider ad Cyrop. iv. 5. 42. *Kühner*.

you, that though you converse at your ease with those who have attained eminence in state affairs, and of whom some undervalue you, and though you are far superior to many who make it their business to address the people, you yet shrink from uttering your sentiments before men who have never thought of political affairs, and who have shown no disrespect for your talents, from an apprehension that you may be laughed at?" 8. "And do not the people in the assembly," asked Charmides, "appear to you often to laugh at those who speak with great judgment?" "Yes," said Socrates, "and so do the other sort of people;[1] and therefore I wonder at you, that you so easily silence one class of persons when they do so, and yet think that you shall not be able to deal with another? 9. Be not ignorant of yourself,[2] my friend, and do not commit the error which the majority of men commit; for most persons, though they are eager to look into the affairs of others, give no thought to the examination of their own. Do not you, then, neglect this duty, but strive more and more to cultivate your own powers; and do not be regardless of the affairs of your country, if any department of them can be improved by your means; for, if they are in a good condition, not only the rest of your countrymen, but your own friends and yourself, will reap the greatest benefit."

CHAPTER VIII.

Socrates meets the captious question of Aristippus about goodness and beauty in such a manner as to show that nothing is good or bad in itself, but only with reference to some object, sect. 1–3; and that nothing is beautiful or otherwise in itself, but that the beautiful must be considered with regard to the useful, 4–7. His remarks on buildings, to the same effect, 8–10.

1. When Aristippus attempted to confute Socrates, as he himself had previously[3] been confuted by him, Socrates,

[1] Οἱ ἕτεροι.] Meaning those, says Kühner, with whom he is mentioned as discoursing in sect. 3.

[2] Ernesti refers to a passage in Cicero ad Quintum Fratrem, iii. 6, in which he seems to have had Xenophon in his mind: *Cessator esse noli; et illud γνῶθι σεαυτὸν noli putare ad arrogantiam minuendam solùm esse dictum, verùm etiam ut bona nostra nôrimus.*

[3] Book ii. c. 1.

wishing to benefit those who were with him, gave his answers, not like those who are on their guard lest their words be perverted,[1] but like those who are persuaded that they ought[2] above all things to do what is right. 2. What Aristippus had asked him, was, 'whether he knew any thing good,' in order that if he should say any such thing as food, or drink, or money, or health, or strength, or courage, he might prove that it was sometimes an evil. But Socrates, reflecting that if any thing troubles us, we want something to relieve us from it, replied, as it seemed best to do,[3] "Do you ask me whether I know any thing good for a fever?" 3. "I do not." "Any thing good for soreness of the eyes?" "No." "For hunger?" "No, nor for hunger either." "Well then," concluded Socrates, "if you ask me whether I know any thing good that is good for nothing, I neither know any thing, nor wish to know."

4. Aristippus again asking him if he knew any thing beautiful, he replied, "Many things." "Are they then," inquired Aristippus, "all like each other?" "Some of them," answered Socrates, "are as unlike one another as it is possible for them to be." "How then," said he, "can what is beautiful be unlike what is beautiful?" "Because, assuredly," replied Socrates, "one man, who is beautifully formed for wrestling, is unlike another who is beautifully formed for running; and a shield, which is beautifully formed for defense, is as unlike as possible to a dart, which is beautifully formed for being forcibly and swiftly hurled." 5. "You answer me," said Aristippus, "in the same manner as when I asked you whether you knew any thing good." "And do you imagine," said Socrates, "that the good is one thing, and the beautiful another? Do you not know that with reference to

[1] Not being at all afraid lest he should give any answer which might, from some ambiguity in it, be wrested to mean, apparently, what he did not intend, or of which his adversary might take advantage to entrap him. See Aristot. Pol. i. 2. 17. Schneider and Kühner acquiesce in this sense of the word *ἐπαλλάττειν*.

[2] With the word *πράττειν* in the text the word *δεῖν* seems to be wanting.

[3] *Ἀπεκρίνατο ὥσπερ καὶ ποιεῖν κράτιστον.*] It is well known that the word *ποιεῖν*, like the Latin *facere*, and the German *thun*, is often made to do duty for another verb. See Passow's Gr. Lex. v. *ποιεῖν*, and my note on Cic. Tusc. Quæst. iv. 14. 31. *Kühner*.

the same objects all things are both beautiful and good? Virtue, for instance, is not good with regard to some things and beautiful with regard to others; and persons, in the same way, are called beautiful and good with reference to the same objects; and human bodies, too, with reference to the same objects, appear beautiful and good; and in like manner all other things, whatever men use, are considered beautiful and good with reference to the objects for which they are serviceable." 6. "Can a dung-basket, then," said Aristippus, "be a beautiful thing?" "Yes, by Jupiter," returned Socrates, "and a golden shield may be an ugly thing, if the one be beautifully formed for its particular uses, and the other ill formed?" 7. "Do you say then, that the same things may be both beautiful and ugly?" "Yes, undoubtedly, and also that they may be good and bad; for oftentimes what is good for hunger is bad for fever, and what is good for a fever is bad for hunger; oftentimes what is beautiful in regard to running is the reverse in regard to wrestling, and what is beautitul in regard to wrestling is the reverse in regard to running; for whatever is good is also beautiful, in regard to purposes for which it is well adapted, and whatever is bad is the reverse of beautiful, in regard to purposes for which it is ill adapted."

8. When Socrates said, too, that the same houses that were beautiful were also useful, he appeared to me to instruct us what sort of houses we ought to build. He reasoned on the subject thus, "Should not he, who purposes to have a house such as it ought to be, contrive that it may be most pleasant, and at the same time most useful, to live in?" 9. This being admitted, he said "Is it not then pleasant to have it cool in summer, and warm in winter?" When his hearers had assented to this, he said, "In houses, then, that look to the south, does not the sun, in the winter, shine into the porticoes, while, in the summer, it passes over our heads, and above the roof, and casts a shade? If it is well, therefore, that houses should thus be made,[1] ought we not to build the parts toward the south higher, that the sun in winter may not be shut out, and the parts toward the north lower, that the cold winds may not fall violently on them?[2] 10. To sum up the matter

[1] That is, so as to be cool in summer and warm in winter.

[2] Of this passage no satisfactory explanation has yet been given.

briefly, that would be the most pleasant and the most beautiful residence, in which the owner, at all seasons, would find the most satisfactory retreat, and deposit what belongs to him with the greatest safety."

Paintings, and colored decorations of the walls,[1] deprive us, he thought, of more pleasure than they give.

The most suitable ground for temples and altars,[2] he said,

Kühner contents himself with adducing, without any remark, the comment of Lange: "As far as the summer is concerned, the position of a house (in Greece) need not be considered, whether it looks to the south or any other quarter of the heaven; for it must be shady in the hottest season of the year, when, indeed, the sun sends down its rays almost perpendicularly, and makes a shade in whatever position the house may be. (Umbrosa tamen sit fervidissimo anni tempore, sole nimirum radios suos rectis lineis deorsum mittente, et in quovis domûs situ umbram efficiente). In building a house (in Greece), therefore, it is necessary to take thought only for the winter, that at that season of the year the house may be as warm as possible. To effect this object, let one row of buildings (una domorum series) face the south, and the other the north, in such a way, that those looking toward the south may be higher than those looking in the opposite direction; for thus the higher will enjoy the sun in winter, and the lower, facing the north, will be defended from the winds blowing from that quarter." (The part near *umbrosa tamen sit* seems to be defective, or incorrect in some way). But to me the text seems capable of explanation only on the supposition that Socrates is speaking with reference to the porticoes or colonnades merely, as we can easily conceive why he should recommend porticoes toward the south to be made high, in order to admit the sun in winter (the summer sun, as Lange remarks, being not at all regarded), and those toward the north to be made low, in order to exclude, in some degree, the keen north winds. Thus Columella, R. R. i. 6. 2, says, *Ambulationes meridiano æquinoctiali subjectæ sint, ut hieme plurimum solis et æstate minimum recipiant;* a passage which Schneider says is not to be compared with this of Xenophon; but it might not be very difficult to prove the contrary.

[1] Ποικιλίαι.] Ralph Rochet, cited by G. Hermann in Opusc. vol. v. p. 221, thinks that by ποικιλίαι are to be understood those colored ornaments on walls which are called ποικίλματα by Xenophon, Œcon. ix. 2, and by Plato, Hipp. Maj. p. 298, A. *Kühner:* who gives the following reason for the disapprobation which Socrates expresses of them: "That those ornaments might not be injured by the rays of the sun, the parts of the house in which they were, were so constructed as not to face the sun; and thus the inmates, in winter, were deprived of the heat of the sun (tali modo homines hiberno tempore solis calore privabantur), and exposed to the cold winds from the north."

[2] Altars and temples, and especially temples, were surrounded with a wall, within which was an area, the view across which was intercepted

was such as was most open to view, and least trodden by the public; for that it was pleasant for people to pray as they looked on them, and pleasant to approach them in purity.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

Various definitions of *fortitude*, *prudence* and *temperance*, *madness*, *envy*, *idleness*, *command*, *happiness*, given by Socrates. *Fortitude* is not equal in all men; it may be increased by exercise, sect. 1–3. *Prudence* and *temperance* not distinct from each other, 4. Justice, as well as other virtues, is wisdom, 5. The opposite to prudence is *madness:* ignorance distinct from madness, 6, 7. *Envy* is uneasiness of mind at the contemplation of the happiness of others, 8. *Idleness* is forbearance from useful occupation, 9. *Command* is exercised, not by those who bear the name, merely, of kings and rulers, but by those who know how to command, 10–13. The best object of human life is *to act well;* the difference between *acting well* and *acting fortunately*, 14, 15.

1. BEING asked, again, whether *Fortitude* was a quality acquired by education, or bestowed by nature, "I think," said he, "that as one body is by nature stronger for enduring toil than another body, so one mind may be by nature more courageous in meeting dangers than another mind; for I see that men who are brought up under the same laws and institutions differ greatly from each other in courage. 2. I am of opinion, however, that every natural disposition may be improved, as to fortitude, by training and exercise; for it is evident that the Scythians and Thracians would not dare to take bucklers and spears and fight with the Lacedæmonians; and it is certain that the Lacedæmonians would not like to fight the Thracians with small shields and javelins, or the Scythians with bows. 3. In other things, also, I see that

by a thick grove or some considerable number of trees. Of these obstructions to the view, Socrates disapproves, wishing the site of the temple to be ἐμφανεστάτη, fully open to the sight, as if the worshipers would then fancy that they saw as it were the deity before them, and would suppose that their prayers would thus be better received by him. *Weiske.* Others suppose that Socrates merely wished that temples and altars should be built on high grounds; an opinion which is equally defensible. *Kühner.*

[1] That is, as Schutz suggests, that they might not have to go through a crowd, in which they might encounter polluted persons, and be defiled by them.

men differ equally from one another by nature, and make great improvements by practice; from which it is evident that it concerns all, as well the naturally ingenious as the naturally dull, to learn and study those arts in which they desire to become worthy of commendation."

4. *Prudence* and *Temperance*[1] he did not distinguish; for he deemed that he who knew what was honorable and good, and how to practice it, and who knew what was dishonorable, and how to avoid it, was both prudent and temperate. Being also asked whether he thought that those who knew what they ought to do, but did the contrary, were prudent and temperate, he replied, "No more than I think the [openly] imprudent and intemperate to be so;[2] for I consider that all [prudent and temperate] persons choose from what is possible what they judge for their interest, and do it; and I therefore deem those who do not act [thus] judiciously to be neither prudent nor temperate."

5. He said, too, that justice, and every other virtue, was [a part of] prudence, for that every thing just, and every thing done agreeably to virtue, was honorable and good; that those who could discern those things, would never prefer any thing else to them; that those who could not discern them, would never be able to do them, but would even go wrong if they attempted to do them; and that the prudent, accordingly, did what was honorable and good, but that the imprudent could not do it, but went wrong even if they attempted to do it; and that since, therefore, all just actions, and all actions that are honorable and good, are done in agreement with virtue, it is manifest that justice, and every other virtue, is [comprehended in] prudence.

6. The opposite to prudence, he said, was ***Madness***;[3] he did

[1] Σοφίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν.] Σοφία, wisdom or prudence, is, as Kühner remarks, right judgment about what ought to be done; σωφροσύνη is temperance, self-control, or self-regulation, in acting. The word σοφία is used in another sense in iv. 6. 7. "This subject, in conformity with the opinion of Socrates, is discussed in Plato's Charmides, ubi pariter *temperantia scientiâ* contineri demonstratur." See Stallbaum on that Dialogue, p. 81, seqq. *Kühner.*

[2] Ii, qui sciunt quidem bona, sed contraria faciunt, nihilo magis sapientes et temperantes sunt quàm ii qui sunt insipientes et intemperantes. *Kühner.* The words in brackets are supplied as being necessary to the translation.

[3] Μανία, madness or insanity, is, according to the definition of Soc-

not, however, regard ignorance as madness; though for a man to be ignorant of himself, and to fancy and believe that he knew what he did not know, he considered to be something closely bordering on madness. The multitude, he observed, do not say that those are mad who make mistakes in matters of which most people are ignorant, but call those only mad who make mistakes in affairs with which most people are acquainted; 7. for if a man should think himself so tall as to stoop when going through the gates in the city wall, or so strong as to try to lift up houses, or attempt any thing else that is plainly impossible to all men, they say that he is mad; but those who make mistakes in small matters are not thought by the multitude to be mad; but just as they call "strong desire" "love," so they call "great disorder of intellect" "madness."

8. Considering what *Envy* was, he decided it to be a certain uneasiness, not such as arises, however, at the ill success of friends, nor such as is felt at the good success of enemies, but those only, he said, were envious who were annoyed at the good success of their friends. When some expressed surprise that any one who had a friendly feeling for another should feel uneasy at his good fortune, he reminded them that many are so disposed toward others as to be incapable of neglecting them if they are unfortunate, but would relieve them in ill fortune, though they are uneasy at their good fortune. This feeling, he said, could never arise in the breast of a sensible man, but that the foolish were constantly affected with it.

9. Considering what *Idleness* was, he said that he found

rates, the contrary to wisdom or prudence, σοφία. Madness is, therefore, ignorance of the virtues of justice, temperance, and fortitude; for prudence is manifested in the knowledge of these virtues. But the source and foundation, as it were, of prudence, is the knowledge of one's self. He, therefore, that is destitute of this knowledge of himself is bordering on madness. The multitude, however, do not, like Socrates, consider ignorance of virtue to be madness, but apply that term only to gross ignorance or misconduct with regard to other matters. *Kühner*.

"Aristotle is praised for naming Fortitude first of the cardinal virtues, as that without which no other virtue can steadily be practiced; but he might, with equal propriety, have placed Prudence and Justice before it, since, *without Prudence* Fortitude *is mad;* without Justice, it is mischievous." *Johnson, Life of Pope.*

most men did something; for that dice-players and buffoons did something; but he said that all such persons were idle, for it was in their power to go and do something better; he observed that a man was not idle, however, in passing from a better employment to a worse, but that, if he did so, he, as he [previously] had occupation, acted in that respect viciously.

10. *Kings* and *Commanders*, he said, were not those who held scepters merely, or those elected by the multitude, or those who gained authority by lot, or those who attained it by violence or deceit, but those who knew how to command. 11. For when some admitted that it was the part of a commander to enjoin what another should do, and the part of him who was commanded, to obey, he showed that in a ship the skillful man is the commander, and that the owner and all the other people in the ship were obedient to the man of knowledge; that, in agriculture, those who had farms, in sickness, those who were ill, in bodily exercises, those who practiced them, and indeed all other people, who had any business requiring care, personally took the management of it if they thought that they understood it, but if not, that they were not only ready to obey men of knowledge who were present, but even sent for such as were absent, in order that, by yielding to their directions, they might do what was proper. In spinning, too, he pointed out that women commanded men, as the one knew how to spin, and the other did not know. 12. But if any one remarked in reply to these observations, that a tyrant is at liberty not to obey judicious advisers, he would say, "And how is he at liberty not to obey, when a penalty hangs over him that does not obey a wise monitor? for in whatever affair a person does not obey a prudent adviser, he will doubtless err, and, by erring, will incur a penalty." 13. If any one also observed that a tyrant might put to death a wise counselor, "And do you think," he would say, "that he who puts to death the best of his allies will go unpunished, or that he will be exposed only to casual punishment? Whether do you suppose that a man who acts thus would live in safety, or would be likely, rather, by such conduct, to bring immediate destruction on himself?"

14. When some one asked him what object of study he thought best for a man, he replied, "good conduct." When he asked him again whether he thought "good fortune" an

object of study, he answered, "'Fortune' and 'Conduct' I think entirely opposed; for, for a person to light on any thing that he wants without seeking it, I consider to be 'good fortune,' but to achieve any thing successfully by learning and study, I regard as 'good conduct;' and those who make this their object of study appear to me to do well."

15. The best men, and those most beloved by the gods, he observed, were those who, in agriculture, performed their agricultural duties well, those who, in medicine, performed their medical duties well, those who, in political offices, performed their public duties well; but he who did nothing well, he said, was neither useful for any purpose, nor acceptable to the gods.

CHAPTER X.

Socrates was desirous to benefit artisans by discoursing with them on the principles of their several arts. Of painting, sect. 1. Of representing perfect beauty, 2. Of expressing the affections of the mind, 3–5. Of statuary, 6–8. In what the excellence of a corselet consists, 9–15.

1. WHENEVER he conversed with any of those who were engaged in arts or trades, and who wrought at them for gain, he proved of service to them. Visiting Parrhasius[1] the painter one day, and entering into conversation with him, he said, "Pray, Parrhasius, is not painting the representation of visible objects? At least you represent substances, imitating them by means of color, whether they be concave, or convex, dark or light, hard or soft, rough or smooth, fresh or old." "What you say is true," said Parrhasius. 2. "And when you would represent beautiful figures, do you, since it is not easy to find one person with every part perfect, select, out of many, the most beautiful parts of each, and thus represent figures beautiful in every part?" "We do so," said he. 3. "And do you also, said Socrates, "give imitations of the

[1] It is to be remembered that this celebrated painter, when Socrates held this conversation with him, was then young, and that it was not till after the death of Socrates, Olymp. xcv. 1, that he acquired a great name in his art. *Kühner.*

disposition of the mind, as it may be most persuasive, most agreeable, most friendly, most full of regret, or most amiable? Or is this inimitable?" "How can that be imitated, Socrates," said he, "which has neither proportion, nor color, nor any of the qualities which you just now mentioned, and is not even a visible object?"[1] 4. "Is it not often observible in a man that he regards others with a friendly or unfriendly look?" "I think so," said he. "Is this then possible to be copied in the eyes?" "Assuredly." And at the good or ill fortune 'of people's friends, do thoso who are affected at it, and those who are not, appear to you to have the same sort of look?" "No, indeed; for they look cheerful at their good, and sad at their evil, fortune." "Is it possible, then, to imitate these looks?" "Unquestionably." 5. "Surely, also, nobleness and generosity of disposition, meanness and illiberality, modesty and intelligence, insolence and stupidity, show themselves both in the looks, and gesture of men, whether they stand or move." "What you say is just." "Can these peculiarities be imitated?" "Certainly." "Whether, then," said Socrates, "do you think that people look with more pleasure on paintings in which beautiful, and good, and lovely characters are exhibited, or those in which the deformed, and evil, and detestable are represented?" "There is a very great difference indeed, Socrates," replied Parrhasius.[2]

6. Going once, too, into the workshop of Cleito,[3] the statuary, and beginning to converse with him, he said, "I see and understand, Cleito, that you make figures of various kinds, runners and wrestlers, pugilists and pancratiasts, but how do you put into your statues that which most wins the minds of the beholders through the eye, the life-like appearance?" 7. As Cleito hesitated, and did not immediately answer, Socrates proceeded to ask, "Do you make your statues appear more life-like by assimilating your work to the figures of the living?" "Certainly," said he. "Do you not then make your figures appear more like reality, and more striking, by

[1] Ὁρατόν.] Not an object which you can represent by its shape, as a tree, or a house.

[2] The admonition which Socrates wished to convey to Parrhasius, was, as Schneider thinks, that he should exercise his pencil in representing rather what was fair and lovely than what was deformed and repulsive.

[3] He is nowhere else mentioned. *Kühner.*

imitating the parts of the body, that are drawn up or drawn down, compressed or spread out, stretched or relaxed, by the gesture?" "Undoubtedly," said Cleito. "And the representation of the passions of men engaged in any act, does it not excite a certain pleasure in the spectators?" "It is natural, at least, that it should be so," said he. "Must you not, then, copy the menacing looks of combatants? And must you not imitate the countenance of conquerors, as they look joyful?" "Assuredly," said he. "A statuary, therefore," concluded Socrates, "must express the workings of the mind by the form."

9. Entering the shop of Pistias,[1] a corselet-maker, and Pistias having shown him some well-made corselets, Socrates observed, "By Juno, Pistias, this is an excellent invention, that the corselets should cover[2] those parts of a man's body that need protection, and yet should not hinder him from using his hands. 10. But tell me, Pistias," he added, "why do you sell your corselets at a higher price than other makers, though you neither make them stronger nor of more costly materials?" "Because, Socrates," said he, "I make them better proportioned." "And do you make this proportion appear in the measure or weight of your corselets, that you set a higher price on them? For I suppose that you do not make them all equal or similar, if you make them to fit different persons." "Indeed," replied he, "I do make them to fit, for there would be no use in a corselet without that quality." 11. "Are not then," said Socrates, "the bodies of some men well-proportioned, and those of others ill proportioned?" "Certainly," said Pistias. "How, then," asked Socrates, "do you make a well proportioned corselet fit an ill proportioned body?" "As I make it fit," answered Pistias; "for one that fits is well proportioned." 12. "You seem to me," said Socrates, "to speak of proportion considered not independently, but with respect to the wearer, as if you should say of a shield, or a cloak, that it is well proportioned to him whom it suits; and such appears to be the case with regard to other

[1] He seems to be the same that is called Πίστων in Athenæus, iv. 20. *Sturz.*

[2] Τῷ——*σκεπάζειν τὸν θώρακα.*] "In that the corselet should cover," etc. Many editions have *τὸ*, with which must be understood *διά*.

things, according to what you say. 13. But, perhaps, there may be some other considerable advantage attendant on being made to fit." "Tell me, Socrates," said he, "if you know any." "Those corselets which fit," answered Socrates, "are less oppressive by their weight, than those which do not fit, though they be both of equal weight; while those which do not fit, are, either from hanging wholly on the shoulders, or from pressing heavily on some other part of the body, inconvenient and uneasy; but those which fit, as they distribute their weight partly over the collar-bone[1] and shoulder, partly over the upper part of the arm, and partly over the breast, back, and stomach, appear almost like, not a burden to be borne, but a natural appendage." 14. "You have hit upon the very quality," said Pistias, "for which I consider my manufacture deserving of the very highest price; some, however, prefer purchasing ornamented and gilded corselets." "Yet if on this account," said Socrates, "they purchase such as do not fit, they appear to me to purchase an ornamented and gilded annoyance. But," added he, "since the body does not continue always in the same position, but is at one time bent, and at another straight, how can a corselet, which is exactly fitted to it, suit it?" "It can not by any means," said Pistias. "You mean, therefore," said Socrates, "that it is not those which are exactly fitted to the body that suit, but those that do not gall in the wearing." "You say what is clearly the case, Socrates," replied he, "and exactly comprehend the matter."

CHAPTER XI.

The visit of Socrates to Theodota, and his discourse with her, sect. 1–9. He tells her that true friends are not acquired without the manifestation of kind and good feelings, 9–12. He reminds her that in gratifying the appetites we must guard against satiety, 13, 14. His jests on taking leave of her, 15–18.

1. THERE being at one time a beautiful woman in the city, whose name was Theodota,[2] a woman ready to form a con-

[1] Ὑπο τῶν κλειδῶν, κ. τ. λ.] The preposition ὑπὸ is used because the idea of *being borne* must be kept in the mind. *Kühner.*

[2] This passage is cited by Athenæus, v. p. 200, F. Theodota was

nection with any one that made advances to her, and somebody in company with Socrates making mention of her, and saying that her beauty was beyond description, and that painters went to her to take her portrait, to whom she showed as much of her person as she could with propriety, "We ought then to go and see her," remarked Socrates, "for it is not possible to comprehend by hearing that which surpasses description." "You can not be too quick in following me, then," said he who had mentioned her.

2. Going, accordingly, to the house of Theodota, and finding her standing to a painter, they contemplated her figure; and when the painter had left off, Socrates said, "My friends, whether ought we to feel obliged to Theodota for having shown us her beauty, or she to us for having viewed it with admiration? If the exhibition be rather of advantage to her ought not she to feel grateful to us, or if the sight has given rather more pleasure to us, ought not we to feel grateful to her?" 3. Somebody saying that he spoke reasonably, he added, "She, then, for the present, gains praise from us, and, when we have spoken of her to others, will gain profit in addition; but as for us, we now desire to embrace what we have seen, and shall go away excited, and long for her after we are away from her; the natural consequence of which is that we shall be her adorers, and that she will be worshiped as our mistress." "If this be the case, indeed," said Theodota, "I must feel gratitude to you for coming to see me."

4. Soon after, Socrates, seeing her most expensively attired, and her mother with her in a dress and adornment above the common, with several handsome female attendants, not unbecomingly appareled, and her house richly furnished in other respects, said to her, "Tell me, Theodota, have you an estate?" "Not I, indeed," replied she. "But perhaps you have a house that brings you an income?" "Nor a house either," said she. "Have you then any slaves that practice handicrafts?" [1] "No, nor any slaves." "How then," said

afterward the mistress of Alcibiades, and covered his body with her garment when he was killed, and burned it, Athen. xiii. p. 574, F.; Corn. Nep. Vit. Alcib. Libanius mentions her among the most remarkable courtesans of Greece, tom. i. p. 582. In Ælian, V. H. xiii. 32, mention is made of Callisto, a courtesan, with whom Socrates conversed. *Schneider.*

[1] Χειροτέχναι.] These were slaves trained to mechanical occupa-

Socrates, "do you procure subsistence?" "If any one becomes my friend," she replied, "and is willing to benefit me, he is my means of subsistence." 5. "By Juno, Theodota," rejoined Socrates, "and he is an excellent acquisition to you; and it is much better to have a flock of friends than of sheep, oxen, and goats. But," added he, "do you leave it to chance whether a friend, like a fly, shall wing his way to you, or do you use any contrivance to attract them?" 6. "And how," said she, "can I find a contrivance for such a purpose?" "Much more readily," said he, "than spiders can; for you know how they try to get subsistence; they weave fine nets, and feed upon whatever falls into them." 7. "And do you advise me, too," said she, "to weave a net?" "Yes," said he, "for you ought not to think that you will catch friends, the most valuable prey that can be taken, without art. Do you not see how many arts hunters use to catch hares,[1] an animal of but little worth? 8. As the hares feed in the night, they procure dogs for hunting by night, with which they chase them; as they conceal themselves in the day, they provide other dogs, which, perceiving by the smell the way that they have gone from their feeding place to their forms, trace them out; and as they are swift of foot, so as soon to escape from view by running, they procure also other dogs, of great speed, that they may be caught by pursuit; and because some of them escape even from these dogs, they stretch nets across the paths by which they flee, that they may fall into them and be entangled." 9. "By what art of this kind, then," said she, "can I catch friends?" "If," said he, "instead of a dog, you got somebody to track and discover the lovers of beauty, and the wealthy, and who, when he has found them, will contrive to drive them into your nets." "And what nets have I?" said she. 10. "You have one at least," he replied, "and one that closely embraces its prey, your person; and in it you have a mind, by which you understand how you may gratify a person by looking at him, and what you may say to cheer him, and learn that you ought to receive with transport him who shows concern for you, and to shut out him who is insolent, to attend carefully on a friend when he is ill, to re-

tions, the owners of whom derived considerable income from their labors.

[1] Cyrop. i. 6. 40.

joice greatly with him when he has succeeded in any thing honorable, and to cherish affection in your whole soul for the man who sincerely cares for you. To love I am sure that you know, not only tenderly, but with true kindness of heart; and your friends try to please you, I know, because you conciliate them, not with words merely, but by your behavior toward them." "Indeed," replied Theodota, "I use none of these schemes." 11. "Yet," said Socrates, "it is of great importance to deal with a man according to his disposition, and with judgment; for by force you can neither gain nor keep a friend, but by serving and pleasing him the animal[1] is easily taken and attached to you." "What you say is true," said she.

12. "It becomes you, therefore," proceeded Socrates, "in the first place, to request of your lovers only such favors as they will perform with least cost to themselves; and you must then make a return by obliging them in a similar way;[2] for thus they will become most sincerely attached to you, and will love you longest, and benefit you most. 13. But you will please them most if you grant them favors only when they solicit them; for you see that even the most savory meats, if a person offer them to another before he has an appetite for them, appear to him distasteful; and in the satisfied they excite even loathing; but if one offers food to another after having raised an appetite in him, it seems, though it be of a very ordinary kind, extremely agreeable." 14. "How then can I," said she, "excite such an appetite in any one of those that visit me?" "If, when they are satiated," said he, "you, in the first place, neither offer yourself to them, nor remind them of you, until, coming to an end of their satiety, they again feel a desire for you; and, when they do feel such desire, remind them of your fondness by the most modest address, and by showing yourself willing to gratify them, holding back at the same time, until they are filled with impatient longing; for it is far better to grant the same favors at such a time, than before they had an appetite for them." 15. "Why do not you, then, Socrates," said she, "become my helper in securing friends?" "I will indeed," said he, "if you can persuade me." "And how then," said she, "can I

[1] Τὸ θηρίον.] A word suitable to the illustrations which Socrates had previously given.

[2] That is, as freely as they oblige you; *not* at the least possible cost.

persuade you?" "You yourself will seek and find means to do so, if you should at all need me." "Come often to see me, then," said she. 16. Then Socrates, joking upon his own easy life, said, "But, Theodota, it is not easy for me to find leisure; for my own numerous occupations, private and public,[1] allow me no rest; and I have friends[2] also, who will not suffer me to leave them day or night, learning from me love-charms and incantations." 17. "Do you then know such arts, too, Socrates?" said Theodota. "Through what other influence do you suppose that Apollodorus[3] here, and Antisthenes,[4] never leave me? and through what other influence do you suppose that Cebes[5] and Simmias[5] came to me from Thebes? Be assured, that such effects were not produced without many love-charms, incantations, and magic wheels."[6] 18. "Lend me, then, your magic wheel," said she, "that I may set it a going,[7] first of all, against yourself." "But, by Jupiter," exclaimed Socrates, "I do not wish that I should be drawn to you, but that you should come to me." "I will come then," said she, "only take care to let me in." "I will let you in," replied he, "if another more acceptable than you be not within."[8]

[1] This mention of public employments is to be taken as a joke, as Weiske observes; for Socrates took no part in public employments, as is stated in i. 6. 15.

[2] Φίλαι.] He uses the feminine gender in jest, as if he had his φίλαι as Theodota had her φίλοι.

[3] He was a great admirer of Socrates, and constant attendant on him. Apol. Soc. c. 28. Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 63.

[4] Founder of the Cynics; he passed much of his time with Socrates: Sympos. iv. 44; Mem. ii. 5. 1. Both these men appear to have attended him in his visit to Theodota.

[5] Mentioned i. 2. 48.

[6] Ἰΰγγων.] The ἰΰξ is a small bird that builds in hollow trees, and feeds on insects; it is called in Latin *torquilla*, in French *torcou*, in German *wendehals*, and in English *wry-neck*, from the incessant motion of its head. From this peculiarity the ancients believed that it had some magic power, and used it in incantations. They used to tie the bird to a wheel with four spokes, which they whirled round rapidly, chanting, at the same time, certain charms. Hence the wheel itself came to be called ἴϋγξ. See Pind. Pyth. iv. 380; Æsch. Pers. 993; Theocr. ii. 17. *Schneider*.

[7] Ἕλκω.] The expression ἕλκειν ἴϋγγα ἐπί τινα was a common one, says Schneider. "Ἕλκειν is used for *torquere*, in speaking of the magic wheel. So *tortus rhombus*, Ov. Amor. i. 8. 7; and *retro solvere turbinem*, Hor. Ep. xvii. 7." *Sturz.*

[8] Aptly and wittily said; for the excuse of the ἑταῖραι in shutting

CHAPTER XII.

Socrates shows the benefit of gymnastic exercises, as well on the health of the mind as on that of the body, sect. 1–4. The advantages of health and vigor, 5–8.

1. Noticing that Epigenes, one of his followers, was both very young and weak in body, he said to him, "How very unlike an athlete[1] you are in frame, Epigenes!" "I am not an athlete, Socrates," replied he. "You are not less of an athlete," rejoined Socrates, "than those who are going to contend at the Olympic games. Does the struggle for life with the enemy, which the Athenians will demand of you when circumstances require, seem to you to be a trifling contest? 2. Yet, in the dangers of war, not a few, through weakness of body, either lose their lives, or save them with dishonor; many, from the same cause, are taken alive, and, as prisoners of war, endure for the rest of their lives, if such should be their fate, the bitterest slavery; or, falling into the most grievous hardships, and paying for their ransom sometimes more than they possess, pass the remainder of their existence in want of necessaries, and in the endurance of affliction; and many, too, incur infamy, being thought to be cowards merely from the imbecility of their bodily frame. 3. Do you think lightly of such penalties attached to weakness of body, or do you expect that you will endure such calamities with ease? I believe that what he must bear who attends to the health of his body, is far lighter and more pleasant than such afflictions. Or do you suppose that an ill condition of body is more salutary and advantageous than a good condition? Or do you despise the benefits secured by a good state of the body? 4. Yet the lot which falls to those who have their bodies in good condition is exactly the reverse of that which falls to those who have them in ill condition; for those who have their bodies in a good state are healthy and strong; and

out their gallants was ἔνδον ἕτερος. Lucian, Dialog. Meretr. xii. p. 310; viii. p 300. *Ruhnken.*

[1] 'Ως ἰδιωτικῶς—τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις.] *Quàm non athleticè corpore constitutus es!* 'Ιδιώτης, one untrained in gymnastic exercises, was opposed to ἀσκητὴς, one trained in them. See iii. 7. 7.

many, from being possessed of this advantage, save themselves with honor amid the struggles of war, and escape every peril; many, also, asisst their friends and benefit their country, and, for such services, are thought worthy of favor, acquire great glory, and attain the highest dignities; and, on these accounts, pass the rest of their lives with greater pleasure and honor, and bequeath finer fortunes[1] to their children. 5. Nor, because the city does not require warlike exercises publicly,[2] ought we, on that account, to neglect them privately, but rather to practice them the more;[3] for be well assured that neither in any other contest, nor in any affair whatever, will you at all come off the worse because your body is better trained than that of other men; since the body must bear its part in whatever men do; and in all the services required from the body, it is of the utmost importance to have it in the best possible condition; 6. for even in that in which you think that there is least exercise for the body, namely, thinking, who does not know that many fail greatly from ill-health? and loss of memory, despondency, irritability, and madness, often, from ill-health of body, attack the mind with such force as to drive out all previous knowledge. 7. But to those who have their bodies in good condition, there is the utmost freedom from anxiety, and no danger of suffering any such calamity from weakness of constitution; while it is likely, rather, that a healthy state of body will avail to produce consequences the reverse of those which result from an unhealthy state of it; and, indeed, to secure consequences the reverse of what we have stated, what would a man in his senses not undergo? 8. It is disgraceful, too, for a person to grow old in self-neglect, before he knows what he would become by rendering himself well-formed and vigorous in body; but this a man who neglects himself can not know; for such advantages are not wont to come spontaneously.

[1] Ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸν βίον.] Supplies or incomes for living; means of life.

[2] Xenophon, in recording this censure on the Athenians, intends tacitly to praise the Lacedæmonians. See iii. 5. 15. *Weiske.* There were at Athens, says Schneider, as in other states of Greece, ὁπλομάχοι, men who trained others in the exercise of arms; but no such exercise was publicly required by law as at Lacedæmon.

[3] Μηδὲν ἧττον.] "Not less."

CHAPTER XIII.

Several brief sayings of Socrates. We should not be offended at rudeness of manner more than at personal defects, sect. 1. Fasting the best remedy for loathing of food, 2. We should not be too nice as to food or drink, 3. He that punishes his slave, should consider whether he himself deserves like punishment, 4. Admonitions to travelers, 5. It is disgraceful to him who has been trained in the gymnasium to be outdone by a slave in enduring toil, 6.

1. A PERSON being angry, because, on saluting another, he was not saluted in return, "It is an odd thing," said Socrates to him, "that if you had met a man ill-conditioned in body you would not have been angry, but to have met a man rudely disposed in mind provokes you."

2. Another person saying that he ate without pleasure, "Acumenus,"[1] said Socrates, "prescribes an excellent remedy for that disease." The other asking, "What sort of remedy?" "To abstain from eating," said Socrates; "for he says that, after abstaining, you will live with more pleasure, less expense, and better health."

3. Another saying that the water which he had to drink at his house was warm, "When you wish to bathe in warm water, then," said Socrates, "it will be ready for you." "But it is too cold to bathe in," said the other. "Are your slaves, then," asked Socrates, "inconvenienced by drinking or bathing in it?" "No, by Jupiter," replied he; "for I have often wondered how cheerfully they use it for both those purposes." "And is the water in your house," said Socrates, "or that in the temple of Æsculapius,[2] the warmer for drinking?" "That at the temple of Æsculapius," replied he. "And which is the colder for bathing in, that at your house, or that in the temple of Amphiaraus?"[3] "That in the temple of Amphiaraus," said he. "Consider, then," said Socrates,

[1] A physician of the time of Socrates, and one of his friends. See Plato, Phædr. p. 227, A., p. 268, A. B.; Symp. p. 176; Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 50.

[2] At Athens, Pausanias, Attic. c. 21, mentions that it was situate in the way from the theater to the Acropolis, and that there was a fountain belonging to it; but says nothing of the nature of the water. *Schneider.*

[3] Between Potniæ and Thebes.

"that you seem to be harder to please than your slaves or the sick."

4. Another person beating his attendant severely, Socrates asked him why he was so angry at the slave. "Because," said he, "he is very gluttonous and very stupid, very covetous and very idle." "And have you ever reflected," rejoined Socrates, "which of the two deserves the greater number of stripes, you or your slave?"

5. A person being afraid of the journey to Olympia, "Why," said Socrates to him, "do you fear the journey? Do you not walk about at home almost all day? And, if you set out thither, you will walk and dine, walk and sup, and go to rest. Do you not know that if you were to extend in a straight line the walks which you take in five or six days, you would easily go from Athens to Olympia? But it will be better for you to start a day too soon than a day too late; for to be obliged to extend your days' journeys beyond a moderate length is disagreeable; but to spend one day more on the road gives great ease; and it is better, therefore, to hasten to start than to hurry on the way."

6. Another saying that he was utterly wearied with a long journey, Socrates asked him whether he carried any burden. "No, by Jupiter," said he, "I did not, except my cloak." "And did you travel alone," said Socrates, "or did an attendant accompany you?" "An attendant was with me." "Was he empty-handed, or did he carry any thing?" "He carried, certainly, the bedding[1] and other utensils." "And how did he get over the journey?" "He appeared to me to come off better than myself?" "If you, then, had been obliged to carry his burden, how do you imagine that you would have fared?" "Very ill, by Jupiter; or rather, I should not have been able to carry it at all." "And how can you think that it becomes a man trained to exercise to be so much less able to bear fatigue than a slave?"

[1] Which slaves used to carry in a bag. See note on Anab. v. 4. 13.

CHAPTER XIV.

Table-talk of Socrates in praise of frugality. In contributions to feasts, one guest should not strive to surpass another in the quality or quantity of what he contributes, sect. 1. He may be called ὀψοφάγος, *flesh-eater*, who eats flesh alone, or with very little bread, 2–4. He that eats of many dishes at once acts foolishly in various ways, 5, 6. He may be truly said εὐωχεῖσθαι, *to banquet*, who lives on plain and wholesome food, 7.

1. WHEN, among a number of persons who had met together to sup, some brought little meat, and others a great quantity, Socrates desired the attendant either to set the smallest dish on the table for common participation, or to distribute a portion of it to each. They, accordingly, who had brought a great deal, were ashamed not to partake of what was put on table for the company in general, and not, at the same time, to put their own on table in return. They therefore offered their own dishes for the participation of the company; and when they had no greater share than those who brought but little, they ceased to buy meat at great cost.

2. Observing one of those at table with him taking no bread, but eating meat by itself, and a discussion having arisen at the same time about names, for what cause any particular name was given, "Can we tell," said Socrates, "for what cause a man should be called ὀψοφάγος?[1] For every body eats flesh with his bread when he has it; but I do not suppose that people are called ὀψοφάγοι on that account." "I should think not," said one of the company. 3. "But," said Socrates, "if a person should eat meat by itself without bread, not for the purpose of training,[2] but of gratifying his appetite, whether would he seem to be an ὀψοφάγος or not?" "Scarcely any other would more justly seem so," said he. "And he that eats a great deal of meat with very little bread," said another, of the company, "what should he be called?" "To me," replied Socrates, "it appears that he would justly be called ὀψοφάγος, and when other men pray to

[1] *Flesh-eater.* From ὄψον, whatever was eaten with bread, and φαγεῖν, to eat.

[2] Ἀσκήσεως.] A word used to denote the *training* of the athletæ. who ate a great deal of flesh to strengthen them. See i. 2. 4; iii. 7. 7. *Kühner.*

the gods for abundance of corn, he may pray for abundance of flesh." 4. When Socrates said this, the young man, thinking that the words were directed at him, did not indeed leave off eating meat, but took some bread with it. Socrates, observing him do so, said, "Notice this young man, you that sit near him, whether he takes bread to his meat, or meat to his bread."

5. Seeing another of the company taste of several dishes with the same piece of bread, "Can any cookery be more extravagant," said he, "or more adapted to spoil dishes, than that which he practices who eats of several at the same time, putting all manner of sauces into his mouth at once? For as he mixes together more ingredients than the cooks, he makes what he eats more expensive; and as he mixes what they forbear to mix as being incongruous, he, if they do right, is in the wrong, and renders their art ineffectual. 6. And how can it be otherwise than ridiculous," he added, "for a man to provide himself with cooks of the greatest skill, and then, though he pretends to no knowledge of their art, to undo what has been done by them? But there is another evil attendant on him who is accustomed to eat of several dishes at once; for, if he has not several sorts of meat before him, he thinks himself stinted, missing the variety to which he has been used. But he who is accustomed to make one piece of bread, and one piece of meat, go together, will be able to partake contentedly of one dish when several are just at hand."

7. He observed also that εὐωχεῖσθαι, "to fare well,"[1] was in the language of the Athenians called ἐσθίειν, "to eat;" and that the εὖ, "well," was added to denote that we should eat such food as would disorder neither mind nor body, and such as would not be difficult to be procured; so that he applied εὐωχεῖσθαι, "to fare well," to those who fared temperately.

[1] Εὐωχέω, quasi εὐοχέω, from εὖ and ὀχή, support, nourishment, from ἔχω: a derivation for which Kühner refers to Eustath. ad Il. ii. p. 212. 37: Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν τροφὴν ὀχὴν λέγουσι.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Socrates liked the society of young men; how he judged of them; his desire that they should be well educated, sect. 1, 2. The more powerful the mind in youth, the more likely it is, if ill trained, to run into vice, 3, 4. Happiness does not depend on riches, but on knowledge, and on being useful to our fellow-creatures, and gaining their esteem, 5.

1. So serviceable was Socrates to others, in every kind of transaction, and by every possible means, that to any one who reflects on his usefulness (even though he possess but moderate discernment), it is manifest that nothing was of greater benefit than to associate with Socrates, and to converse with him, on any occasion, or on any subject whatever; since even the remembrance of him, when he is no longer with us, benefits in no small degree those who are accustomed to enjoy his society, and heard him with approbation; for he sought to improve his associates not less in his humorous than in his serious conversation. 2. He would often say that he loved some particular person; but he was evidently enamored, not of those formed by nature to be beautiful, but of those naturally inclined to virtue. He judged of the goodness of people's abilities from their quickness in learning the things to which they gave their attention, from their remembrance of what they learned, and from their desire for all those branches of knowledge by means of which it is possible to manage a family or an estate well, and to govern men and their affairs with success; for he thought that such characters, when instructed, would not only be happy themselves, and regulate their own families judiciously, but would be able to render other men, and other communities beside their own, happy. 3. He did not however make advances to all in the same manner. Those who thought that they had good natural abilities, but despised instruction, he endeavored to convince that minds which show most natural power have most need of education, pointing out to them that horses of the best

breed, which are high-spirited and obstinate, become, if they are broken in when young, most useful and valuable, but if they are left unbroken, remain quite unmanageable and worthless; and that hounds of the best blood, able to endure toil, and eager to attack beasts, prove, if they are well trained, most serviceable for the chase, and every way excellent, but, if untrained, are useless, rabid, and disobedient. 4. In like manner, he showed that men of the best natural endowments, possessed of the greatest strength of mind, and most energetic in executing what they undertake, became, if well disciplined and instructed in what they ought to do, most estimable characters, and most beneficent to society (as they then performed most numerous and important services), but that, if uninstructed, and left in ignorance, they proved utterly worthless and mischievous; for that, not knowing what line of conduct they ought to pursue, they often entered upon evil courses, and, being haughty and impetuous, were difficult to be restrained or turned from their purpose, and thus occasioned very many and great evils.

5. But those who prided themselves on their wealth, and thought that they required no education, but imagined that their riches would suffice to effect whatever they desired, and to gain them honor from mankind, he tried to reduce to reason by saying that the man was a fool who thought that he could distinguish the good and the evil in life without instruction; and that he also was a fool who, though he could not distinguish them, thought that he would procure whatever he wished, and effect whatever was for his interest, by means of his wealth. He also said that the man was void of sense who, not being qualified to pursue what was for his good, fancied that he would be prosperous in the world, and that every thing necessary for his comfort was fully, or at least sufficiently, provided for him; and that he was equally void of sense who, though he knew nothing, thought that he would seem good for something because of his riches, and, though evidently despicable, would gain esteem through their influence.

CHAPTER II.

No dependence to be placed on natural abilities without education. Socrates proceeds to show Euthydemus, a self-conceited young man, that in every art it is proper to have recourse to instructors, sect. 1, 2. He shows the folly of a man who should pretend to have learned every thing of himself, 3–5. The necessity of instruction in the art of government, 6, 7. By a long series of interrogations Socrates reduces Euthydemus to acknowledge his ignorance and incompetence, 8–23. The value of self-knowledge, 24–30. Further instructions given to Euthydemus, 30–40.

1. [1] I will now show how Socrates addressed himself to such as thought that they had attained the highest degree of knowledge, and prided themselves on their ability. Hearing that Euthydemus,[2] surnamed the Handsome, had collected many writings[3] of the most celebrated poets and sophists, and imagined that by that means he was outstripping his contemporaries in accomplishments, and had great hopes that he would excel them all in talent for speaking and acting, and finding, by his first inquiries about him, that he had not yet engaged in public affairs on account of his youth,[4] but that, when he wished to do any business,[5] he usually sat in a bridle-maker's shop near the Forum, he went himself to it, accompanied by some of his hearers; 2. and as somebody asked, first of all whether it was from his intercourse with some of the wise men, or from his own natural talents, that Themistocles attained such a pre-eminence above his fellow-citizens, that the republic looked to him whenever it wanted the service of a man of ability," Socrates, wishing to excite the attention of Euthydemus, said that "it was absurd to believe that men could not become skilled in the lowest

[1] Schneider observes that this second chapter is but a continuation of the first, and ought not to be separated from it.

[2] The same that is mentioned i. 2. 29.

[3] Γράμματα.] They seem to be the same as συγγράμματα, or συγγεγραμμένα, moral precepts, reflections, and examples, extracted from different writers. See Bekker, Anecd. i. p. 31; and Bornemann ad Cyrop. viii. 4. 16. *Kühner.*

[4] Being under twenty years of age. See iii. 6. 1.

[5] Τι—διαπράξασθαι.] He seems to have appointed the bridle-maker's shop as a place for meeting his friends, and for waiting for them, if they went away to do any business for him.

mechanical arts without competent instructors, and to imagine that ability to govern a state, the most important of all arts, might spring up in men by the unassisted efforts of nature."

3. On another occasion, when Euthydemus was one of the company, and Socrates saw him leaving it, from apprehension lest he should seem to admire him for his wisdom, he observed, "It is evident, my friends, from the studies that he pursues, that Euthydemus here, when he comes of age, and the government give liberty of discussion[1] on any point, will not refrain from offering his counsel; and I imagine that he has already framed an exordium for his public oration, taking precaution that he may not be thought to have learned any thing from any body; and it is pretty certain, therefore, that when he begins to speak, he will make his opening thus: 4. 'I, O men of Athens, have never learned any thing from any person, nor, though I heard of some that were skilled in speaking and acting, have I sought to converse with them; nor have I been anxious that any one of the learned should become my master; but I have done the exact contrary; for I have constantly avoided not only learning any thing from any one, but even the appearance of learning any thing; nevertheless I will offer you such advice as may occur to me without premeditation.' 5. So it might be proper for a person to commence a speech who desired to obtain a medical appointment[2] from the government: 'I, O men of Athens, have never learned the medical art from any one, nor have been desirous that any physician should be my instructor; for I have constantly been on my guard, not only against learning any thing of the art from any one, but even against appearing to have learned any thing; nevertheless confer on me this medical appointment; for I will endeavor to learn by making experiments[3] upon

[1] When the public crier called the people to an assembly, he gave notice that liberty would be granted to those who wished to speak on the subject of discussion: as in Demosth. de Cor. c. 53: *τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται*; and Aristoph. Acharn. 45. *Schneider.* Schoemann de Comitiis, ii. p. 104.

[2] *Ἰατρικὸν ἔργον.*] Weiske supposes that there were two classes of medical men; some freemen, and others slaves; and that the better sort were appointed by the people at their assemblies, receiving a salary from the public treasury.

[3] To learn by making experiments on their patients medical men do not profess, yet it is what they secretly practice. *Discunt periculis*

you.'" At this mode of opening a speech all who were present burst out into laughter.

6. As Euthydemus had now evidently begun to attend to what Socrates was saying, but was cautious of speaking himself, as thinking by his silence to clothe himself with reputation for modesty, Socrates, wishing to cure him of that fancy, said, "It is indeed strange that those who desire to play on the lyre, or on the flute, or to ride, or to become expert in any such accomplishment, should eadeavor to practice, as constantly as possible, that in which they desire to excel, and not by themselves merely, but with the aid of such as are considered eminent in those attainments, attempting and undergoing every thing, so as to do nothing without their sanction, as supposing that they can by no other means attain reputation; but that of those who wish to become able to speak and act in affairs of government, some think that they will be suddenly qualified to achieve their object without preparation or study, and by their own unassisted efforts. 7. Yet these pursuits are manifestly more difficult of attainment than those, inasmuch as of the very many who attempt them a much smaller number succeed in them; and it is evident, therefore, that those who pursue the one are required to submit to longer and more diligent study than those who pursue the other."

8. Socrates used at first to make such remarks, while Euthydemus merely listened; but when he observed that he staid, while he conversed, with more willingness, and hearkened to him with more attention, he at last came to the bridle-maker's shop unattended. As Euthydemus sat down beside him, he said, "Tell me, Euthydemus, have you really, as I hear, collected many of the writings[1] of men who are said to have been wise." "I have indeed, Socrates," replied he, "and I am still collecting, intending to persevere till I get as many as I possibly can." 9. "By Juno," rejoined Socrates, "I feel admiration for you, because you have not preferred acquiring treasures of silver and gold rather than of wisdom; for it is plain you consider that silver and gold are unable to make men better, but that the thoughts of wise men enrich their possessors with virtue." Euthydemus was delighted to hear

nostris, et experimenta per mortes agunt, as Pliny says, H. N. xxix. 1. *Schneider.*

[1] Γράμματα.] See note on sect. 1.

this commendation, believing that he was thought by Socrates to have sought wisdom in the right course. 10. Socrates, observing that he was gratified with the praise, said, "And in what particular art do you wish to become skillful, that you collect these writings?" As Euthydemus continued silent, considering what reply he should make, Socrates again asked, "Do you wish to become a physician? for there are many writings of physicians." "Not I, by Jupiter," replied Euthydemus. "Do you wish to become an architect, then? for a man of knowledge is needed for that art also."[1] "No, indeed," answered he. "Do you wish to become a good geometrician, like Theodorus?"[2] "Nor a geometrician either," said he. "Do you wish then to become an astronomer?" said Socrates. As Euthydemus said, "No," to this, "Do you wish then," added Socrates "to become a rhapsodist,[3] for they say that you are in possession of all the poems of Homer?" "No, indeed," said he, "for I know that the rhapsodists, though eminently knowing in the poems of Homer, are, as men, extremely foolish." 11. "You are perhaps desirous, then," proceeded Socrates, "of attaining that talent by which men become skilled in governing states, in managing households, able to command, and qualified to benefit other men as well as themselves." "I indeed greatly desire," said he, "Socrates, to acquire that talent." "By Jupiter," returned Socrates, "you aspire to a most honorable accomplishment, and a most exalted art, for it is the art of kings, and is called the royal art. But," added he, "have you ever considered whether it is possible for a man who is not just to be eminent in that

1 *Γνωμονικοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ.*] "There is need of a man of knowledge also for this art." Τοῦτο for *κατὰ τοῦτο*, for it can not, as Kühner observes, be a nominative.

2 Theodorus of Cyrene, the preceptor of Socrates in geometry, mentioned in the Theætetus of Plato. Comp. iv. 7. 3. *Schneider*. See Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 32.

3 The rhapsodists, *ῥαψῳδοί*, were men who publicly recited epic verses, especially those of Homer. "The judgment here passed on the rhapsodists has reference to the period of Socrates only, not to preceding times, in which they were held in great honor. See Bornemann ad Symp. iii. 6. There is an elegant discussion on the rhapsodists by G. H. Bodius, in a work of much learning, entitled Gesch. der Hellen. Dichtkunst. vol. i. p. 351, seqq. See Stallbaum ad Plato, Ion, p. 285, F. A.; Wolf, Prolegom. in Hom. p. 99, seqq.; and Gr. Guil. Nitzsch in Quæst. Hom. P. iv. p. 13." *Kühner*

art?" "I have certainly," replied he; "and it is not possible for a man to be even a good citizen without justice." 12. "Have you yourself, then, made yourself master of that virtue?" "I think," said he, "Socrates, that I shall be found not less just than any other man." "Are there then works of just men, as there are works of artisans?" "There are, doubtless," replied he. "Then," said Socrates, "as artisans are able to show their works, would not just men be able also to tell their works?" "And why should not I," asked Euthydemus, "be able to tell the works of justice; as also indeed those of injustice; for we may see and hear of no small number of them every day?"

13. "Are you willing then," said Socrates, "that we should make a *delta* on this side, and an *alpha*[1] on that, and then that we should put whatever seems to us to be a work of justice under the delta, and whatever seems to be a work of injustice under the *alpha?*" "If you think that we need those letters," said Euthydemus, "make them." 14. Socrates, having made the letters as he proposed, asked, "Does falsehood then exist among mankind?" "It does, assuredly," replied he. "Under which head shall we place it?" "Under injustice, certainly." "Does deceit also exist?" "Unquestionably." "Under which head shall we place that?" "Evidently under injustice." "Does mischievousness exist?" "Undoubtedly." "And the enslaving of men?" "That, too, prevails." "And shall neither of these things be placed by us, under justice, Euthydemus?" "It would be strange if they should be," said he. 15. "But," said Socrates, "if a man, being chosen to lead an army, should reduce to slavery an unjust and hostile people, should we say that he committed injustice?" "No, certainly," replied he. "Should we not rather say that he acted justly?" "Indisputably." "And if, in the course of the war with them, he should practice deceit?" "That also would be just," said he. "And if he should steal and carry off their property, would he not do what was just?" "Certainly," said Euthydemus; "but I thought at first that you asked these questions only with reference to our friends." "Then," said Socrates, "all that we have placed under the head of injustice, we must also place

[1] *Delta* for δίκαιος, "just;" *alpha* for ἀδικὸς, "unjust."

under that of justice?" "It seems so," replied Euthydemus. 16. "Do you agree, then," continued Socrates, "that, having so placed them, we should make a new distinction, that it is just to do such things with regard to enemies, but unjust to do them with regard to friends, and that toward his friends our general should be as guileless as possible?" "By all means," replied Euthydemus. 17. "Well, then," said Socrates, "if a general, seeing his army dispirited, should tell them, inventing a falsehood, that auxiliaries were coming, and should, by that invention, check the despondency of his troops, under which head should we place such an act of deceit?" "It appears to me," said Euthydemus, "that we must place it under justice." "And if a father, when his son requires medicine, and refuses to take it, should deceive him, and give him the medicine as ordinary food, and, by adopting such deception, should restore him to health, under which head must we place such an act of deceit?" "It appears to me that we must put it under the same head." "And if a person, when his friend was in despondency, should, through fear that he might kill himself, steal or take away his sword, or any other weapon, under which head must we place that act?" "That, assuredly, we must place under justice." 18. "You say, then," said Socrates, "that not even toward our friends must we act on all occasions without deceit?" "We must not indeed," said he, "for I retract what I said before, if I may be permitted to do so." "It is indeed much better that you should be permitted," said Socrates, "than that you should not place actions on the right side." 19. But of those who deceive their friends in order to injure them (that we may not leave even this point unconsidered), which of the two is the more unjust, he who does so intentionally or he who does so involuntarily?" "Indeed, Socrates," said Euthydemus, "I no longer put confidence in the answers which I give; for all that I said before appears to me now to be quite different from what I then thought; however, let me venture to say[1] that he who deceives intentionally is more unjust than he who deceives involuntarily?"

20. "Does it appear to you, then, that there is a way of learning and knowing what is just, as there is of learning and

[1] Εἰρήσθω μοι.] "Let it have been said by me," or "Let me say."

knowing how to read and write?" "I think there is." "And which should you consider the better scholar, him who should purposely write or read incorrectly, or him who should do so unawares?" "Him who should do so purposely, for, whenever he pleased, he would be able to do both correctly." "He, therefore, that purposely writes incorrectly may be a good scholar, but he who does so involuntarily is destitute of scholarship?" "How can it be otherwise?" "And whether does he who lies and deceives intentionally know what is just, or he who does so unawares?" "Doubtless he who does so intentionally." "You therefore say that he who knows how to write and read is a better scholar than he who does not know?" "Yes." "And that he who knows what is just is more just than he who does not know?" "I seem to say so; but I appear to myself to say this I know not how." 21. "But what would you think of the man, who, wishing to tell the truth, should never give the same account of the same thing, but, in speaking of the same road, should say at one time that it led toward the east, and at another toward the west, and, in stating the result of the same calculation, should sometimes assert it to be greater and sometimes less, what, I say, would you think of such a man?" "It would be quite clear that he knew nothing of what he thought he knew."[1]

22. "Do you know any persons called slave-like?"[2] "I do." "Whether for their knowledge or their ignorance?" "For their ignorance, certainly." "Is it then for their ignorance of working in brass that they receive this appellation?" "Not at all." "Is it for their ignorance of the art of building?" "Nor for that." "Or for their ignorance of shoemaking?" "Not on any one of these accounts; for the contrary is the case, as most of those who know such trades are servile." "Is this, then, an appellation of those who are ignorant of what is honorable, and good, and just?" "It appears so to me." 23. "It therefore becomes us to exert ourselves in every way to avoid being like slaves." "But, by the gods,

[1] This is the conclusion to which Socrates wished to bring Euthydemus with regard to his own knowledge of justice; and to exhort him, at the same time, to gain a knowledge of it, "as he who knows what is just is more just than he who does not know," sect. 20.

[2] Ἀνδραποδώδεις.] Slave-like, ignorant, low-minded, not possessed of any qualities to raise them above the level of slaves. Compare i. 1. 16; and sect. 39 of this chapter.

Socrates," rejoined Euthydemus, "I firmly believed that I was pursuing that course of study, by which I should, as I expected, be made fully acquainted with all that was proper to be known by a man striving after honor and virtue; but now, how dispirited must you think I feel, when I see that, with all my previous labor, I am not even able to answer a question about what I ought most of all to know, and am acquainted with no other course which I may pursue to become better!"

24. Socrates then said, "Tell me, Euthydemus, have you ever gone to Delphi?" "Yes, twice," replied he. "And did you observe what is written somewhere on the temple wall, KNOW THYSELF?" "I did." "And did you take no thought of that inscription, or did you attend to it, and try to examine yourself, to ascertain what sort of character you are?" "I did not indeed try, for I thought that I knew very well already, since I should hardly know any thing else if I did not know myself." 25. "But whether does he seem to you to know himself, who knows his own name merely, or he who (like people buying horses, who do not think that they know the horse that they want to know, until they have ascertained whether he is tractable or unruly, whether he is strong or weak, swift or slow, and how he is as to other points which are serviceable or disadvantageous in the use of a horse, so he,) having ascertained with regard to himself how he is adapted for the service of mankind, knows his own abilities?" "It appears to me, I must confess, that he who does not know his own abilities, does not know himself." 26. "But is it not evident," said Socrates, "that men enjoy a great number of blessings in consequence of knowing themselves, and incur a great number of evils, through being deceived in themselves? For they who know themselves know what is suitable for them, and distinguish between what they can do and what they can not; and, by doing what they know how to do, procure for themselves what they need, and are prosperous, and by abstaining from what they do not know, live blamelessly, and avoid being unfortunate. By this knowledge of themselves, too, they can form an opinion of other men, and, by their experience of the rest of mankind,[1] obtain for them-

[1] *Διὰ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων χρείας.*] *Χρεία* is here "dealing with," "intercourse," by which knowledge and experience may be obtained. Compare *οἷς χρῶνται* in the following section.

selves what is good, and guard against what is evil. 27. But they who do not know themselves, but are deceived in their own powers, are in similar case with regard to other men,[1] and other human affairs, and neither understand what they require, nor what they are doing, nor the characters of those with whom they connect themselves, but, being in error as to all these particulars, they fail to obtain what is good, and fall into evil. 28. They, on the other hand, who understand what they take in hand, succeed in what they attempt, and become esteemed and honored; those who resemble them in character willingly form connections with them; those who are unsuccessful in life desire to be assisted with their advice,[2] and to prefer them to themselves; they place in them their hopes of good, and love them, on all these accounts, beyond all other men. 29. But those, again, who do not know what they are doing, who make an unhappy choice in life, and are unsuccessful in what they attempt, not only incur losses and sufferings in their own affairs, but become, in consequence, disreputable and ridiculous, and drag out their lives in contempt and dishonor. Among states, too, you see that such as, from ignorance of their own strength, go to war with others that are more powerful, are, some of them, utterly overthrown, and others reduced from freedom to slavery."

30. "Be assured, therefore," replied Euthydemus, "that I feel convinced we must consider self-knowledge of the highest value; but as to the way in which we must begin[3] to seek self-knowledge, I look to you for information, if you will kindly impart it to me." 31. "Well, then," said Socrates, "you doubtless fully understand what sort of things are good, and what sort are evil." "Yes, by Jupiter," replied Euthydemus, "for if I did not understand such things, I should be in a worse condition than slaves are." "Come then," said Socrates, "tell me what they are." "That is not difficult," said he, "for, in the first place, health I consider to be a good, and sickness an evil, and, in the next, looking to the causes of

[1] As they have no right knowledge of themselves, they have no right knowledge of other men, or of human affairs.

[2] Ἐπιθυμοῦσι τούτους ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν βουλεύεσθαι.] "Desire that these persons should deliberate (or consider about matters) for them."

[3] Ὁπόθεν χρὴ ἄρξασθαι.] "Whence (from what point) we must begin."

each of them, as drink, food, and employments, I esteem such as conduce to health to be good, and such as lead to sickness to be evil." 32. "Consequently," said Socrates, "health and sickness themselves, when they are the causes of any good, will be good, and when they are the causes of any evil, will be evil." "But when," exclaimed Euthydemus, "can health be the cause of evil, and sickness of good?" "When, for example," said Socrates, "some portion of a community, from being in good health, take part in a disgraceful expedition by land, or a ruinous voyage by sea, or in any other such matters, which are sufficiently common, and lose their lives, while others, who are left behind from ill-health, are saved." "What you say is true," said Euthydemus, "but you see that some men share in successful enterprises from being in health, while others from being in sickness, are left out of them." "Whether then," said Socrates, "are those things which are sometimes beneficial, and sometimes injurious, goods, rather, or evils?" "Nothing, by Jupiter, is to be settled with regard to them[1] by considering thus. 33. But as to wisdom, Socrates, it is indisputably a good thing; for what business will not one who is wise conduct better than one who is untaught?" "Have you not heard, then, of Dædalus," said Socrates, "how he was made prisoner by Minos and compelled to serve him as a slave; how he was cut off, at once, from his country and from liberty, and how, when he endeavored to escape with his son, he lost the child, and was unable to save himself, but was carried away among barbarians, and made a second time a slave?" "Such a story is told, indeed," said Euthydemus. "Have you not heard, too, of the sufferings of Palamedes? for every body says that it was for his wisdom he was envied and put to death by Ulysses." "That, too, is said," replied Euthydemus. "And how many other men do you think have been carried off to the king[2] on account of their wisdom, and made slaves there?"

34. "But as to happiness, Socrates," said Euthydemus, "that at least appears to be an indisputable good." "Yes, Euthydemus," replied Socrates, "if we make it consist in

[1] Οὐδὲν——φαίνεται.] "Nothing appears" or is shown; nothing can be settled with regard to them; they can not be called positively good things, or positive evils, as they seem sometimes one and sometimes the other: but as to wisdom, that is indisputably a good, etc.

[2] The king of Persia; iii. 5. 26.

things that are themselves indisputably good."[1] "But what," said he, "among things constituting happiness can be a doubtful good?" "Nothing," answered Socrates, "unless we join with it beauty, or strength, or wealth, or glory, or any other such thing." 35. "But we must assuredly join them with it," said Euthydemus; "for how can a person be happy without them?" "We shall then join with it, by Jupiter," said Socrates, "things from which many grievous calamities happen to mankind; for many, on account of their beauty, are ruined by those who are maddened with passion[2] for their youthful attractions; many, through confidence in their strength, have entered upon undertakings too great for it, and involved themselves in no small disasters; many, in consequence of their wealth, have become enervated, been plotted against, and destroyed; and many, from the glory and power that they have acquired in their country, have suffered the greatest calamities." 36. "Well, then," said Euthydemus, "if I do not say what is right when I praise happiness, I confess that I do not know what we ought to pray for to the gods."

"These points, however," proceeded Socrates, "you have perhaps not sufficiently considered, from too confident a belief that you were already well acquainted with them; but since you intend to be at the head of a democratic government, you doubtless know what a democracy is." "Assuredly," said he. 37. "Do you think it possible for a person to know what a democracy is, without knowing what the *Demos* is?" "No, indeed." "And what do you conceive the *Demos* to be?" "I conceive it to be the poorer class of citizens." "Do you know, then, which are the poor?" "How can I help knowing?" "You know then which are the rich?" "Just as well as I know which are the poor." "Which sort of persons then do you call poor, and which sort rich?" "Those who have not sufficient means to pay for the necessaries of life,[3] I regard as poor; those who have more than sufficient, I con-

[1] Εἴ γε μή τις αὐτό—ἐξ ἀμφιλόγων ἀγαθῶν συντιθείη.] "If one does not make it up of things doubtfully (or disputably) good."

[2] Παρακεκινηκότων.] Παρακινεῖν put intransitively signifies *mente excuti*, to be disturbed in mind, to be distracted or mad. See Plato Rep. vii. p. 517, D., Phædr. p. 249, and Stallbaum's note. *Kühner.*

[3] Μὴ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντας εἰς ἃ δεῖ τελεῖν.] I take τελεῖν in the sense of *paying*, as in ii. 9. 1, ii. 10. 6, and εἰς ἃ δεῖ is *ad vitæ necessitatibus satisfaciendum.* Kühner.

sider rich." "Have you ever observed, then, that to some who have very small means, those means are not only sufficient, but that they even save from them, while, to many, very large fortunes are not sufficient?" "I have indeed," said Euthydemus, "(for you very properly put me in mind of it), since I have known some princes, who, from poverty, have been driven to commit injustice like the very poorest people." 39. "Then," said Socrates, "if such be the case, we must rank such princes among the *Demos*, and those that have but little, we must rank, if they be good managers, among the rich?" "My own want of knowledge,[1] indeed," said Euthydemus, "obliges me to admit even this; and I am considering whether it would not be best for me to be silent; for I seem to know absolutely nothing."

He went away, accordingly, in great dejection, holding himself in contempt, and thinking that he was in reality no better than a slave.

40. Of those who were thus addressed by Socrates, many came to him no more; and these he regarded as too dull to be improved. But Euthydemus, on the contrary, conceived that he could by no other means become an estimable character than by associating with Socrates as much as possible; and he in consequence never quitted him, unless some necessary business obliged him to do so. He also imitated many of his habits.

When Socrates saw that he was thus disposed, he no longer puzzled him with questions, but explained to him, in the simplest and clearest manner, what he thought that he ought to know, and what it would be best for him to study.

[1] Φαυλότης.] *Inscitia.* Sturz.

CHAPTER III.

The necessity of temperance or self-control, and of right notions concerning the gods, sect. 1, 2. The gods have a providential care for mankind, 3–9. Other animals are formed by the gods for the use of man, 10. In addition to the senses common to man with the inferior animals, the gods have given him reason and speech, 11, 12. Though we do not see the gods, we are convinced of their existence from their works, 13, 14. We ought, therefore, to pay them honor according to our means, 15–18.

1. Socrates was never in haste that his followers should become skillful in speaking, in action, or in invention,[1] but, previous to such accomplishments, he thought it proper that a love of self-control should be instilled into them; for he considered that those who had acquired those qualifications were, if devoid of self-control, only better fitted to commit injustice and to do mischief. 2. In the first place, therefore, he endeavored to impress his associates with right feelings toward the gods. Some, who were present with him when he conversed with others on this subject, have given an account of his discourses; but I myself was with him when he held a conversation with Euthydemus to the following effect.

3. "Tell me," said he, "Euthydemus, has it ever occurred to you to consider how carefully the gods have provided for men every thing that they require?" "It has indeed never occurred to me," replied he. "You know at least," proceeded Socrates, "that we stand in need, first of all, of light, with which the gods supply us." "Yes, by Jupiter," answered Euthydemus, "for if we had no light, we should be, as to the use of our eyes, like the blind." "But, as we require rest, they afford us night, the most suitable season for repose." "That is assuredly," said Euthydemus, "a subject for thankfulness." 4. "Then because the sun, being luminous, shows us the hours of the day, and every thing else, while the night, being dark, prevents us from making such distinctions in it,[2] have they

[1] *Λεκτικοὺς καὶ πρακτικοὺς καὶ μηχανικούς.*] How Socrates rendered his hearers *λεκτικούς*, is shown in c. 5; how *διαλεκτικούς*, in c. 6; how *μηχανικούς*, in c. 7. *Μηχανικοὶ* may be Englished "fertile in expedients."

[2] *Ἀσαφεστέρα ἐστίν.*] Schneider interprets, "nihil patitur oculis distinguere." *Kühner* observes that the adjective will not bear this active

not caused the stars to shine in the night, which show us the night-watches, and under the direction of which we perform many things that we require?" "So it is," said he. "The moon, too, makes plain to us not only the divisions of the night, but also of the month." "Assuredly," said he. 5. "But that, since we require food, they should raise it for us from the earth, and appoint suitable seasons for the purpose, which prepare for us, in abundance and every variety, not only things which we need, but also things from which we derive pleasure, what do you think of such gifts?" "They certainly indicate love for man." 6. "And that they should supply us with water, an element of such value to us, that it causes to spring up, and unites with the earth and the seasons in bringing to maturity, every thing useful for us, and assists also to nourish ourselves, and, being mixed with all our food, renders it easier of digestion, more serviceable, and more pleasant; and that, as we require water in great quantities, they should supply us with it in such profusion, what do you think of such a gift?" "That also," said he, "shows thought for us." 7. "That they should also give us fire, a protection against cold and darkness, an auxiliary in every art and in every thing that men prepare for their use (for, in a word, men produce nothing, among the various things necessary to life, without the aid of fire), what do you think of such a gift?" "That likewise," said he, "gives eminent proof of regard for man." 8. [1] ["That they should diffuse the air also around us every where in such abundance, as not only to preserve and support life, but to enable us to cross the seas by means of it, and to get provisions by sailing hither and thither among foreign lands, is not this a boon inexpressibly valuable?" "It is indeed inexpressibly so," replied he.] "That the sun, too, when it turns toward us in the winter, should approach to mature some things, and to dry up others [2] whose season for ripening has passed away; and that, having effected these objects, he should not come nearer to us, but

sense, and interprets, "Nox propter tenebras obscurior est, quàm ut ejus singulæ partes discerni possint."

[1] The passage in brackets is found only in one manuscript. Weiske and Schneider admitted it into their texts. Kühner condemns it as spurious, justly observing that the language of it "glossatoris manum apertè prodit."

[2] As hay, and standing corn.

turn back, as if taking care lest he should hurt us by giving us more heat than is necessary; and that when again, in his departure, he arrives at the point at which it becomes evident that, if he were to go beyond it, we should be frozen by the cold, he should again turn toward us, and approach us, and revolve in that precise part of the heaven in which he may be of most advantage to us, what do you think of things so regulated?" "By Jupiter," replied Euthydemus, "they appear to be appointed solely for the sake of man." 9. "Again, that the sun, because it is certain that we could not endure such heat or cold if it should come upon us suddenly, should approach us so gradually, and retire from us so gradually, that we are brought imperceptibly to the greatest extremes of both, what do you think of that appointment?" "I am reflecting, indeed," said Euthydemus, "whether the gods can have any other business than to take care of man; only this thought embarasses me, that other animals partake in these benefits."

10. "But is not this also evident," said Socrates, "that these animals are produced and nourished for the sake of man?" For what other animal derives so many benefits from goats, sheep, horses, oxen, asses, and other such creatures, as man? To me it appears that he gains more advantages from them than from the fruits of the earth; at least he is fed and enriched not less from the one than from the other; and a great portion of mankind do not use the productions of the earth for food, but live by herds of cattle, supported by their milk, and cheese, and flesh; and all men tame and train the useful sort of animals, and use their services for war and other purposes." "I agree with what you say on that point," said Euthydemus, "for I see some animals, much stronger than we, rendered so subservient to men that they use them for whatever they please." 11. "But that, since there are numberless beautiful and useful objects in the world, greatly differing from one another, the gods should have bestowed on men senses adapted to each of them, by means of which we enjoy every advantage from them; that they should have implanted understanding in us, by means of which we reason about what we perceive by the senses, and, assisted by the memory, learn how far every thing is beneficial, and contrive many plans by which we enjoy good and avoid evil; 12. and that they should have given us the faculty of speech, by means

of which we convey information to one another, and mutually impart whatever is good, and participate in it, enact laws, and enjoy constitutional government, what think you of such blessings?" "The gods certainly appear, Socrates, to exercise the greatest care for man in every way." "And that, since we are unable to foresee what is for our advantage with regard to the future, they should assist us in that respect, communicating what will happen to those who inquire of them by divination, and instructing them how their actions may be most for their benefit, what thoughts does that produce in you?" "The gods seem to show you, Socrates," rejoined he, "more favor than other men, since they indicate to you, without being asked, what you ought to do, and what not to do."

13. "And that I speak the truth,[1] you yourself also well know, if you do not expect to see the bodily forms of the gods, but will be content, as you behold their works, to worship and honor them. Reflect, too, that the gods themselves give us this intimation;[2] for the other deities[3] that give us blessings, do not bestow any of them by coming manifestly before our sight; and he that orders and holds together the whole universe, in which are all things beautiful and good, and who preserves it always unimpaired, undisordered, and undecaying, obeying his will swifter than thought and without irregularity, is himself manifested only in the performance of his mighty works, but is invisible to us while he regulates them. 14. Consider also that the sun, which appears manifest to all, does not allow men to contemplate him too curiously, but, if any one tries to gaze on him steadfastly, deprives him of his sight. The instruments of the deities you will likewise find imperceptible; for the thunder-bolt, for instance, though it is plain that it is sent from above, and works

[1] In saying that the gods assist and admonish us.

[2] That we must not expect, when we consult the gods, to see their shapes. *Kühner.*

[3] Socrates, and those who followed him, Plato, the Stoics, and Cicero, were advocates of the opinion that, besides the one supreme God, there were others, far inferior to him, but immortal, and of great power and endowments, whom the supreme God employed, as his ministers, in the government of the world; a subject which I have discussed at some length in a treatise *de M. T. Ciceronis in philosophiam meritis*, Hamb. 1825. *Kühner.*

its will with every thing with which it comes in contact, is yet never seen either approaching, or striking, or retreating; the winds, too, are themselves invisible, though their effects are evident to us, and we perceive their course. The soul of man, moreover, which partakes of the divine nature if any thing else in man does, rules, it is evident, within us, but is itself unseen. Meditating on these facts, therefore, it behooves you not to despise the unseen gods, but, estimating their power from what is done by them, to reverence what is divine."

15. "I feel clearly persuaded, Socrates, said Euthydemus, "that I shall never fail, in the slightest degree, in respect for the divine power, but I am dejected at the thought that no one among mankind, as it seems to me, can ever requite the favors of the gods with due gratitude." 16. "But be not dejected at that reflection, Euthydemus," said Socrates, "for you know that the deity at Delphi, whenever any one consults him how he may propitiate the gods, answers, ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF YOUR COUNTRY;[1] and it is the law, indeed, every where, that every man should propitiate the gods with offerings according to his ability; and how, therefore, can any man honor the gods better or more piously, than by acting as they themselves direct? 17. It behooves us, however, not to do less than we are able, for, when any one acts thus, he plainly shows that he does not honor the gods. But it becomes him who fails, in no respect, to honor the gods according to his means, to be of good courage, and to hope for the greatest blessings; for no one can reasonably hope for greater blessings from others than from those who are able to benefit him most; nor on any other grounds than by propitiating them; and how can he propitiate them better than by obeying them to the utmost of his power?"

18. By uttering such sentiments, and by acting according to them himself, he rendered those who conversed with him more pious and prudent.

[1] See i. 3. 2.

CHAPTER IV.

Socrates inculcated a love of justice into his followers. He gave them an example of adherence to justice in his own life, sect. 1–4. He commences a conversation with Hippias, a sophist, 4–9. It is better to be just than merely to talk of justice, 10, 11; it is a part of justice to obey the laws; what a law is, 12–14; who are the best magistrates in states, 15; a general observance of the laws maintains concord, 16–18; there are certain unwritten laws, which it is not possible to transgress without incurring punishment, 19–24; to observe the divine laws is to be just, 25.

1. CONCERNING justice, too, he did not conceal what sentiments he entertained, but made them manifest even by his actions, for he conducted himself, in his private capacity, justly and beneficently toward all men, and, as a citizen, he obeyed the magistrates in all that the laws enjoined, both in the city and on military expeditions, so that he was distinguished above other men for his observance of order. 2. When he was president in the public assembly, he would not permit the people to give a vote contrary to law, but opposed himself, in defense of the laws, to such a storm of rage on the part of the populace as I think that no other man could have withstood.[1] 3. When the Thirty Tyrants commanded him to do any thing contrary to the laws, he refused to obey them; for both when they forbade him to converse with the young, and when they ordered him, and some others of the citizens, to lead a certain person[2] away to death, he alone did not obey, because the order was given contrary to the laws. 4. When he was accused by Meletus,[3] and others were accustomed, before the tribunal, to speak so as to gain the favor of the judges, and to flatter them, and supplicate them, in violation of the laws,[4] and many persons, by such practices, had often been acquitted by the judges, he refused, on his trial, to comply with any practices opposed to the laws, and

[1] See i. 1. 18.

[2] Leon, a native of Salamis, but an enrolled citizen of Athens, who had gone of his own accord into exile at Salamis, that he might not be put to death by the Tyrants, in their greediness for wealth. Stallbaum ad Plat. Apol. p. 32, C. See Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 39; Andocid. de Myster. p. 46; Diop. Laert. ii. 24. *Kühner.*

[3] See note on i. 1. 1. He is generally called Melitus.

[4] It was forbidden at Athens to attempt to move the feelings of the judges. Quintil. vi. 1. Pollux de Areopagit. viii. 117.

though he might easily have been acquitted by his judges, if he had but in a slight degree adopted any of those customs, he chose rather to die abiding by the laws than to save his life by transgressing them.

5. He held conversations to this effect with others on several occasions, and I know that he once had a dialogue of the following kind, concerning justice, with Hippias of Elis;[1] for Hippias, on his return to Athens after an absence of some time, happened to come in the way of Socrates as he was observing to some people how surprising it was that, if a man wished to have another taught to be a shoemaker, or a carpenter, or a worker in brass, or a rider, he was at no loss whither he should send him to effect his object;[2] [nay, that every place, as some say, was full of persons who would make a horse or an ox observant of right for any one that desired;] while as to justice, if any one wished either to learn it himself, or to have his son or his slave taught it, he did not know whither he should go to obtain his desire. 6. Hippias, hearing this remark, said, as if jesting with him, "What! are you still saying the same things, Socrates, that I heard from you so long ago?" "Yes," said Socrates, "and what is more wonderful, I am not only still saying the same things, but am saying them on the same subjects; but you, perhaps, from being possessed of such variety of knowledge, never say the same things on the same subjects." "Certainly," replied Hippias, "I do always try to say something new." 7. "About matters of which you have certain knowledge, then," said Socrates, "as, for instance, about the letters of the alphabet, if any one were to ask you how many and what letters are in the word 'Socrates,' would you try to say sometimes one thing, and sometimes another? or to people who might ask you about numbers, as whether twice five are ten, would you not

[1] A famous sophist of that time, well known from the Dialogues of Plato; see Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 36; Quintil. xii. 11. 21; Bornemann ad Sympos. iv. 62. Of the vanity and arrogance of the man, see Stallbaum ad Plat. Hipp. Maj. p. 148.

[2] The works in brackets are condemned by Ruhnken and Valckenaer as spurious. Bornemann and Kühner attempt to defend them. They certainly disturb the course of the argument so much and are so useless, that I can not think them Xenophon's. "Observant of right," in the translation answers to δικαίους, "just," a word on which the writer plays.

give the same answer at one time as at another?" "About such matters, Socrates," replied Hippias, "I, like you, always say the same thing; but concerning justice I think that I have certainly something to say now which neither you nor any other person can refute." 8. "By Juno," returned Socrates, "it is a great good that you say you have discovered, since the judges will now cease from giving contradictory sentences, the citizens will cease from disputing about what is just, from going to law, and from quarreling, and communities will cease from contending about their rights and going to war; and I know not how I can part with you till I have learned so important a benefit from its discoverer." 9. "You shall not hear it, by Jupiter," rejoined Hippias, "until you yourself declare what you think justice to be; for it is enough that you laugh at others,[1] questioning and confuting every body, while you yourself are unwilling to give a reason to any body, or to declare your opinion on any subject." 10. "What then, Hippias," said Socrates, "have you not perceived that I never cease declaring my opinion as to what I conceive to be just?" "And what is this opinion of yours?" said Hippias. "If I make it known to you, not by words merely, but by actions, do not deeds seem to you to be a stronger evidence than words?" "Much stronger, by Jupiter," said Hippias, "for many who say what is just do what is unjust, but a man who does what is just can not be himself unjust." 11. "Have you ever then found me bearing false witness, or giving malicious information, or plunging my friends or the state into quarrels, or doing any thing else that is unjust?" "I have not." "And do you not think it justice to refrain from injustice?" "You are plainly, now," said Hippias, "endeavoring to avoid expressing an opinion as to what you think just; for what you say is, not what the just do, but what they do not do." 12. "But I thought," rejoined Socrates, "that to be unwilling to do injustice was a sufficient proof of justice. If this, however, does not satisfy you, consider whether what I next say will please you better; for I assert that what is in conformity with the laws is just." "Do you say, Socrates, that to be conformable to the laws, and to be just, is the same thing?" "I do, indeed." 13. "I

[1] "Satis est quod ceteros omnes rides;—me verò non ridebis." *Kühner.*

am puzzled; for I do not understand what you call conformable to law, or what you call just." "Do you know the laws of the state?" said Socrates. "I do," said the other. "And what do you consider them to be?" "What the citizens in concert have enacted as to what we ought to do, and what we ought to avoid doing." "Would not he, therefore," asked Socrates, "be an observer of the laws who should conduct himself in the community agreeably to those enactments, and he be a violater of the laws who transgresses them?" "Undoubtedly," said Hippias. "Would not he, then, do what is just who obeys the laws, and he do what is unjust who disobeys them?" "Certainly." "Is not he, then, just who does what is just, and he unjust who does what is unjust?" "How can it be otherwise?" "He, therefore, that conforms to the laws is just," added Socrates, "and he who violates the laws, unjust."

14. "But," objected Hippias, "how can any one imagine the laws, or obedience to them, to be a matter of absolute importance, when the very persons who make them often reject and alter them?" "That objection is of no consequence," said Socrates, "for states, which have commenced war, often make peace again." "Undoubtedly they do," said Hippias. "What difference will there be in your conduct, then, think you,[1] if you throw contempt on those who obey the laws, because the laws may be changed, and if you blame those who act properly in war, because peace may be made? Do you condemn those who vigorously support their country in war?" "I do not, indeed," replied Hippias. 15. "Have you ever heard it said of Lycurgus the Lacedæmonian, then," said Socrates, "that he would not have made Sparta at all different from other states, if he had not established in it, beyond others, a spirit of obedience to the laws? Do you not know, too, that of magistrates in states, those are thought the best who are most efficient in producing obedience to the laws, and that that state in which the citizens pay most respect to the laws, is in the best condition in peace, and invincible in war? 16. The greatest blessing to states, moreover, is concord; and the senates and principal men in them often exhort the citizens to unanimity; and every where throughout Greece it is a law that the citizens shall take an oath to observe concord, an oath

[1] *Διάφορον οὖν τι οἴει ποιεῖν—ἢ—.*] "Do you think, therefore, that you do any thing different—than—."

which they every where do take; but I conceive that this is done, not that the citizens may approve of the same choruses, or that they may praise the same flute-players, or that they may prefer the same poets,[1] or that they may take delight in the same spectacles, but that they may obey the laws; for while the citizens adhere to these, states will be eminently powerful and happy; but without such unanimity, no state can be well governed, nor any family well regulated. 17. As an individual citizen, too, how could any person render himself less liable to penalties from the government, or more likely to have honors bestowed upon him, than by being obedient to the laws? How else would he incur fewer defeats in the courts of justice, or how more certainly obtain sentence in his favor? To whom would any one believe that he could more safely confide his money, or his sons or daughters? Whom would the whole community deem more trustworthy than him who respects the laws? From whom would parents, or relatives, or domestics, or friends, or citizens, or strangers, more certainly obtain their rights? To whom would the enemy sooner trust in cessations of arms, or in making a truce, or articles of peace? To whom would people more willingly become allies than to the observer of the laws, and to whom would the allies more willingly trust the leadership, or command of a fortress, or of a city? From whom would any one expect to meet with gratitude, on doing him a kindness, sooner than from the observer of the laws? Or whom would any one rather serve than him from whom he expects to receive a return? To whom would any one more desire to be a friend, or less desire to be an enemy, than such a man? With whom would any one be less inclined to go to war, than with him to whom he would most wish to be a friend, and least of all an enemy, and to whom the greatest part of mankind would wish to be friends and allies, and but a small number to be antagonists and enemies? 18. I, therefore, Hippias, pronounce that to obey the laws and to be just is the same; if you hold an opinion to the contrary, tell me." "Indeed, Socrates," rejoined Hippias, "I do not know that I entertain any sentiments opposed to what you have said of justice."

19. "But are you aware, Hippias," continued Socrates, "that there are unwritten laws?" "You mean those," said

[1] The same scenic poets.

Hippias, "that are in force about the same points, every where." "Can you affirm, then, that men made those laws?" "How could they," said Hippias, "when they could not all meet together, and do not all speak the same language?" "Whom, then, do you suppose to have made these laws?" "I believe," said he, "that it was the gods who made these laws for men, for among all men the first law is to venerate the gods." 20. "Is it not also a law every where to honor parents?" "It is so?" "Is it not a law, too, that parents shall not intermarry with their children, nor children with their parents?" "This does not, as yet, Socrates, appear to me to be a law of the gods?" "Why?" "Because I find that some nations transgress it." 21. "Many others, too, they transgress," said Socrates; "but those who violate the laws made by the gods incur punishment which it is by no means possible for man to escape, as many transgressors of the laws made by men escape punishment, some by concealment, others by open violence." 22. "And what sort of punishment, Socrates," said he, "can not parents escape who intermarry with their children, and children who intermarry with their parents?" "The greatest of all punishments, by Jupiter," replied Socrates, "for what greater penalty can those who beget children incur, than to have bad children?" 23. "How then," said Hippias, "do they necessarily have bad children when nothing hinders but that they may be good themselves, and have children by good partners?" "Because," returned Socrates, "it is not only necessary that those who have children by each other should be good, but that they should be in full bodily vigor.[1] Or do you suppose that the seed of those who are at the height of maturity is similar to that of those who have not yet reached maturity, or to that of those who are far past it?" "By Jupiter," replied Hippias, "it is not at all likely that it should be similar." "Which of the two

[1] Mirari libet Socratis commentum, qui in conjugiis talibus nihil culpandum invenit præter ætatis disparitatem. Illud potius disquirendum, annon in hominibus nullâ pravâ educatione corruptis sit in ipsis affectibus insita fuga quædam commixtionis cum parentibus et ex se natis, quippe cum ab eâ etiam quædam animantia naturaliter abhorreant. Hugo Grotius de J. B. et P. ii. 5, 12, 4—5, et 2, 3, cum annott. Puffendorf. et Osiand. *Herbst.* Parentum et liberorum officia mutua plus ait Weiskius valere ad reprobanda connubia talia quàm annorum inæqualitatem. *Kühner.*

then is the better?" "Doubtless that of those at full maturity." "That of those who are not at full maturity, then, is not sufficiently energetic." "Probably not." "Accordingly they ought not to have children?" "No." "Do not those, therefore, who have children under such circumstances, have them as they ought not?" "So it appears to me." "What other persons, therefore, will have bad children, if not these?" "Well," said Hippias, "I agree with you on this point also."

24. "Is it not every where a law, also," said Socrates, "that men should do good to those who do good to them?" "It is a law," answered Hippias, "but it is transgressed." "Do not those therefore who transgress it incur punishment," continued Socrates, by being deprived of good friends, and being compelled to have recourse to those who hate them? Are not such as do service to those who seek it of them good friends to themselves, and are not those who make no return to such as serve them hated by them for their ingratitude; and yet, because it is for their advantage to have their support, do they not pay the greatest court to them?" "Indeed, Socrates," replied Hippias, "all these things seem to suit the character of the gods; for that the laws themselves should carry with them punishments for those who transgress them, appears to me to be the appointment of a lawgiver superior to man."

25. "Whether, therefore, Hippias," added Socrates, "do you consider that the gods appoint as laws, what is agreeable to justice, or what is at variance with justice?" "Not what is at variance with justice, certainly," said Hippias, "for scarcely would any other make laws in conformity with justice, if a god were not to do so." "It is the pleasure of the gods, therefore, Hippias," concluded Socrates, "that what is in conformity with justice should also be in conformity with the laws."[1]

By uttering such sentiments, and acting in agreement with them, he rendered those who conversed with him more observant of justice.

[1] Lange has given a judicious summary of these arguments. The gods give just laws; what is in conformity with these laws, is *νόμιμον*: therefore every thing *νόμιμον* in the divine laws is just. Thus the gods in this definition (*τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι*, sect. 12), agree with men, or with me, says Socrates. A sound argument, if human laws be what they ought to be, that is, in conformity with the divine laws, or the laws of nature.

CHAPTER V.

Socrates rendered his followers better qualified for public life. The necessity of temperance, sect. 1, 2; the evils of intemperance, 3–7; the benefits arising from temperance, 8–10; the conduct of the temperance man, 11, 12.

1. I WILL now relate how he rendered his followers better qualified for the management of public business. Thinking it expedient that temperance should be observed by him who would succeed in any thing honorable, he first made it evident to those who conversed with him, that he practiced this virtue beyond all other men, and then, by his discourse, he exhorted his followers, above every thing, to the observance of temperance. He continued always, therefore, to make allusions to whatever was conducive to virtue; and I know that he once held a conversation on temperance with Euthydemus to the following effect: 2. "Tell me," said he, "Euthydemus, do you regard liberty as an excellent and honorable possession for an individual or a community?" "The most excellent and honorable that can be," replied he. 3. "Do you consider him, then, who is held under control by the pleasures of the body, and is rendered unable, by their influence, to do what is best for him, to be free?" "By no means," replied Euthydemus. "Perhaps, then, to have the power of doing what is best seems to you to be freedom, but to be under influences which will hinder you from doing it, you consider to be want of freedom?" "Assuredly," said he. 4. "Do not the intemperate appear to you, then, to be absolutely without freedom?" "Yes, by Jupiter, and naturally so." "And whether do the intemperate appear to you to be merely prevented from doing what is best, or to be forced, also, to do what is most dishonorable?" "They appear to me," replied Euthydemus, "to be not less forced to do the one than they are hindered from doing the other." 5. "And what sort of masters do you consider those to be, who hinder men from doing what is best, and force them to do what is worst?" "The very worst possible, by Jupiter," replied he. "And what sort of slavery do you consider to be the worst?" "That," said he, "under the worst masters?" "Do not then the in-

temperate," said Socrates, "endure the very worst of slavery?" "It appears so to me," answered Euthydemus. 6. "And does not intemperance seem to you, by banishing from men prudence, the greatest good, to drive them into the very opposite evil? Does it not appear to you to hinder them from attending to useful things, and learning them, by drawing them away to pleasure, and frequently, by captivating those who have a perception of good and evil, to make them choose the worse instead of the better?" "Such is the case," said he.

7. "And whom can we suppose, Euthydemus, to have less participation in self-control than the intemperate man? for assuredly the acts of self-control and of intemperance are the very opposite to each other." "I assent to this also," said he. "And do you think that any thing is a greater hinderance to attention to what is becoming, than intemperance?" "I do not." "And do you imagine that there is any greater evil to man, than that which makes him prefer the noxious to the beneficial, which prompts him to pursue the one and to neglect the other, and which forces him to pursue a contrary course of conduct to that of the wise?" "There is none," said Euthydemns.

8. "Is it not natural, then," said Socrates, "that temperance should be the cause of producing in men effects contrary to those which intemperance produces?" "Undoubtedly," said Euthydemus. "Is it not natural, therefore, also, that what produces those contrary effects should be best for man?" "It is natural," said he. "Is it not consequently natural, then, Euthydemus, that temperance should be best for man?" "It is so, Socrates," said he. 9. "And have you ever reflected upon this, Euthydemus?" "What?" "That even to those pleasures, to which alone intemperance seems to lead men, it can not lead them, but that temperance produces greater pleasure than any thing else?" "How?" said he. "Because intemperance, by not allowing men to withstand hunger, thirst, or the desire of sensual gratification, or want of sleep (through which privations alone is it possible for them to eat, and drink, and gratify other natural appetites, and go to rest and sleep with pleasure, waiting and restraining themselves until the inclinations may be most happily indulged), hinders them from having any due enjoyment in acts most necessary and most habitual; but temperance, which alone enables men to

endure the privations which I have mentioned, alone enables them to find delight in the gratifications to which I have alluded." "What you say," observed Euthydemus, "is indisputably true." 10. "From learning what is honorable and good, moreover, and from the study of those accomplishments by which a man may ably govern himself, judiciously regulate his household, become useful to his friends and the state, and gain the mastery over his enemies (from which studies arise not only the greatest advantages, but also the greatest pleasures), the temperate have enjoyment while they practice them, but the intemperate have no share in any of them; for to whom can we say that it less belongs to participate in such advantages, than to him who has the least power to pursue them, being wholly occupied in attention to present pleasures?" 11. "You seem to me, Socrates," said Euthydemus, "to say that the man who is under the influence of bodily pleasures, has no participation in any one virtue." "For what difference is there, Euthydemus," said he, "between an intemperate man and the most ignorant brute? How will he, who has no regard to what is best, but seeks only to enjoy what is most seductive by any means in his power, differ from the most senseless cattle? To the temperate alone it belongs to consider what is best in human pursuits, to distinguish those pursuits, according to experience and reason, into their several classes, and then to choose the good and refrain from the evil."

12. Thus it was, he said, that men became most virtuous and happy, and most skillful in reasoning; and he observed that the expression *διαλέγεσθαι*, "to reason," had its origin in people's practice of meeting together to reason on matters, and distinguishing them, *διαλέγοντας*, according to their several kinds. It was the duty of every one, therefore, he thought, to make himself ready in this art, and to study it with the greatest diligence; for that men, by the aid of it, became most accomplished, most able to guide others, and most acute in discussion.

CHAPTER VI.

The value of skill in argument and definition, sect. 1. Definition of PIETY, 2–4; of JUSTICE, 5, 6; of WISDOM, 7; of GOODNESS and BEAUTY, 8, 9; of COURAGE, 10, 11. Some other definitions, 12. Remarks on the Socratic method of argument, 13–15.

1. I WILL now endeavor to show that Socrates rendered hose who associated with him more skillful in argument. For he thought that those who knew the nature of things severally, would be able to explain them to others; but as to those who did not know, he said that it was not surprising that they fell into error themselves, and led others into it. He therefore never ceased to reason with his associates about the nature of things.[1] To go through all the terms that he defined, and to show how he definited them, would be a long task; but I will give as many instances as I think will suffice to show the nature of his reasoning.

2. In the first place, then, he reasoned of PIETY, in some such way as this. "Tell me," said he, "Euthydemus, what sort of feeling do you consider piety to be?" "The most noble of all feelings," replied he. "Can you tell me, then, who is a pious man?" "The man, I think, who honors the gods." "Is it allowable to pay honor to the gods in any way that one pleases?" "No; there are certain laws in conformity with which we must pay our honors to them." 3. "He, then, who knows these laws, will know how he must honor the gods?" "I think so." "He therefore who knows how to pay honor to the gods, will not think that he ought to pay it otherwise than as he knows?" "Doubtless not." "But does any one pay honors to the gods otherwise than as he thinks that he ought to pay them?" "I think not." 4. "He therefore who knows what is agreeable to the laws with regard to the gods, will honor the gods in agreement with the laws?" "Certainly." "Does not he, then, who honors the gods agreeably to the laws honor them as he ought?" "How can he do otherwise?" "And he who honors them as he ought, is pious?" "Certainly." "He therefore who knows what is agreeable to the laws with regard to the gods, may

[1] Τί ἕκαστον εἴη τῶν ὄντων.] *Quid res quælibet esset;* "what each thing was;" what was the nature of each thing.

be justly defined by us as a pious man?" "So it appears to me," said Euthydemus.

5. "But is it allowable for a person to conduct himself toward other men in whatever way he pleases?" "No; but with respect to men also, he who knows what is in conformity with the laws, and how men ought, according to them, to conduct themselves toward each other, will be an observer of the laws." "Do not those, then, who conduct themselves toward each other according to what is in conformity with the laws, conduct themselves toward each other as they ought?" "How can it be otherwise?" "Do not those, therefore, who conduct themselves toward each other as they ought, conduct themselves well?" "Certainly." "Do not those, then, that conduct themselves well toward each other, act properly in transactions between man and man?" "Surely." "Do not those, then, who obey the laws, do what is just?" "Undoubtedly." 6. "And do you know what sort of actions are called just?" "Those which the laws sanction." "Those, therefore, who do what the laws sanction, do what is just, and what they ought?" "How can it be otherwise?" "Those who do just things, therefore, are just?" "I think so." "Do you think that any persons yield obedience to the laws who do not know what the laws sanction?" "I do not." "And do you think that any who know what they ought to do, think that they ought not to do it?" "I do not think so." "And do you know any persons that do other things than those which they think they ought to do?" "I do not." "Those, therefore, who know what is agreeable to the laws in regard to men, do what is just?" "Certainly." "And are not those who do what is just, just men?" "Who else can be so?" "Shall we not define rightly, therefore," concluded Socrates, "if we define those to be just who know what is agreeable to the laws in regard to men?" "It appears so to me," said Euthydemus.

7. "And what shall we say that WISDOM is? Tell me, whether do men seem to you to be wise, in things which they know, or in things which they do not know?" "In what they know, certainly; for how can a man be wise in things of which he knows nothing?" "Those, then, who are wise, are wise by their knowledge?" "By what else can a man be wise, if not by his knowledge?" "Do you think wisdom, then, to be any thing else than that by which men are wise?"

"I do not." "Is knowledge, then, wisdom?" "It appears so to me." "Does it appear to you, however, that it is possible for a man to know all things that are?" "No, by Jupiter; not even as I think, a comparatively small portion of them." "It is not therefore possible for a man to be wise in all things?" "No, indeed." "Every man is wise, therefore, in that only of which he has a knowledge?" "So it seems to me."

8. "Shall we thus, too, Euthydemus," said he, "inquire what is GOOD?" "How?" said Euthydemus. "Does the same thing appear to you to be beneficial to every body?" "No." "And does not that which is beneficial to one person appear to you to be sometimes hurtful to another?" "Assuredly." "Would you say, then, that any thing is good that is not beneficial?" "I would not." "What is beneficial, therefore, is good, to whomsoever it is beneficial?" "It appears so to me," said Euthydemus.

9. "And can we define the BEAUTIFUL in any other way than if you term whatever is beautiful, whether a person, or a vase, or any thing else whatsoever, beautiful for whatever purpose you know that it is beautiful?"[1] "No, indeed," said Euthydemus. "For whatever purpose, then, any thing may be useful, for that purpose it is beautiful to use it?" "Certainly." "And is any thing beautiful for any other purpose than that for which it is beautiful to use it?" "For no other purpose," replied he. "What is useful is beautiful, therefore, for that purpose for which it is beautiful?" "So I think," said he.

10. "As to COURAGE, Euthydemus," said Socrates, "do you think it is to be numbered among excellent things?" "I think it one of the most excellent," replied Euthydemus. "But you do not think courage a thing of use for small occasions." "No, by Jupiter, but for the very greatest." "Does it appear to you to be useful, with regard to formidable and dangerous things, to be ignorant of their character?" "By

[1] I have translated this apparently corrupt passage according to the interpretation of it proposed by Lange, a friend of Kühner's: Num possumus pulchrum aliter [intellige *ac bonum*, iii. 8, ubi demonstratum est *καλὸν, αγαθὸν*, et *χρήσιμον* idem esse,] definire, an pulchrum vocas, si quid pulchrum est [*εἰ ἔστιν*] vel corpus, vel vas, vel aliud quid, quod ad quamcunque rem (*πρὸς πάντα*) pulchrum est?

no means." "They, therefore, who do not fear such things, because they do not know what they are, are not courageous?" "Certainly not; for, in that case, many madmen and even cowards would be courageous." "And what do you say of those who fear things that are not formidable?" "Still less, by Jupiter, should they be called courageous." "Those, then, that are *good*, with reference to formidable and dangerous things, you consider to be courageous, and those that are *bad*, cowardly?" "Certainly." 11. "But do you think that any other persons are *good*, with reference to terrible and dangerous circumstances, except those who are able to conduct themselves well under them?" "No, those only," said he. "And you think those *bad* with regard to them, who are of such a character to conduct themselves badly under them?" "Whom else can I think so?" "Do not each, then, conduct themselves under them as they think they ought?" "How can it be otherwise?" "Do those, therefore, who do not conduct themselves properly under them, know how they ought to conduct themselves under them?" "Doubtless not." "Those then who know how they ought to conduct themselves under them, can do so?" "And they alone." "Do those, therefore, who do not fail under such circumstances, conduct themselves badly under them?" "I think not." "Those then who do conduct themselves badly under them, do fail?" "It seems so." "Those, therefore, who know how to conduct themselves well in terrible and dangerous circumstances are courageous, and those who fail to do so are cowards?" "They at least appear so to me," said Euthydemus.

12. Monarchy and tyranny he considered to be both forms of government, but conceived that they differed greatly from one another; for a government over men with their own consent, and in conformity with the laws of free states, he regarded as a monarchy; but a government over men against their will, and not according to the law of free states, but just as the ruler pleased, a tyranny; and wherever magistrates were appointed from among those who complied with the injunctions of the laws, he considered the government to be an aristocracy; wherever they were appointed according to their wealth, a plutocracy; and wherever they were appointed from among the whole people, a democracy.

13. Whenever any person contradicted him on any point,

who had nothing definite to say, and who perhaps asserted, without proof, that some person, whom he mentioned, was wiser, or better skilled in political affairs, or possessed of greater courage, or worthier in some such respect, [than some other whom Socrates had mentioned], he would recall the whole argument, in some such way as the following, to the primary proposition: 14. "Do you say that he whom you commend, is *a better citizen* than he whom I commend?" "I do say so." "Why should we then not consider, in the first place, what is the duty of a *good citizen?*" "Let us do so." "Would not he then be superior in the management of the public money who should make the state richer?" "Undoubtedly." "And he in war who should make it victorious over its enemies?" "Assuredly." "And in an embassy he who should make friends of foes?" "Doubtless." "And he in addressing the people who should check dissension and inspire them with unanimity?" "I think so." When the discussion was thus brought back to fundamental principles, the truth was made evident to those who had opposad him.

15. When he himself went through any subject in argument, he proceeded upon propositions of which the truth was generally acknowledged, thinking that a sure foundation was thus formed for his reasoning. Accordingly, whenever he spoke, he, of all men that I have known, most readily prevailed on his hearers to assent to his arguments; and he used to say that Homer[1] had attributed to Ulysses the character of *a sure orator*, as being able to form his reasoning on points acknowledged by all mankind.

CHAPTER VII.

How Socrates rendered his followers μηχανικοὺς, ingenious and adapted for business; his frankness and sincerity, 1. How far he thought that Geometry should be studied, 2, 3. How far he recommended that Astronomy should be pursued, 4–7. Vain investigations to be avoided, 8. Regard to be paid to health, 9. Counsel to be asked of the gods, 10.

1. THAT Socrates expressed his sentiments with sincerity to those who conversed with him, is, I think, manifest from what I have said. I will now proceed to show how much it was his

[1] Odyss. viii. 171: Ὁ δὲ ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύει: a passage noticed by Dionys. Hal. de Arte Rhet. xi. 8.

care that his followers should be competently qualified for employments suited to their powers. Of all men that I have known, he was the most anxious to discover in what occupation each of those who attended him was likely to prove skillful; and of all that it becomes a man of honor and virtue to know, he taught them himself, whatever he knew, with the utmost cheerfuluess; and what he had not sufficient knowledge to teach, he took them to those who knew, to learn.

2. He taught them also how far it was proper that a well-educated man should be versed in any department of knowledge.[1] Geometry, for instance, he said that a man should study until he should be capable, if occasion required, to take or give land correctly by meausurement; or to divide it or portion it out for cultivation;[2] and this, he observed, it was so easy to learn, that he who gave any attention at all to mensuration, might find how large the whole earth was, and perfectly understand how it was measured. 3. But of pursuing the study of geometry to diagrams hard to understand, he disapproved; for he said that he could not see of what profit they were,[3] though he himself was by no means unskilled in them; but he remarked that they were enough to consume a man's whole life, and hinder him from attaining many other valuable branches of knowledge.

4. He recommended his followers to learn astronomy also, but only so far as to be able to know the hour of the night, the month, and the season of the year, with a view to traveling by land or sea, or distinguishing the night-watches; and

[1] Πράγματος.] "Negotii ex doctrinâ et scientiâ pendentis." *Schneider.*

[2] Ἔργον ἀποδείξασθαι.] "Ad opus faciendum agri portionem assignare." *Ernesti.*

[3] Socrates did not altogether condemn the study of geometry and astronomy, but disapproved of the general practice of the philosophers of his own age, who devoted themselves wholly to difficult questions concerning the figure of the earth, etc., to the entire neglect of moral philosophy. Plato, Phæd. c. 46, agrees with Xenophon; and, indeed, an immoderate pursuit of such studies was altogether alien from the affairs of common life and morality, to which alone Socrates gave his serious attention. *Zeune.* In the infancy of the mechanic arts, and amid the foolish practices of the philosophers, who endeavored to apply geometry and astronomy to subjects too high for the human intellect, we can not wonder at the determination of Socrates, who preferred improving the morals of men. Those who are ignorant of those sciences in the present day repeat the objections of Socrates as to their inutility. *Schneider.*

to be competent, by knowing the divisions of the above-mentioned times, to profit by the signs for whatever other things are done at a certain period of the night, or month, or year. These particulars, he said, were easily learned from men who hunted by night, from pilots, and from many others whose business it was to know them. 5. But to continue the study of astronomy so far as to distinguish the bodies which do not move in the same circle with the heavens[1] the planets, and the irregular stars,[2] and to weary ourselves in inquiring into their distances from the earth, the periods of their revolutions, and the causes of all these things, was what he greatly discountenanced; for he saw, he said, no profit in these studies either,[3] though he had himself given attention to them; since they also, he remarked, were enough to wear out the life of a man, and prevent him from attending to many profitable pursuits.

6. Concerning celestial matters in general, he dissuaded every man from becoming a speculator how the divine power contrives to manage them; for he did not think that such points were discoverable by man, nor did he believe that those acted dutifully toward the gods who inquired into things which they did not wish to make known. He observed, too, that a man who was anxious about such investigations, was in danger of losing his senses, not less than Anaxagoras, who prided himself highly on explaining the plans of the gods, lost his. 7. For Anaxagoras, when he said that fire and the sun were of the same nature, did not reflect that people can easily look upon fire, but can not turn their gaze to the sun, and that men, if exposed to the rays of the sun, have complexions of a darker shade, but not if exposed to fire; he omitted to consider, too, that of the productions of the earth, none can come fairly to maturity without the rays of the sun, while, if warmed by the heat of fire, they all perish; and when he said that the sun was a heated stone, he forgot that a stone placed in the

1 *Τὰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περιφορᾷ ὄντα.*] Edwards refers to Diog. Laert. vii. 144, where it is said that some of the heavenly bodies are carried round with the heaven, without changing their place, while others have motions peculiar to themselves.

2 *Ἀσταθμήτους ἀστέρας.*] Schneider, Bornemann, and Kühner, agree in understanding *comets.*

3 Any more than in difficult geometrical investigations.

fire does not shine, or last long, but that the sun continues perpetually the most luminous of all bodies.

8. He advised his followers also to learn computations,[1] but in these, as in other things, he exhorted them to avoid useless labor; as far as it was of any profit, he investigated every thing himself, and went through it with his associates.

9. He earnestly recommended those who conversed with him to take care of their health, both by learning whatever they could respecting it from men of experience, and by attending to it, each for himself, throughout his whole life, studying what food or drink, or what exercise, was most suitable for him, and how he might act in regard to them so as to enjoy the best health; for he said it would be difficult for a person who thus attended to himself to find a physician that would tell better than himself what was conducive to his health.

10. But if any one desired to attain to what was beyond human wisdom, he advised him to study divination; for he said that he who knew by what signs the gods give indications to men respecting human affairs, would never fail of obtaining counsel from the gods.

CHAPTER VIII.

Socrates, though condemned to death, was not convicted of falsehood with regard to his DÆMON. His resolution to die. His innocence inspires him with courage. He thinks it good to die, and escape the evils of old age. Summary of the arguments of the Memorabilia.

1. BUT if any one thinks that he was convicted of falsehood with regard to his DÆMON, because sentence of death was pronounced on him by the judges although he said that the dæmon admonished him what he ought and what he ought not to do, let him consider, in the first place, that he was already so advanced in years,[2] that he must have ended his life, if not then, at least not long after; and, in the next,

[1] Λογίσμους.] Computations or calculations. "Artem calculatoriam." *Schneider*. How λογιστική differed from ἀριθμητική is shown by Plato, Gorg. c. 13.

[2] He was seventy years old, according to Diog. Laert. ii. 44, and Maxim. Tyr. ix. 8.

that he relinquished only the most burdensome part of life, in which all feel their powers of intellect diminished, while, instead of enduring this, he acquired great glory by proving the firmness of his mind, pleading his cause above all men, with the greatest regard to truth, ingenuousness, and justice, and bearing his sentence at once with the utmost resignation and the utmost fortitude.

2. It is indeed acknowledged that no man, of all that are remembered, ever endured death with greater glory; for he was obliged to live thirty days after his sentence, because the Delian festival[1] happened in that month, and the law allowed no one to be publicly put to death until the sacred deputation should return from Delos; and during that time he was seen by all his friends living in no other way than at any preceding period; and, let it be observed, throughout all the former part of his life he had been admired beyond all men for the cheerfulness and tranquillity with which he lived. 3.[2] How could any one have died more nobly than thus? Or what death could be more honorable than that which any man might most honorably undergo? Or what death could be happier than the most honorable? Or what death more acceptable to the gods than the most happy?

4. I will also relate what I heard[3] respecting him from Hermogenes,[4] the son of Hipponicus, who said that after Meletus had laid the accusation against him, he heard him speaking on any subject rather than that of his trial, and remarked to him that he ought to consider what defense he should make, but that he said at first, "Do I not appear to you to have passed my whole life meditating on that subject?"[5] and then, when he asked him "How so?" he said that "he

[1] *Δήλια.*] A procession, instituted by Theseus, which the Artheniens made annually to Delos, and which is to be distinguished from the *greater Delia*, or panegyris, in that island. See Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Ant., art. Delia.

[2] Bornemann thinks that portion of this chapter between the beginning of sect. 3, and *ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ* in sect. 11, spurious, and made up from the Apology. Weiske is of a contrary opinion.

[3] Xenophon himself was then with Cyrus in Asia. *Schneider.*

[4] The same that is mentioned in ii. 10. See Cobet, Prosopogr. Xen. p. 64.

[5] Τοῦτο *μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι.*] "In hac re (defensione mei) meditandô totam vitam transegisse." *Kühner.*

had gone through life doing nothing but considering what was just and what unjust, doing what was just and abstaining from what was unjust, which he conceived to be the best meditation for his defense." 5. Hermogenes said again, "Do you not see, Socrates, that the judges at Athens have already put to death many innocent persons, from being offended at their language, and have allowed many that were guilty to escape?" "But, by Jupiter, Hermogenes," replied he, "when I was proceeding, a while ago, to study my address to the judges, the dæmon testified disapprobation." "You say what is strange," rejoined Hermogenes. "And do you think it strange," inquired Socrates, "that it should seem better to the divinity that I should now close my life? Do you not know, that, down to the present time, I would not admit to any man that he has lived either better or with more pleasure than myself? for I consider that those live best who study best to become as good as possible; and that those live with most pleasure who feel the most assurance that they are daily growing better and better. 7. This assurance I have felt, to the present day, to be the case with respect to myself; and associating with other men, and comparing myself with others, I have always retained this opinion respecting myself; and, not only I, but my friends also, maintain a similar feeling with regard to me, not because they love me (for those who love others may be thus affected toward the objects of their love), but because they think that while they associated with me they became greatly advanced in virtue. 8. If I shall live a longer period, perhaps I shall be destined to sustain the evils of old age, to find my sight and hearing weakened, to feel my intellect impaired, to become less apt to learn, and more forgetful, and, in fine, to grow inferior to others in all those qualities in which I was once superior to them. If I should be insensible to this deterioration, life would not be worth retaining; and, if I should feel it, how could I live otherwise than with less profit, and with less comfort? 9. If I am to die unjustly, my death will be a disgrace to those who unjustly kill me; for if injustice is a disgrace, must it not be a disgrace to do any thing unjustly? But what disgrace will it be to me, that others could not decide or act justly with regard to me? 10. Of the men who have lived before me, I see that the estimation left among posterity with regard to

such as have done wrong, and such as have suffered wrong, is by no means similar; and I know that I also, if I now die, shall obtain from mankind far different consideration from that which they will pay to those who take my life; for I know that they will always bear witness to me that I have never wronged any man, or rendered any man less virtuous, but that I have always endeavored to make those better who conversed with me." Such discourse he held with Hermogenes, and with others.

11. Of those who knew what sort of man Socrates was, such as were lovers of virtue, continue to regret him above all other men, even to the present day, as having contributed in the highest degree to their advancement in goodness. To me, being snch as I have described him, so pious that he did nothing without the sanction of the gods; so just, that he wronged no man even in the most trifling affair, but was of service, in the most important matters, to those who enjoyed his society; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; so wise, that he never erred in distinguishing better from worse, needing no council from others, but being sufficient in himself to discriminate between them; so able to explain and settle such questions by argument; and so capable of discerning the character of others, of confuting those who were in error, and of exhorting them to virtue and honor, he seemed to be such as the best and happiest of men would be. But if any one disapproves of my opinion, let him compare the conduct of others with that of Socrates, and determine accordingly.

INDEX

TO THE ANABASIS AND MEMORABILIA.

The figures to which no letter is prefixed refer to the Anabasis; those to which M. is prefixed, to the Memorabilia.

☞ The names inserted in the "Geographical Index" to the Anabasis, are here omitted.

Z

NOTANDA.

On the sense of the phrase ἀναπτύσσειν τὸ κέρας, Anab. i. 10. 9, I might have expressed myself in the note with more decision. The meaning of the words is evidently similar to that of ἀναπτύσσοντας τὴν φάλαγγα, and ἀναπτυχθείσης τῆς φάλαγγος, Cyrop, vii. 5. 3 and 5, where those expressions are fully explained by the context. A portion of the men were withdrawn from one or both wings of the φάλαγξ, or main body, and sent to the rear, making the line at once shorter and deeper. Thus the Greeks acted with regard to their wing; they either drew back the wing altogether, and formed it behind the main body, or drew back a portion of the men from the extremity of the wing, and formed them behind the front ranks of the wing, in order to make the wing itself deeper and more compact. I think the latter supposition, which confines ἀναπτύσσειν to τὸ κέρας, the more probable. The Greeks "put the river in their rear" by wheeling round.

Of Professor Malden's translation of παρὰ τὸν Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, "*along* the river Phasis," I was not aware, until I saw it mentioned by Mr. Ainsworth in his Commentary, p. 226, or I should have adopted it.

If the student should observe that the negative οὐκουν, in Kühner's text of the *Memorabilia*, is, in some few passages, not translated negatively, he must suppose that, in such cases, I thought a positive sense would be better. Editors vary, in many places, in their accentuation of this word.